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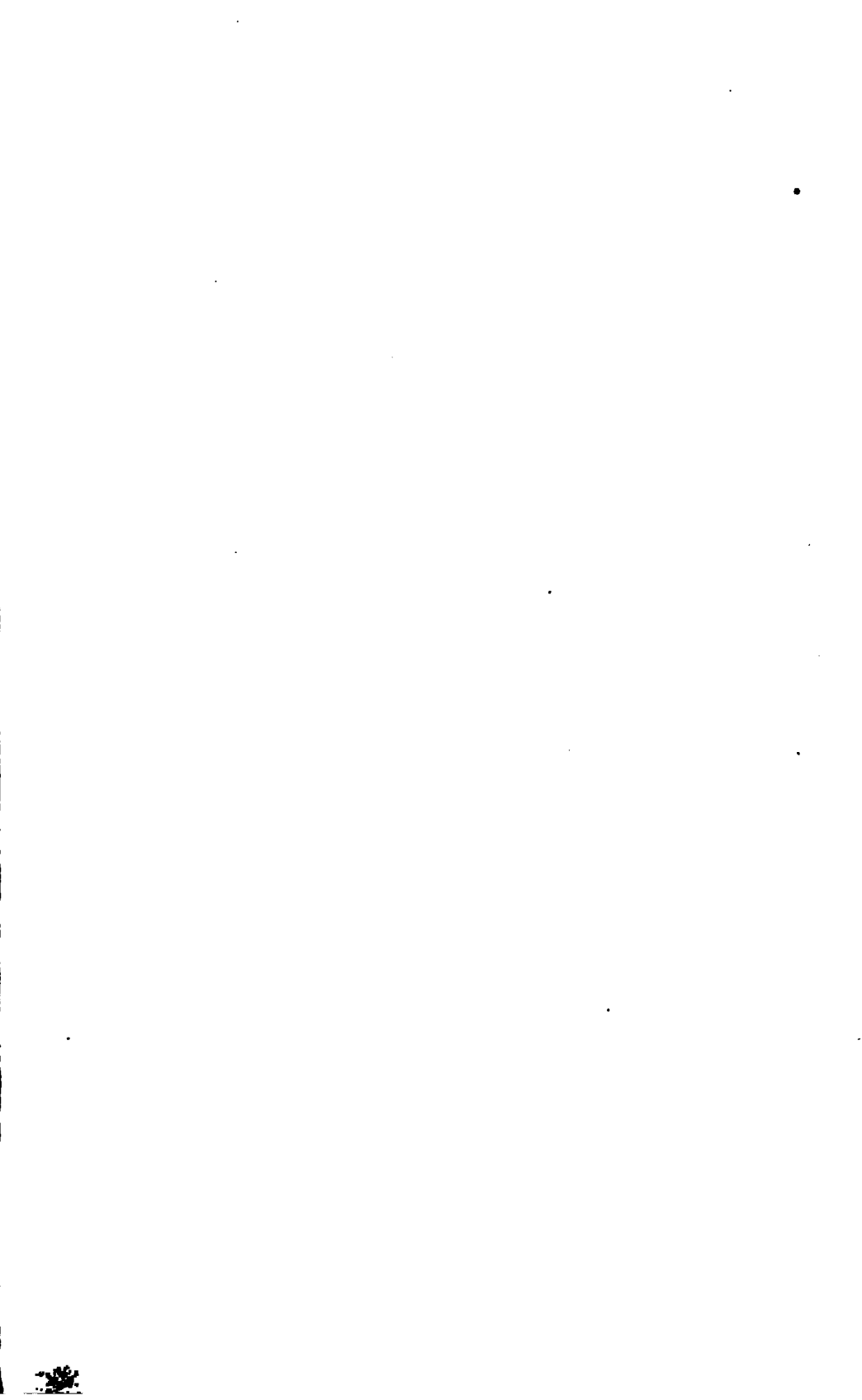
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE

OF
Leonard Torstenson,
(Lennart Torstenson,)

"THE ARGUS-EYED, BRIAREAN-ARMED,"
SENATOR OF SWEDEN, COUNT OF ORTALA, CHIEF OF THE
SWEDISH ARTILLERY UNDER, AND GENERALISSIMO OF
THE SWEDISH ARMIES SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF,

Gustavus Adolphus.

"Beneath Sweden's Throne, (i. e. after GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,) the greatest
of SWEDISH Commanders."—(GILDER'S "*History of the Swedes*.")

"THE MOST ACTIVE AND TALENTED OF ALL THE
GENERALS IN THIS [THE THIRTY YEARS'] WAR."
(KOHLRAUSCH'S "*History of Germany*.")

—88—
"TORSTENSON richly deserves the surname of **BLAZZES-
HELDEN**—THE LIGHTNING—for, like the wildest thunder-peals was
the din of his artillery, and even as the electric flash and shock of the thunder-
bolt were the rapidity of his operations and the shattering force of their blows."

"For, as the light
Not only serves to show, but render us
Mutually profitable; so our lives,
In acts exemplary, not only win
Ourselves good names, but do to others give
Matter for virtuous deeds, by which we live."

CHAPMAN.

—88—
BY

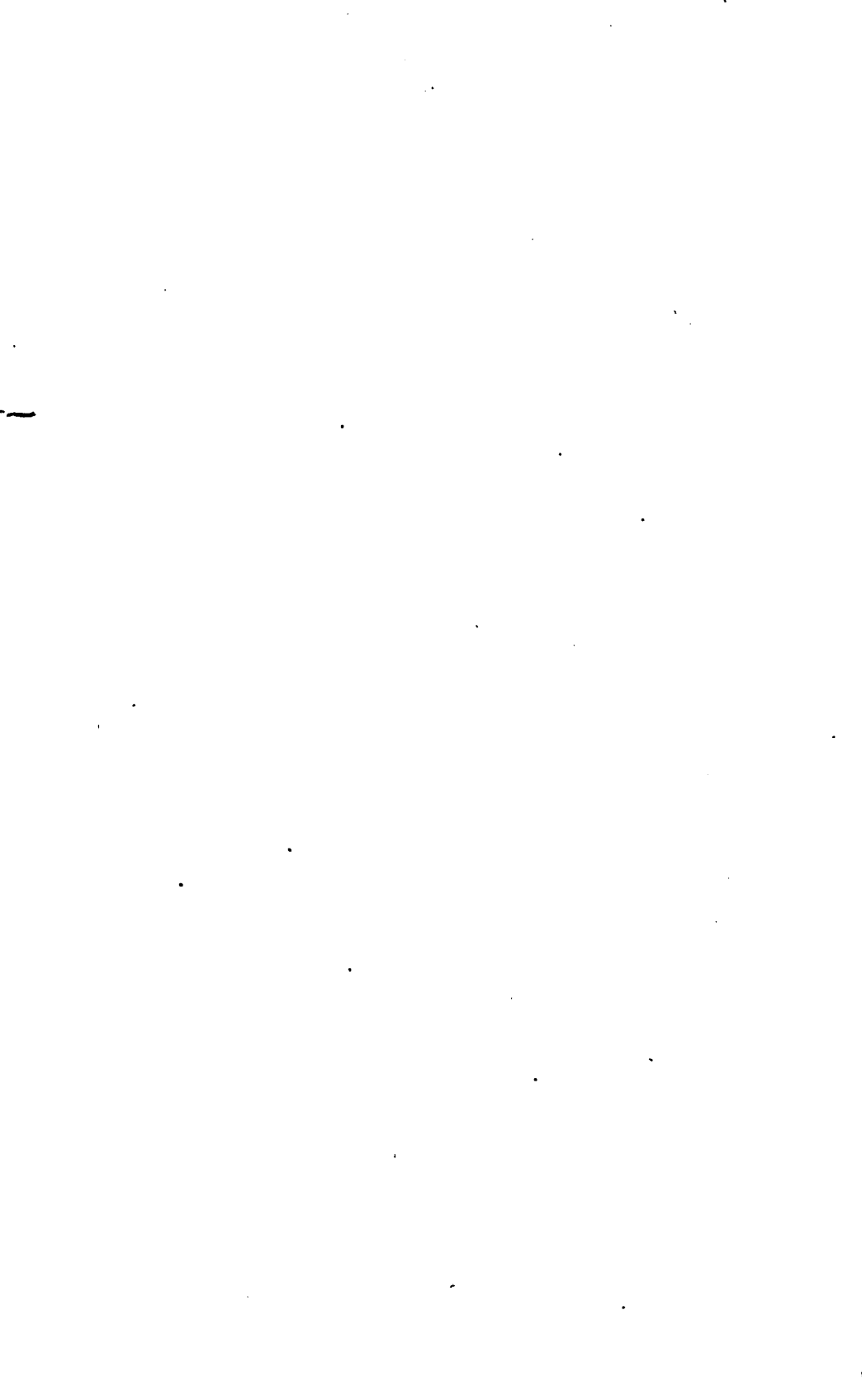
J. Watts de Peyster.

25TH JULY, 1855.

EAGLE BUILDINGS, POUGHKEEPSIE:
PLATT & SCHRAM, Printers.

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PROPERT
OCT 1 1859



Errata and Omissions.

Readers are particularly requested to examine the Errata.

☞ This work—originally intended only as a mere brief translation—has so enlisted its Author's sympathies, that he now looks upon the following pages as nothing more than a comparatively perfect proot-sheet or series of collected notes—the *Cadre* or *Stamm* of a future work on the same subject.

☞ This statement is called forth by the fact that when the present book was half completed, the author came into the possession of an immense amount of valuable and interesting information, which it was then too late to attempt to embody in its pages; all of which is reserved for a second and more perfect edition.

☞ The Author does not hold himself responsible for mistakes in orthography, punctuation, and typography, which he has endeavored, but unavailingly, to have rectified; and all Errata, however glaring, whose correction is not absolutely necessary to convey his meaning, have not been noted hereinafter.

☞ *A few alterations in the punctuation would have been advisable; unimportant omissions and mistakes in punctuation have not been noted.*

☞ The spelling of many of the proper names and territorial nomenclature are from old foreign works, extremely difficult to read, and still more to translate. This fact must be sufficient explanation for many apparent errors. In numerous instances, no two works spell the same names alike, and the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* often spells the same name differently in contiguous pages, which can readily be accounted for by the fact that its data were derived from different sources, languages and contributors.

Page II. Text, 32d line from top, for "tramped" read "trampled."

Note *, substitute therefor, "The Thirty Years' War may more properly be said to have commenced 23d May, 1618, when the two Regents or Commissioners of the Emperor FERDINAND II. and their Secretary were thrown from the window of the Secretary of State's office, in the Royal Palace (Hradschin) of Prague, although the flames of contention had been kindled years before, and was terminated by the Peace of Westphalia, 14th—24th October, 1648."

Page IV. Text, 14th line, for "Jaggernautic," read "Jugger-nautic."

Page VI. Text, 19th line, for "HARTZFELD," read "HATZFELD."

- Page VIII. Note, 14th line, for "counterchange," read "countercharge."
- Page IX. Text, 11th line, "insert a * after "Lutzen," and add as a note, "Examine LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, I. 335, &c."
- Page X. Text, 26th line, insert "The" before "first."
- " " The concluding sentence of the text should be entirely remodeled. The substitution of "did" for "was" in 3d line from bottom, and "on" for "in," in 3d line of Page XI., and the insertion of a — after "Finland," and "glories," on next page, 1st line, would make it read more like the original copy.
- Page XI. Text, 16th and 17th lines, for "DUKE D'ENGHEIN," read, and wherever the same error occurs, "DUKE D'ENGHIEN."
- Page XIII. Text, 15th line, and wherever a similar error occurs, for "FREIDRICH," read "FRIEDRICH."
- " " Note *, 4th line, for "BEEKER," read "BECKER."
- Page XIV. Text, 27th line, for '3,' read 'eight.'
- " " Note *, for "DUKE D'ALNA," read "DUKE D'ALBA" or "ALVA."
- Page 1. Text, 28th line, for "*Wennersborg*," read "*Wenersborg*."
- " " Note *, 1st line, for "*Staag-budge*," read "*Stang-bridge*."
- This battle, fought on both sides of the *Stange*-stream, at *Linköping*, near the south extremity of Lake *Rosen*, between Duke CHARLES, the Protestant, afterwards CHARLES IX. of Sweden, and SIGISMUND, the Roman Catholic, the king of Sweden and Poland, resulted in the complete rout of the latter, 2,000 of whose troops were left dead upon the field, while the loss of the former was very trifling.
- Page 2. Text, 9th line, for "Holland." read "*Halland*."
- Page 3. Text, 25th line, insert " (See SCHILLER'S '*Thirty Years' War*,' page 129.) "
- Page 4. Note *, add thereto; "which is corroborated by the THEATRUM EUROPÆUM, Vol. II, page 229."
- Page 5. Text, 15th and 23d lines, for "*Mayn*," and wherever the same error occurs, read "*Main*."
- Page 6. 22d line, insert "(Examine LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S '*Etudes sur l'Artillerie*,' Vol. I., pages 331-'2.)"
- " " 26th line, insert " " " 333-'4."
- Page 7. 39th line, for "confined," read "confided."
- " " Text, 5th line from bottom, after "60," insert "(Colonel FR. VON KAUSLER says 104)."

Page 8. Text, 5th line from bottom, after "enemy," insert, a *, and add, as a note :

"SPORSCHIL reads (page 455), 'Towards evening of the 24th August, (O. S.) 1632, in the attack upon the Imperial Camp before *Nurnberg*, when GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS already thought of breaking off the combat, and only continued it for the preservation of his military honor, the Cavalry of the Imperialists advanced between the *Rednitz* and the declivity of the mount of the *Old Castle*, to attack the left flank of the Swedes—TORSTENSON, with some divisions of musqueteers and pikemen, bravely opposed himself to the Imperial Cavalry, but, seeing himself compelled to make a retrograde movement, nevertheless fought on valiantly, being always among the hindmost, and endeavoring to preserve order, whereby he *was taken prisoner*.' "

Page 8. 9th line, after "cannons," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"According to the account of the Military Store Keepers, the Swedish artillery under TORSTENSON, in the battle before, and attack upon, the Imperial lines near *Nuremberg*, which lasted ten hours, discharged 200,000 cannon shots.—(CHEMNITZ, Vol. I., page 313.) This must mean 20,000, which is in itself extraordinary.

" " Note *, for "INHAVER," read "INHABER."

Page 9. 8th line, for "*Ingoldstadt*," and wherever the same error occurs, read "*Ingolstadt*."

" " Text, 28th line, for "HERRACH," read "HARRACH."—(SPORSCHIL, page 456.) Note * says :

TORSTENSON was soon after exchanged for the Imperial Colonel SPARRE ; which is corroborated by HARTE, in his "*History of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS*," Vol. I. page 288.

Page 10. 6th line, after *Wolgast*, insert a *, and add, as a note :

"In the procession which attended the embarkation of the remains of GUSTAVUS, my Lord LEONARD TORSTENSON, then General of the Artillery, carried a red banner, of damask, styled the *Blood Color*.—(T. E., III. 94.)

" " 22d line. after "*Stumsdorf*," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"SCHILLER says the whole honor of effecting this truce belongs to Cardinal RICHELIEU."

- Page 11. Text, 27th line, for "1634, read "1635."
 " " " 41st line, for "STJEN," read "STEN."
 " " " 43d line, between "soon" and "the," insert
 "as."
- Page 13. Text, 16th line, after "*Nordlingen*," insert, "(See
 LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S "*Etudes sur l'Ar-
 tillerie*," pages 342-'3, 351-'2.)"
 " " Text, 40th line, after "WITZDOM," insert "(Vitz-
 thum)."
- Page 15. Text, 5th line, after "WRANGEL," insert a *, and
 add, as a note :
 "HERMANN WRANGEL, born in 1587, entered ser-
 vice very young. After the death of GUSTAVUS
 ADOLPHUS, he was employed in public affairs,
 but particularly in the negotiations which led to the
 Peace with *Poland*, in 1635. The following year
 OXENSTJERNA invested him with the command of
 an army-corps in *Pomerania*. After he had made
 himself master of several places, WRANGEL came
 to the assistance of BANER, hard pressed by the
Austrians and *Saxons*. Nevertheless, the enemy
 having made much progress in *Pomerania*, WRANGEL
 had such warm altercations (*vives discussions*) with
 BANER, as induced Queen CHRISTINA to recall him,
 which she did, and appointed him to the Governor-
 Generalship of *Livonia*, which he administered to
 the time of his death."
- Page 16. Text, 21st line, for "*Rittmaster*," read "*Rittmeister*,"
 German, or "*Ryttmastare*," Swedish.
- Page 17. Text, 24th line, after "to get out," insert a *, and
 add, as a note :
 "(See HARTE'S GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, II.
 295. Notes *, and †.)"
- Page 19. Note *, 9th line, for "ERZEGEBERG," read "*Erzge-
 birge*."
- Page 20. Text, 20th line, for "*Lippe Deptmold*," read "*Lippe
 Detmold*."
 " " 27th line, for "1644," read "1641."
 " " Note †, —th line, for "*beskrifuing*," read "*beskrif-
 ning*."
- Page 21. Text, 32d line. The THEATRUM EUROPEUM, Vol.
 4, page 619, 2d, reads: "From Sweden was sent
 also, with him, i. e. TORSTENSON, on ac-
 count of his *podagrical* infirmities, my Lord JOHN
 LILJEBORCK, as his Lieutenant-General, an honor

which had not been extended to BANER—and AXEL LILJE was raised to the rank of Master-General of the Ordnance, and received great quantities of ammunition, as well as a *splendid train of Artillery*."

Page 21. Note ||, add thereto : "According to SPORSCHIL, (Note *, page 633,) at *Halberstadt*, 10th May, 1644, BANER died, having turned over the command to General PFUHL—in reality, to a Commission (Triumverate), consisting of Generals PFUHL, WRANGEL, and DU LONG, of which the former was President, BANER having proposed, however, to his Government, that his real successor should be Lieutenant-General TORSTENSON."

Page 24. Text, 31st line, for "BECKER," read "BECKER."

" " " 37th line, for "hav," read "having."

" 26. Text, 9th line, for "lamed in feet," read "crippled both in feet."

" " " 4th line from bottom, after "posted," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"The taste for prodigies was likewise very strong in the times of GUSTAVUS, [and throughout the Thirty Years' War]; even CHEMNITZ treats them with great deference, the best instructed and most sensible historian of that period; for he was supposed to compose his works, or a part thereof at least, on the Memoirs of OXENSTIERN. Boys born with boots and spurs, showers and rivers of blood, black rainbows, pitched battles in the air, and a thousand such other prodigies, were supposed to happen every year. The king of Denmark concluded the peace of Lubec in consequence of a flash of lightning, &c. &c.—(HARTE'S *Essay on the Military State*, page 48.)

"According to the *THEATRUM EUROPÆUM* (IV. 898, 2d), the year 1642 did not elapse without its miracles; the first of which, in order, was the FLAMING SWORD, which stood over the Swedish camp, [near *Arendsee*,] in the beginning of February, which, to the fearless heart of TORSTENSON, was nothing but a portent, that he would have a pitched battle with the Imperial "Armada"; and this sign was gloriously fulfilled, about nine months after, in the crowning victory of *Breitenfeld*.

Page 26. Text, 23d line, after 'SECKENDORF' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"The defeat of LAMBOY, and the rapid success of the French

General (GUEBRIANT) did not, however, divert the ARCHDUKE and PICCOLOMINI, who commanded the Imperialists, in Moravia, from marching against TORSTENSON. They intended to surprise him in his camp; but finding all their attempts and expectations defeated by the vigilance of the Swedish General—in the true spirit of Italian policy, PICCOLOMINI had recourse to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valor and military skill. With this view, he corrupted one SECKENDORF, a Swedish(?) Colonel, who promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp by night. Fortunately, the design was discovered, and the traitor punished; nor did his employers escape chastisement. The DUKE OF SAXE-LAUBENBURG, who had marched towards Schwents (Schweidnitz), in order to check the progress of TORSTENSON in Silesia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken prisoner, with the greater part of his officers—3,000 of his men being left dead on the field.”—(RUSSEL, following PUFFENDORF or BARRE.)

Page 27. Text, 10th line, insert a * after “TORSTENSON,” and add, as a note:

“Secured on the side of Brandenburg, by the treaty of Armistice with the new ELECTOR.”—(GEIJER, 312, 1st.)

“ “ 38th line, for “*Lobben*,” read “*Loben*.”

“ “ 43d line, for “*GEIJER*,” and wherever the same error occurs, read “*GEIJER*.”

Page 28. Note †, 2d line, after “4th May,” insert “N. S.” and after “25th of April,” add “O. S.”

Page 29. Text, 22d line, for “*Leignitz*,” read “*Liegnitz*.”

Page 32. “ 5th line, after “21st May, 1642,” insert “O. S.”

“ “ “ 23d line, after “10th of June,” insert “N. S.”

“ “ “ 24th line, after “31st May,” insert “O. S.”

“ “ “ 32d line, for “*Mechlenberg*,” read “*Mecklenburg*.”

“ “ Note *, add thereto, “N. S.”

Page 33. Text, 15th line, for “*Oæbro*,” read “*Oerebro*,” (*Orebro*).“

Page 34. Text, 7th line, insert a * after “heretics,” and add, as a note:

“I have yet another political prejudice to encounter of no small magnitude; namely, that it is a part of our Doctrine, That faith is not to be kept with heretics; and consequently that our Protests, Declarations, and even our Oaths are not to be depended on.

Now, that this odious, detestable doctrine has actually been taught by Romish Divines and Canonists, I can not deny. What is more, I am obliged to allow, that Popes themselves have

taught and practised the same Doctrine, and even appealed for the truth of it to Canonical sanctions.

When INNOCENT III excommunicated the EMPEROR OTHO, he not only declared his subjects free from their Oaths of allegiance, but justifies this conduct by the authority of the Fathers: for thus he expresses himself, in a letter to the French King PHILIP AUGUSTUS: "But if he (the Emperor) incur the sentence of Excommunication, let him know, that all are absolved from their fidelity to him; for according to the Canonical sanction of the Holy Fathers, with him who keeps not faith with God and his Church, faith is not to be kept."* Here, then, we find a Pope arrogating to himself, and exercising, the power of absolving subjects from their fidelity, and supporting that act by a pretended Canonical sanction. "That no faith is to be kept with one who keeps not faith with God and his Church;" than which a more dangerous and hateful position can hardly be maintained. It is in vain that some of our modern controvertists deny that ever such doctrines were taught; the fact is indisputable." [A MODEST APOLOGY for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants; particularly to the members of both houses of Parliament, London, 1800, Pages 131, '3.]

☞ EXAMINE DE CORMENIN'S "Public and Private History of the Popes of Rome, with regard to the Jesuits, their doctrines, &c. &c.; but more particularly pages 312 to 315, Vol. II. of that interesting and instructive publication."

Page 35. Text, 23d line, for "*Margravite*" read "*Margraviate*."

Page 36. Text, 17th line, insert a * after "also," and add, as a note:

"STRENGTH OF THE SWEDISH ARMY, AUGUST, 1642.—The Imperial Generals however, at this time, impressed with the idea that the Swedish army did not number over 7,000 to 8,000 horse and about 4,000 foot posted at *Crossen*, and that there were not more than 1,500 foot and 300 horse in garrison at *Glogau*,—whereas the garrison numbered 3,000 men,—drew the conclusion thence that it would be an easy task to drive the Swedes back into the sea, and frustrate their plan of operations against the Hereditary States.—(T. E., IV. 875, 1st.)

* "Quod si se in sententiam Excommunicationis iniecerit, universos a fidelitate sua noverit absolutos; quia juxta SS. Patrum sanctiones Canonicas, ei qui Deo et Ecclesie fidem non servat, fides servanda non est." The same thing he repeats in a letter to the Princes of Germany: "Unde, cum juxta SS. Patrum Canonicas sanctiones, ei qui Dei et Ecclesie fidem non servat, fides servanda non sit, a communione fidellum separato, Nos ab ipsius fidelitate absolvimus versus, vel potius decrevimus absolutoe." (Both these curious Epistles were first published by DU THAIL, in 1789, from a MS. in the French King's Library. See NOTICE DES MSS. DU ROI, vol. II, p. 282—285.)

A short time after, proved how completely they had deceived themselves, and how they misjudged their greatest adversary, save GUSTAVUS, whose [TORSTENSON'S] ACTIVITY seems incomprehensible, when we consider the nature of his infirmities and constant illness.—[T. E., IV. 872, 1st.] Thus, [about six weeks previous, while marching southwards,] *not only did he superintend IN PERSON all his military operations, and every movement connected with his march into Moravia, and his successful siege of Olmutz, but likewise at the very same time maintained the blockade and investment of Brieg, traveling all the while from one position of importance to another, giving his orders, and inspecting every thing WITH HIS OWN EYES.*"

Page 36. Text, 24th line, after "LEOPOLD WILLIAM," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"Brother of the Emperor, FERDINAND II. (See Note †, page 199.)"

Page 37. Text, 6th line from bottom, for "*Luben*," read "*Lo-ben*."

" " Text, 2d line from bottom, for "*Schmeideberg*," read "*Schmiedberg*."

Page 38. Text, 13th line, for "*Reisengebirge*," read "*Riesengebirge*."

Page 39. Text, 23d line, for "*Grossenhagn*," read "*Grossenhayn*."

Page 40. Text, 5th line from bottom, after "BUCHHAIM," insert "*(Buchheim [Bouchain])*."

" " Text, 4th line from bottom, after "SOYE," insert "*(SUYS ?)*"

Page 41. Text, 31st line, substitute a " — " for the " ; ".

" " " 32d " " a " — " for the " . " and take out "Thus."

" " Text, 33d line, substitute "that" for "20,000 in."

Page 42. Text, 11th line, insert "*(petit bois)*" after "thicket."

" " Text, 22d line, for "SPUNER" read "SPRUNER."

Page 43. Text, 28th line, for "*Lindelthal*" read "*Lindenthal*."

Page 45. Text, 16th line, for "AUGUSTUS," read "GUSTAVUS."

Page 46. Text, 16th and 17th lines, for "AUGUSTUS" read "GUSTAVUS."

" " Note *, 2d line, for "INHAVER" read "INHABER." Add to this note the following definitions :

Leib-Compagnie, the first Company of a Regiment, the Colonel's Troop or Company. (See Note, CAV-ALRY, page 159 infra, 11th line, &c. from bottom.)—

Leib-Regiment, a Regiment whose Colonel is a sovereign or reigning prince. (*Regiment dont un souverain ou un prince regnant, est Colonel-proprietaire-honorifique.*)

" " Text, last line after "example" insert a *, and add, as a note :

"The Archduke, LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, displayed the greatest intrepidity in this battle, He used every human means to prevent the flight of the Cavalry, and his life was only saved by the lucky accident that the carbine of a Swedish trooper, who took aim at him, in fearfully close proximity, missed fire."

Page 47. Note ‡, for "KRIEGSVORRATHE" read "KRIEGSVORRATH."

Page 48. Note §, for "LUODBLAD'S" read "LUNDBLAD'S."

Page 49. Text, 10th line, after "tons" insert a *, and add, as a note :

"According to some authorities, a ton of gold is about £9,000—equal to \$43,650 ; others estimate it 100,000 Rix Dollars, or \$109,000, or, according to WEBSTER, \$70,000."

" " Text, 16th line, for "Nuremburg" read "Nuremberg."

Page 51. Text, 1st line, out " ? " after "Strehla."

Page 52. Text, 17th line, out " ? " after "Lobkowitz."

" " " 4th line from bottom, for "Bohmishbrod," read "Bohmschbrod."

" " Note ‡, for "Lobsowitz," read "Lobsowitz."

Page 53. Text, 8th line, for "4," read "2."

" " Text, 22d line, after "enemy," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"Three regiments under Colonels DOBITZ and WERNER, and Lieutenant-Colonel DUBALD, sent out to collect contributions, had halted (23d July) at *Driba* (Tribau?), in Moravia, and taken up their quarters for the night, when, betrayed by a peasant named SCHULMANN, they were surprised, by favor of the extreme darkness, by two cornets or troops of horse—one belonging to the Buchhaim, the other to the Palavicini, Regiments of Imperial Cavalry—and completely disorganized.

All three Colonels, and a number of other officers and privates, were made prisoners.

When TORSTENSON received intelligence of this disgraceful result, he was so indignant that he took the earliest opportunity to get the captured officers back into his hands.

To effect this, he would not consent to an exchange, but bought them back for money—deeming them too worthless to redeem with brave soldiers of the army.

No sooner were they in his power, than he hung up Colonel WERNER, and drummed out the dastardly Colonel DOBITZ with the utmost ignominy, sparing his life on the sole condition that he should never let any one know that he had served under the Swedish Crown." T. E., V. 78.

Page 53. Text, 7th line from bottom, after "*Vienna*," insert a *, and add, as a note :

"At this time TORSTENSON himself lay, as was stated above, in his entrenched camp at *Tobitschau*, which, together with the castle or fort of that name, he had fortified to the extent of his great engineering abilities. This fort—said to be almost as strong as the virgin fortress of *Königstein*, near *Dresden*—deemed impregnable, and almost the only one in Europe which has never yet been taken—in which he had found and collected large magazines of provisions, is situated between the river *March* and some neighboring ponds.

In fact, he strengthened his position in such a manner that he had absolutely nothing to fear from the Imperial army, which likewise lay in an entrenched camp, only 2 (German, 8 to 10 English) miles distant; and, as the Imperialists were perfectly satisfied that the country could not much longer support the miseries and exactions of the war, all the different corps, which had been detached for special service, were recalled, with the intention of making one bold effort to force the Swedes to abandon their position, which promised the more successful issue, as GALLAS looked from day to day for the long-expected reinforcements from Hungary, a hope destined never to be realized. As to starving out the Swedes, experience had demonstrated that the Imperialists were incapable of undergoing the privations which the former bore not only with fortitude, but with comparative cheerfulness—so much so, that every attempt of this kind throughout the whole Thirty Years' War, ended in the complete discomfiture if not ruin of the latter.

Meanwhile, the operations of the Swedes were characterized by the extreme of boldness. Major-General WITTENBERG, with a strong force of Cavalry, undertook an expedition against *Vienna*, and on the road fell in with 800 recruits, marching to re-

inforce GALLAS, who were either cut to pieces or forced to take service with the Swedes.

The Swedish army at this time consisted of 121 Ensigns or Companies of Foot, 32 Squadrons of Horse, 2,000 Dragoons, and 2 Companies of Guards, (*Leib-Compagnie*) comprising 3,000 men, with a train of 82 pieces of artillery, great and small, and 200 wagons.

About the middle of July, Colonel HELLMUTH WRANGEL, with 300 Gavalry, posted himself upon the Danube, so as completely to command the bridge to Vienna, and remained for a long time in that position so galling to the pride of the Austrian capital and the Emperor.

While posted there, 1,005 Wallachs—upon whose banners were inscribed the following words, "*Pro verbo Dei, et patria suscipimus hæc omnia*," that is to say, All that we undergo is for the sake of God's word and for our Fatherland—deserted from the Imperialists, and took service with the Swedes; nor could they be induced to separate from their their new confederates, although the Imperial pardon was freely promised them.

A cartel was also arranged between TORSTENSON and the Emperor, by which it was stipulated that a Lieutenant-General should be released upon the payment of 24,000 Rix Dollars (\$16,800 a \$25,220); a Field-Marshal for 20,000 R. D. (\$14,000 a \$21,000); a Field-Marshal-Lieutenant for 8,000 R. D. (\$5,600 a \$8,400); all other individuals of the rank of General, upon the payment of one month's salary; all persons belonging to the priestly profession, and some other similar classes, were to be set at liberty without ransom. T. E., V. 78? 9.

" " " 24th line, for "BACHHEIM," read "BUCH-HAIM."

" " Text, 5th line from bottom, after "capital," insert the following sentence:

"In this campaign, TORSTENSON, by one of his partisan officers, (said to have been the "Mad" Colonel HELLMUTH WRANGEL, who afterwards distinguished himself so highly in *Jutland*,) imperilled the person of the Emperor himself.—(PUFFENDORF, XV. §12. GELZER, 1st Col. 314.)"

Page 54. Text, 16th line, after "*Transylvania*," insert a *, and add, as a note:

"GEORGE RAKOTZY (RAGOTSKI, RAGOCZY), elected Prince of Transylvania, was one of those characters who, actuated by

interest, and not principle, have prospered in the world by sacrificing their duties and opportunities of usefulness to their selfishness, their friends to themselves, who, lukewarm at best, "concerning faith, have made shipwreck," and eventually involved a kingdom, and all who looked to it as a refuge and defence, in temporal and eternal ruin.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, when first he burst upon the Empire, to enlighten and revivify its Protestant peoples, cowering beneath a Jesuitical priesthood and a blood-thirsty horde of assassins and tormentors, directed with all the subtlety of LOYOLA's society, "made a contract" with the Transylvanian, who, in accordance with his agreement, invaded Hungary; "when, however, *GUSTAVUS fell by the hands of an assassin,* at the battle of Lutzen, he drew back again, not having confidence in the probable success of the Swedes, and thinking all the while only of himself. It was with pain that the Protestants observed the selfishness of the artful RAGOCZY.*

When, after ten years of persecution—more fierce and unrelenting than the Roman persecutions of the earlier Christians, not but that they might have had the will, but they lacked the counsels of a Roman Catholic priesthood to direct their blows and anoint their accursed implements of torture with a more soul-penetrating venom — "the successful General TORSTENSON, though laboring under gout, was giving FERDINAND serious alarm," even the Imperial edicts could not arrest the evil days. The priests and Roman Catholics, finding themselves supported by the Roman Catholic magnates, and tolerated, if not encouraged by the king, [FERDINAND III. Emperor, and King of Hungary,] it was not strange that the position of the Protestants ceased to be enviable." * * *

—(D'AUBIGNE's *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, pages 178, 185.)

They therefore turned the eye often toward *Transylvania*, out of which the LORD had often sent delivery for their fathers; and still the Prince, GEORGE RAKOTZY, seemed to slumber, unmindful of their ills. A time came, however, when, by the consent of the Turks, he nominated his son to be his successor. The complaints of the Protestants were becoming louder and louder. France and Sweden promised him money to support him in a war against FERDINAND; and the jests which were made at his expense, at the Court of Vienna, filled the cup of his indignation, so that, on the 26th of April, 1643, he entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with TORSTENSON, against FREDERICK [FERDINAND], and that engagement was signed by TORSTENSON, at his camp in *Dobitschaw*, on the 10th of July. (Examine page 54, supra.)

*The Swiss D'AUBIGNE thus reiterates the charge made by the Swede PUFFENDORF, and other historians.

On the 13th of February, 1644, Prince RAKOTZY issued, at *Kallo*, his declaration of war, stating the reasons why he drew the sword against FERDINAND. The latter lost no time, it is true, in issuing a counter-proclamation, promising religious toleration, and warning against joining RAKOTZY; but the Protestants had now learned, by bitter experience, what faith was to be placed in such promises. At the very time that the Swedish army was pressing forward to join RAKOTZY, the persecutions were raging as fiercely as ever. * * *

The Archbishop LIPPAY had just banished all the Protestant pastors of both confessions out of the large island *Schutz*, which reaches from Presburg to Komorn, and had sent twelve Jesuits to discharge ministerial duties; but their first care was to introduce the worship of *Mary*,* which had been taught by the Greek heretic, GUAPPOU, in the year 470, and had been condemned by the Fifth Œcumenical Council. The Jesuits did not remain long in the island, for when Count ROBERT DOUGLAS—(examine in this connection pages 217 and 227, &c., supra)—a General under TORSTENSON, had conquered Presburg, and received the capitulation of Tyrnau, he removed the priests and all their appendages to Presburg.

By the approach and the conquests of these troops, the hardly oppressed Protestants of Skalitz obtained relief. The Popish clergy had just brought matters so far, that the Moravian exiles, who had lived here in peace for twenty years, were, with their preachers, banished from the city, and had their churches closed. So soon as DOUGLAS heard of this, being already united with RAKOTZY, they hastened to Skalitz, and gave the authorities a few hours to restore the churches, and take away the Popish mummeries, or else be hanged. The Protestants of Skalitz thus obtained their church, and in a very short time the much-desired religious toleration was also granted in Raab.† * * * (Ibid. 186-'7.)

The short and bloody war between RAKOTZY and FERDINAND ended with the famous *Peace of Lintz*, which was the second bill of the rights and freedom of the Protestant Church in Hungary. RAKOTZY was soothed with the promise of several counties for himself, and was thus induced to give up his alliance with Sweden. On the 16th of December, 1645, when the Monarchy was on the very brink of destruction, the peace was concluded at Lintz, in Upper Austria.

This time, it must be confessed, both parties were equally earnest in the resolution to prevent the clergy from once more breaking the peace. Even the Archbishop LIPPAY found him-

*The words for which this priest was proclaimed a heretic, are the very same as those which Rome universally employs: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us, now and at the hour of death."

†Oriental. Rediviv., Tom. II.; Zeillem's Coll., Part I. page 264. It appears that so early as 1567, Raab had already three Protestant preachers.

self unable any longer to oppose the laws favorable to the Protestants. By this peace, the Protestants obtained complete religious liberty, so that the exiled preachers might return to their congregations, or new preachers be called. All churches and church property which had been taken away should be restored, and every transgression of the conditions of this peace should be punished; the banishing of the Jesuits was reserved for the next Diet. It was on the 20th of October, 1646, that RAKOTZY ratified this peace at *Weissenburg*, in Transylvania.

"The slave," says D'AUBIGNE, "is moral only so long as he fears the arm of justice." And this remark applies with still greater force to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Never, since the foundation of the Papacy, have they shown themselves tolerant, except when restrained by their own weakness from persecuting. No sooner had the Peace of Lintz been ratified, than the reproaches of Rome rebuked the Popish clergy of Hungary for having paid so little attention to the interests of the church, and they at once aroused all their energies to deprive that unhappy country of the blessings of peace and religious liberty.

As the surest means to accomplish their object, the Jesuits were brought back, and all their energies devoted to rendering the concessions of the Emperor entirely inoperative.

The war with Sweden, which was protracted until the 14th (24th) October, 1648, acted in a great degree as a check upon the persecuting tendencies of the Roman Catholic prelates and aristocracy; but, alas! the peace of Westphalia, which relieved the Empire from its foreign enemies, exalted the Emperor to employ all his resources, military, political and religious, to crushing and eradicating evangelical religion from his territories; and to such a degree did the Roman Catholics succeed, that the forced converts from pure and spiritual—evangelical—doctrines, became the most abject votaries of the idolatrous superstitions of the Church of Rome.

KEYSLER, who travelled through these countries within a century after the Peace of Westphalia, asserts that the Protestants were better off under the Turks than under their Roman Catholic brethren, and that under the plea of sorcery the Protestants were expiating their stubborn adherence to truth by daily and most terrible sufferings and deaths. (Examine Letter LXXXIV. Vol. IV. particularly page 245, third edition, London, 1760.)

Had RAGOCZY been faithful to his engagements with the Swedes, the power of Austria would have been a tale of the past. It only required his hearty co-operation to ensure the fall of Brunn, and then Vienna must have succumbed, and after Vienna, eventually all the rest of Austria.

Bohemia and Moravia—the greater part of Austria north of the Danube—were completely at the mercy of the Swedes; Hungary, in the power of the Transylvanians and Hungarian

Protestants. THURMANN and the great CONNÉ had just overthrown the power of Bavaria, and were pressing onwards to effect a junction with the confederate armies.

The Emperor, as Prof. FLATHE justly remarks, was on the brink of ruin, when the defection of RAGOCZY changed the whole aspect of affairs.

But we have dwelt enough upon this painful subject. All history confirms these facts. Protestantism in the Austrian dominions, which had hitherto enjoyed some brilliant days of sunshine amid its years of suffering and sorrow, now saw its future shrouded in the darkest gloom of impending and enduring tempests.

The THEATRUM EUROPEUM, (Vol. V, pages 691 and 706,) furnishes a few additional particulars with regard to the Peace of Lintz, by which RAGOCZY obtained possession of some of the richest provinces of Hungary, besides three strong fortresses, and the following important concessions :

I. The duchies of Oppeln, which comprised nearly the whole of the present Upper Silesia, embracing an area of 5,184 square miles, and (Principality, at present,) of Ratibor, were to inure to him in the same manner that they had belonged to BETHLEHEM GABOR.

II. Likewise the seven provinces herein before referred to.

III. All the Reformed Churches were to be restored to the same condition which they had enjoyed in 1618.

IV. RAGOCZY was to be declared a Prince of the Empire.

V. All his demands (postulates) were to be arranged at the next sitting of the diet. [V., 691, 2d.]

After the death of the Palatine of Hungary, NICHOLAS ESTERHAZY, which took place on the 11th September, 1645, N. S., RAGOCZY was extremely anxious to obtain that elevated dignity for his son ; and the four ambassadors whom he sent to Lintz, to obtain the ratification of the articles of peace, were instructed to press upon FERDINAND III. the nomination of the young Prince, his son. (V., 719, 1st.)

In this he failed, and his failure ought to have opened his eyes to what he and his Protestant brethren might expect when the Emperor was relieved from his fear and necessities. Contrary to usage, and the organic laws of the kingdom, a Papist, and one of the most zealous opponents of the Protestants, JOHN DRASKOWITSCH, *Ban of Slavonia*, was elected *Palatine*.—(D'AUBIGNE'S *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, page 189.)

Has the writer wronged RAGOCZY ? Are his terms of reproach too harsh for his deserts ? Protestants, answer. He had the blessed opportunity, in concert with the prescient and intrepid TORSTENSON, of crushing that serpent, wily in himself, but an hundred fold more wily in the suggestions of a priesthood, whose aggregate of talent was ever busy at his ears to sharpen

and direct the execution of their wishes and his will, which, through their genius, was their own soul's delight and temporal advancement. An Esau, more unwise than he who sold his birthright for a tempting meal, cajoled by Austrian diplomacy, second to none for faithlessness, superior to all, because inwrought with individual interests and the very existence of the Papacy, whose influences for evil vibrate throughout the world, he blasted all the hopes of him whose name this work delights to honor, and utterly destroyed the future of his country. Where are the Protestants of Austria now? Where Austria might have been, had RAGOCZY followed out the plan of TORSTENSON. Ruined! Individually where? Let the blood-impregnated scaffold, block and rack; the rusty instruments of torment; the benches of the Spanish galleys—whereon noble pastors sat, laboring at the oars beneath a torrid sun, beside the basest criminals, rescued by that glorious Hollander, DE RUYTER—the ashes of the martyrs, and the stakes, to which their writhing limbs were chained; the funeral piles, crackling and laughing, not so merciless as the priests who lighted them, and last, the gates of hell, opened on renegades bought over; and their purchasers, the tempters and the persecutors; answer. Let the humiliating Concordat of FRANCIS JOSEPH I. Austria's shame, Rome's exaltation, Austrian-Evangelical destruction, answer! "How long, LORD, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

Page 54, Text, 18th line, for "Bojars," read "Boiars" or "Bo-yars."

Page 55. Text, 7th line from bottom, insert after "reinforced" "(September, 1643.)"

" " Note *, 2d line, for "dragon" read "dragonn."

" " " †, add thereto, "(*Omabruk.*)"

Page 57. Text, 37th line, after '1643,' insert a *, and add thereto, as a note:

"It would be highly satisfactory to the reader to peruse this admirable letter at length, at pages 314a 315, *GELIER'S History of the Swedes.*"

Page 59. Note *, 12th line, for 'wao,' read 'way.'

Page 60. Text, 9th line, for 'AORN,' read 'HORN.'

" " " last line, after 'Alp,' insert 'reposing.'

Page 62. Note †, 15th line, for 'frost,' read 'frostwork.'

" " " 5th line from bottom, before 'Rubies,' insert 'The.'

Page 64. Text, 2d line, after 'as,' insert 'are.'

Page 71, Note †, for the first 'LOUIS,' read 'PRINCE.'

" " " ‖, 4th line, after 'remark,' insert '(concerning their beginning to murmur and complain, see 10 last lines on page 56.)'

Page 72. Text. 8th line from bottom, for 'commano,' read 'CAMISADO.'

- Page 73. Text, 10th line, insert a * after 'Elbe,' and add, as a note:
 "See remarks concerning the transportation of TORSTENSON'S Artillery on the *Main*—lines 12 to 19, page 164.
- " " Text, 23d line, for 'ULFSRAIM,' read 'ULFSPAIN.'
- " " Note *, before *Notes of Travel, &c.* insert 'Translated from.'
- " " Note †, 3d line, for 'into the,' read 'into these.'
- Page 82. Text, 5th line from bottom, for 'BUCKWALT,' read 'BUCKWALDT.'
- Page 84. Text, 3d line from bottom, for 'daggers,' read 'dangers.'
- Page 85. Note *, 34th line, for 'Swedes,' read 'French and Weismarians.'
- Page 88. Text, compare LOWELOW's faithful translation of this magnificent national song.
- Page 88. Text, 8th line, for 'Swedes,' read 'Sweden.'
- Page 90. Text, 29th line, and wherever a like error occurs, for '*Wolfenbuttle*' read '*Wolfenbuttel*.'
- Page 91. Text, 13th line, for 'SIR WALKER,' read 'SIR WALTER.'
- " " Note *, 7th line, for 'Fermern,' read 'Femern.'
- Page 92. Note, 9th line, for 'Bergentz' read 'Bregentz.'
- Page 92. " 18th line, for 'Tœpel,' read 'Tœplitz.'
- " " " 24th l., for 'Sumarshugen,' read 'Susmarshausen.'
- Page 98. Text, 2d line from bottom, insert after 'manuscript,' 'now 1050 years old—written by the Gothic Bishop.)'
- Page 99. Note, 4th line, for 'father-in-law,' read 'father.'
- " " " *, substitute for the present note the following:
 "Duke FREDERIC, son of CHRISTIAN IV., siezed the opportunity afforded by the Peace of Prague, to make himself master of the *Archbishopric of Bremen*, whose incumbent had just died.—(PUFFENDORF, 490.)"
- Page 104. Text, 5th line, for 'Frediricia,' read 'Fredericia.'
- Page 105. " 1st word, for 'Fredericude,' read 'Frederic-
 udde,' or *Frederic's Odde*.
- Page 107. Text, 33d line, for 'Kielsfiord,' read 'Kiel fiord.'
- Page 108. Text, 34th line, for 'that,' read 'the.'
- Page 112. Text, 8th line, after 'quarters,' insert 'at Zeitz.'
- " " Note *, 2d line, for 'GœHRIGE,' read 'JAEHRIGE.'
- Page 113. " add to Note *, the following: '*Marklanden*—*MARCKLAND*—(Danish), is the district lying along the North Sea, constituting the western coast of *Denmark*, in the south part of *Schleswig* and *Holstein*, not extending however into *Jutland*, between the town of *Hoyer* and the *Elbe*. It signifies '*Failland*,' which has been thrown up by the sea, and increases every year.—(CHAS. SCHULTHES.)'

Page 117. Note, 21st line, for 'Havelburg,' and wherever the error occurs, read 'Havelberg.'

Page 119. Note *, 6th and 2d line from bottom, (after 'Moerlingen,' and wherever this name occurs, insert '(Mochlingen.)'

" " Note *, 7th line from the bottom, for 'HATZLELD,' read 'HATZFELD.'

Page 121. Text, 9th line, after 'MONTICUCULI,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"He lies buried in the Church of the Capuchins, at Linz or Lintz. (Examine BEATTIE and BARTLETT'S 'Danube Illustrated,' page 90.)"

Page 124. Text, 21st line, for 'Maldau,' read 'Moldau.'

" " " 24th line, after 'Zwickau,' insert '(one [German, 4 to 5 English] mile below Orlick.)'

" " Text, 4th line from the bottom, for '[KÖNIGSMARK?]' read 'Governor of Pzenitz.' [Pzenitz.]

Page 126. Text, 2d line, insert a * after 'baggage,' and add, as a note :

"Part was sent to Tabor, part to Budweis."

Page 127. Text, 10th line from bottom, for 'Woritz,' read 'Woditz.'

Page 129. Text, 11th line, insert after 'Colonels,' 'in consideration of their just cause.'

Page 130. Text, last line; after 'height,' insert '(on the right hand?)'

Page 131. Text, 13th line, insert a * after 'advantage,' and add, as a note :

"TORSTENSON'S evolutions, which preceded, or, more properly speaking, constituted, the *initiative* of the battle of Janikau, were so masterly, that in order to make them perfectly clear, a succinct repetition may not be unadvisable.

As hereinbefore stated, when the night of the 23d February closed in, the armies were in face, drawn up in line from N. E. to S. W., Janikau between; the Swedes most northerly, and consequently nearer Prague.

Throughout the night, the Swedes made a great noise, moving their artillery, and driving wagons, as if they were about to establish their cannon upon a height, in front of, and, at the same time, so as to menace and outflank the right wing of the Imperialists.

Although this feigned march did not altogether deceive HATZFELD, who appeared to have formed a perfect estimate of his opponent's superior abilities, it had the very effect intended upon Goltz, who fell

into the trap, and allowed **TORSTENSON** to make his real movement upon his left and occupy that position, the chapel upon the mountain, which was the key of the battle field, the possession of which decided the fate of the conflict."*

Page 134. Text. 2d line, after '(No Quarter!)' insert, 'some say also *Sancta Maria!*'

Page 134. Note, 13th l., for 'Ehrenbrestein,' read 'Ehrenbreitenstein.'

" " Note, 28th line, for 'redoutavle,' read 'redoubtable.'

" " " 34th line, for 'fate,' read 'fete.'

" " " 37th line, for 'scenes,' read 'sources.'

Page 140. Note, 6th line, for 'had,' read 'gained.'

Page 156. Note, 10th line, after 'masterly,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"This movement bears a close resemblance to that of **FREDERICK THE GREAT**, of Prussia, by which he won the battle of *Leuthen*, or *Lissa*."

Page 157. Note, add, in continuation of the note on Cavalry :

"According to the **THEATRUM EUROPÆUM**, there appears to have been three distinct kinds of Cavalry in the armies of this period : 1st, Horse (*Reiterer*), i. e. mounted troops in general ; 2d, Cavalry proper, (*Cavalieri*) ; and 3d, Dragoons (*Dragoner*). G. S.

"These Dragoons, or Horse-Musketeers, were all picked men. Their duty was to sustain the Cavalry, and when occasion offered, they dismounted and fired upon the enemy.

They served as an escort to convoys, formed sudden ambuscades, &c. These dragoons were armed with ordinary muskets, of which the match was turned of a small piece of wood, and fixed at their horse's headstall ; their sword was short, and at their saddle-bow hung a little hatchet, which served to cut wood.

These troops are of new formation. Others pretend that he who formed the first dragoons was Count **ERNEST (DE MANSFELD)**, who was placed under the ban of the Empire ; obliged to live like a man without fire or home, wandering from one place to another with his little army, he had, it is said, set his infantry on horseback, that they might move more quickly.—(**GUALDO** in **FRANCHEVILLE**, 164.)

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS first introduced dragoons into the Swedish army ; they are said to have

*By this consummate manoeuvre, **HATZFELD** was obliged to abandon all the positions which he had selected with so much care, and form a new front—almost at right angles to that which he had originally shown—E. by S. and W. by N., and, after all, fight the Swedes on grounds of **TORSTENSON'S** own choosing.

shot better than the Imperialists, and had probably already laid aside the match-lock.

The Croats corresponded to the Hussars of later times. They did marvels in the little—desultory or partisan—war, i. e. skirmishing, &c.

WALLENSTEIN used them at all seasons to alarm the king's camp, and harass his Cavalry.

GUSTAVUS found but one means of getting rid of them, that was to reinforce the advanced posts, and send three good pickets of cavalry, mingled with dragoons and musketeers. These had orders to keep themselves concealed, and wait till the Croats came within range of their muskets, which, carrying farther than carabines, pierced these lightly clad runners, without their being able to defend themselves; at the same time the Cavalry, which had opened to allow passage to the fire of the musketry, was to surround them.—(1. C. 163.)

This was the same expedient used by the King at *Leipzic* against the Croats."

Page 158. Note *, 14th line, for '*Eclaireur*,' read '*ECLAIREUR*.'

Page 164. Text, 12th line, after '*Landsberg*,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

Among the other remarkable achievements of GUSTAVUS, was his eight days' siege of *Landsberg*, on the Warta, upon whose fortifications three years' constant labor had been spent by the Imperialists, all the peasants for ten miles around discharging the duties of pioneers and laborers throughout that period.

This undertaking was a very extraordinary attempt in every particular; for, the King had with him only 3,200 *Commanded* [*picked*] musketeers, and 800 horsemen; so that the garrison, consisting of 3,000 foot, and 1,500 horse, exceeded the besieging force by 500 men—that is, if we do not take into account the *Constables* or Artillerists, and the people that attended the train of artillery, which consisted of 12 pieces of battering cannon, under the command of that excellent officer, Colonel, or more properly speaking, General, of the Artillery, LEONARD TORSTENSON.

So rapid was the march accomplished by the Swedes, that they traversed 40 miles in two days; and such was TORSTENSON'S energy, that he succeeded in keeping up with his Artillery, although the roads were then supposed to be impassable.

When the town capitulated, 5th April, 1631, the marvel was seen, of a garrison consisting of some of

the best troops in the Imperial service, marching forth to surrender to an inferior force, who were obliged to receive them, drawn up in line of battle, lest those whom they had conquered while protected by strong fortifications, on discovering their superiority of numbers, should actually renew the struggle in a battle in the open field.—(Examine HARTZ's *History of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS*, Vol. I., pages 252 to 254.)

Page 164. Text, 13th line, for 'to the *Mayn*,' read 'the *Meln*.'

Page 164. Text, 38d line, after 'silenced,' insert a *, and add as a note:

"In the meantime, the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians* marched on against him [WRANGEL], giving out that their army was 30,000 men strong. Besides that, MELANDER, otherwise called HOLTSAPFFEL, had joined against them, saying that he would once more venture his gray head against the *Swedes*."

¶ The enemies had the greater hope of ruining the *Swedish* army, because TORSTENSON was not there, thinking always that the absence of that General was of greater importance to the *Swedes* than 10,000 men; for, besides his extraordinary conduct in other affairs, he knew always how to do them a great deal of mischief with his Artillery. [PURFENDORF's '*Complete History of Sweden*,' 537-'8, N. Y. S. L.J.]

Page 165. Text, 22d line, for '*Nuremburg*,' read '*Nuremberg*,' ('*Nurnberg*').

" " Text, 33d line, for '*Fingpang*,' read '*Fingspang*,' at present, as well as at that time, a famous cannon foundry. (See page 111, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*.)

Page 169. Note *, obliterate the first sentence ending with '*KÖNIGSMARK*,' and insert 'See Note †, pages 199 and 200 infra.'

Page 174. Note *, 10th line from bottom, for '800,000,' read '80,000.'

Page 175. text, 3d line, for '*Swedes*,' read '*SWEDS*.'

Page 176. " 15th line, for '*STARRMBERG*,' read '*STARREMBERG*.'

Page 178. Text, 21st, for '*Pruun*,' read '*Brunn*.'

Page 179. Note *, 1st line, for '*Inglau*,' read '*Iglau*.'

Page 180. Text, 23d line, insert after '*Durnstein*,' ('*Durrenstein*, *Diernstein*, *Thiernstein*,' &c.)

Page 187. Text, 10th line, for '*Carolian*,' read '*Carelian*.'

Page 189. " 12th line, for '*Creutaustein*,' read '*Creutenstein*.'

Page 191. Text, 2d line from bottom, after '27-'8,' insert 'GELER says 30th.'

Page 196. Text, 29th line, after 'challenge,' insert a *, and add, as a note:

"Respecting the flight of the EMPEROR from Vienna, examine COXE's History of the House of Austria, Vol. II. pages 318-'19, and Note *, page 235, infra."

Page 197. Text, 13th line, for 'Maygar,' read 'Magyar.'

Page 200. Text, 5th line, for 'exhaustless,' read 'exhausting.'

Page 203. Text, 12th line, after 'Vischa,' insert '(Fischa River, which empties into the Danube from the south 3 (German, 12 to 15 English) miles east of Vienna.)'

Page 208. Text, 2d and 3d lines from bottom, insert 'This quotation was made from memory. It is from ADDISON's *Cato*, and should read:

"'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, SEMPRONIUS, we'll deserve it."

Page 216. Text, 13th line, for 'STEHLEN,' read 'STEPHEN.'

Page 220. " 2d line, for 'conflict,' read 'assault.'

Page 221. " 5th line, for '(Vorwachten),' read '(Vorwach-
ten).'

" " Text, between the 29th and 30th lines, insert:

"This surprise, however, had no effect upon the siege, the Swedes considering that it was but a momentary relief, and that the supply of powder would be speedily exhausted."

Page 222, Note †, add thereto:

"The word used to express Commander-in-Chief, or Generalissimo, by SPORSCHIL, and other German historians, is ~~FEJDSCHER~~, which DUCKETT translates 'the General-Commanding-in-Chief.' The Swedish title is identical; and JACOB DE LA GARDIE, the Hero of the Muscovite war, which terminated 27th February, 1617, while Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish armies in Russia, is styled ~~FEJDSCHER~~, (GENERALISSIMO.) EWERT HORN, sometimes Field-Marshal or 1st Lieutenant of the GENERALISSIMO, answering to the Lieutenant-General in later times.—(HALLENBERG, III., 401.)"

Page 223. Text, 7th line, after 'army,' insert 'which at this time consisted in a great measure of German mercenaries; the ablest officers, and best troops, however, constituting the *leaven*, were Swedes.'

Page 223. Text, 17th line, for 'anticipated,' read 'awaited.'

Page 226. " 26th line, after 'himself,' insert a *, and add as a note:

"SCHILLER, in his 'Thirty Years' War,' page 359, states that 'despair roused the courage of [DE] SOUCHES, the Commandant, a Swedish deserter, who had no hope of pardon.' "

Page 227. Text, last line but one, after 'city,' insert a *, and add, as a note: "CAPTURE OF PRESBURG. D'AUBIGNE, in his 'History of the Protestant Church in Hungary,' pages 186-'7: (See page [xv.] supra.)

The Archbishop LIPPAY had just banished all Protestant pastors of both Confessions out of the large island *Schutt*, which reaches from *Presburg* to *Comorn*, and had sent 12 Jesuits to discharge ministerial duties. * * * The Jesuits did not remain long in the island, for when Count ROBERT DOUGLASS, a General under TORSTENSON, had conquered *Presburg*, and received the capitulation of *Tyrnau*, he removed the priests and all their appendages to *Presburg*." This would make it appear that the Swedes and Transylvanians took *Presburg*.

Page 274. Text, 10th line from bottom, insert a * after horses, and add, as a note :

"In the winter of 1644-'5, TORSTENSON presented to the QUEEN REGENT of France many remarkable relics and other curiosities, which he had captured from the Imperialists, and had formerly belonged to the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, in in return for which the Queen—ANNE, of Austria, daughter of PHILIP II. of Spain, and widow of LOUIS XIII—sent by the hand of M. D'AVANCOURT—commissioned to pay the French subsidies for the past as well as opening year—many beautiful gifts, to the value of 10,000 (\$10,900) crowns to the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, and to the value of 6,000 (\$6,540) crowns to his faithful wife, who accompanied him throughout his arduous campaigns.—(T. E., V. 531, 2d.)

Page 237. Text, last line but one, after 'list,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"*List of the Principal BATTLES, COMBATS and SURPRISES, during the Thirty Years' War, between the PROTESTANTS and ROMAN CATHOLICS, the SWEDES and the CONFEDERATE GERMAN STATES, and the IMPERIALISTS and PAPAL LEAGUE.*

Of the SIX GREAT BATTLES of this war, TORSTENSON was present in FOUR. In the 1st, he commanded the Swedish artillery, which contributed more than any other Arm to the success of

the day ; in the IVth, he commanded the right wing, which may be said to have done the whole of the hard fighting ; in the Vth and VIth, he commanded in chief. Of the important Combats between the Swedes and the Imperialists, he was present in 7. In the two bloodiest and most decisive, at the PASSAGE OF THE LECH, and at NUREMBERG, he commanded the artillery ; in the latter he saved a numerous division of the Swedish army at the expense of his liberty, and at SCHWEIDNITZ he commanded-in-chief, and avenged his Martyred Master on his assassin.

He was the first Swede who displayed the Gothic banner in the sight of *Vienna*, and insulted its walls with cannon shots.

He ruined in succession three of the finest armies which the Empire sent into the field, and performed two marches which are worthy of comparison with any recorded in ancient or modern military annals.

And all this while crippled and shattered with disease.

Had Sweden produced no other remarkable generals than her GREAT KING and TORSTENSON, she could plume herself on them alone ; but, what a galaxy of heroes renders her annals glorious !

In enumerating the victories of the 'Thirty Years' War, we exclude from the list all but those which affected the whole of Germany, and influenced the great rights and principles involved in that tremendous struggle. The number might be reduced to FIVE, were we to follow the opinion of leading military authorities, who do not concede the title of 'Battle' (*Bataille, Schlacht*) to that of *Wittstock*, which is styled by Col. von KAUSLER—in his standard work, so often quoted—a "Combat" or "Affair," (*Combat, Treffen*). This is, however, a manifest error on the part of that officer ; for, whatever may be his reason for assigning it to the second category, since its effects were as important to the Swedes and Protestants as those of *Nærdlingen* were to the Imperialists and Roman Catholics, it cannot be denied as prominent a position as the latter, in the first class.

The battles and combats between the French and Austro-Bavarians, however glorious to either party, can scarcely be termed 'great victories,' in the sense that the words are used herein, because they were almost barren of results as affecting the great question at issue, and conducing to the termination of the war. They were mere sanguinary episodes, side dishes, which, however glorious to the victors, did not affect the issue. The advantage or loss was to France or to Bavaria, as the case might be. The same remark applies to other combats in different quarters, and between different parties.

Perhaps it may be urged that all encounters between large

bodies of troops, after all, are battles. Such may be the judgments of those who read without reflection; but the historian and philosopher must decide from all concurrent circumstances as well as results, by what title they will designate each—or else their labors would be mere statements and repetitions of ill digested facts and words.

Success makes heroes, results stamp battles as great victories. But even if all the great combats of the Thirty Years' War were to enter the list, the number would not exceed 60.

1st. *The Combat of the White Hill*, near Prague, 7th November, 1620—where the Imperialists, under BUCQUOY and TILLY, determined the fate of Protestantism in Bohemia—was rather a bloody skirmish than a pitched battle. The victors lost only a few hundred, and the whole action, decisive as it was, did not last over an hour. (I., 409.)

2d. *The Combat of Minglesheim*, 29th April, 1622, where the Imperialists, under TILLY, defeated the Protestants, under MANSFELD. (C. II., 185.)

3d. *The Battle or Combat of Wimpfen*, 7th May, 1622, where the Confederates, under TILLY, defeated the Protestant forces under GEORGE FREDERICK, Margrave of Baden-Durlach. (I., 690.)

4th. *The Battle or Combat of Hoechst*, 20th June, 1622, between the Imperialists, under TILLY, and Brunswickers, under their Duke, CHRISTIAN.—(I., 635.)

5th. *The Combat of Loen or Stadlohn*, 6th August, 1623, CHRISTIAN OF BRUNSWICK defeated by TILLY. (I., 747.)

6th. *The Action at the Bridge of Dessau*, 25th April, 1626, MANSFELD's troops cut up by WALLENSTEIN. (II., 354.)

7th. *The Battle or Combat of Lutter*, 27th August, 1626, TILLY victor over CHRISTIAN IV. of Denmark. (C., II., 198.) The details of this affair, however disastrous to the Danes, do not appear in any military work the writer has had access to.

8th. *The Action before the Lines of Werben*, (see Note ‡, pages 194-'6, infra,) 17th a 30th June, 1631—TILLY defeated by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (II., 416.)

9th. (I.) THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIG, 7th September, 1631. The Imperialists and Roman Catholics, under TILLY, completely routed by the Swedes and Protestants, under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (II., 432.)

10th. *The Combat and Passage of the Lech*, 3d to 5th April, 1632, (see Note ‡, 193-'4, infra,) TILLY defeated and slain by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. (II., 634.)

11th. *The Action before the Lines of Nuremburg*, (see pages 6th, 7-8th, infra,) 24th Aug., 1632, GUSTAVUS against WALLENSTEIN. (II., 655.)

12th. *The Combat of Weislock*, 16th August, 1632, between the Swedes and Imperialists. (II., 665.)

13th. (II.) THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN, 6th November, 1632, the Swedes and Protestants, under GUSTAVUS, victorious over the Imperialists and Roman Catholics, led by WALLENSTEIN. In this battle, the great GUSTAVUS fell by the hand of an assassin. (II., 747.)

14th. *The Battle or Combat of Oldendorf*, 28th June—8th July, 1633, wherein the Swedes under KNIPHAUSEN, and Lunenburghers and Hessians under Duke GEORGE and the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, defeated the Imperialists led by GRONSFELD and MERODE. (III., 85.)

15th. *The Combat of Pfuffenhofen*, 31st July, 1633, the Swedes victorious over the Lorrainers. (III., 90.)

16th. *The Combat in Upper Alsace*, at *Warweil*. 2d March, 1634. Imperialists defeated by the Rhinegrave OTTO LOUIS. (III., 188.)

17th. *Combat of Lignitz*, April, 1634. Swedes victorious over the Imperialists and Saxons. (III., 274.)

18th. (III.) THE BATTLE OF NERDLINGEN, (see Note *, pages 237a242, infra,) 6th and 7th September, 1634. Swedes and Weimarians (Protestant Confederates), under HORN and Duke BERNHARD of Saxe-Weimar, defeated by the Imperialists (Roman Catholic League), under FERDINAND, King of Hungary, GALLAS, PICCOLOMINI, &c. (III., 334.)

19th. (IV.) BATTLE OF WITTSTOCK, (see note *, pages 116 a 118, infra,) 24th September, 1636. Imperialists and Saxons, under HATZFELD, defeated by Swedes, under BANER and TORSTENSON. (III., 707.)

20th. *The Combats of Rhinefeld*, 18th [28th] and 21st February [2d March], 1638. Duke BERNHARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR, victorious over the Austro-Bavarians, under WERTH and SAVELLI. [III., 912,]

21st. *The Battle of Kempen or Hulst*, 7th [17th] January, 1642. The Imperialists, under LAMBOY, defeated by the French, Weimarians and Hessians, under GUEBRIANT. [IV., 800.]

22d. *The Combat of Domitz*, 22d October [1st November], 1635. The Saxons under BAUDISSIN, completely routed by the Swedes under BANER. P. 494.

23d. *The Surprise of Eulenberg*, (III., 750,) January, 1637, 8 Saxon Regiments cut to pieces by BANER and STALHANSKE.

24th. *The Combat of Haselemen*, 1st [11th] January, 1636, The Imperialists defeated by the Swedes, under KNIPHAUSEN, who died in the arms of victory. [III., 609.]

25th. *The Combat of Chemnitz*, 4th [14th] April, 1638. The Imperialists under HATZFELD, BUCHHAIM, FURSTENBERG, and MARACINI, completely routed by the Swedes, under BANER and TORSTENSON. [IV., 867.]

26th. *The Battle of Wittenweyer*, 30th July [9th August],

1638. The Imperialists, under GÆTZ, completely routed by the Swedes and French, under Duke BERNHARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR. [III., 963.]

27th. *The Combat of Lemgo, or Lemgau*, 7th [17th] October, 1638. The young Princes Palatine, CHARLES-LOUIS and RUPERT, completely routed by the Imperialists, under HATZFELD.—[C. II., 304.]

28th. *The Combat of Brandeiss*, 20th [30th] May, 1639. The Imperialists, under MONTICUCULI and HOFFKIRCH—both of whom were taken prisoners—routed by BANER.

29th. *The Combat of Plauen*, 10th (20th) April, 1640. The Imperialists, under BARON VON BREDAU, defeated by the Swedes, under BANER. (IV., 363.)

30th. *The Combat of Ziegenhain*, 15th (25th) November, 1640, between the Weimarians, under REINOLD VON ROSA, and the Imperialists, under General-Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Baron VON BREDAU. (IV., 201.)

31st. *The Combat of Wolfenbuttel*, 29th June (9th July). 1641. The Imperialists, under the Archduke, LEOPOLD WILLIAM, defeated by the French, Weimarians, and Hessians, under Marshal GUEBRIANT, and the Swedes, under CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL and KÖNIGSMARK. (IV., 591.)

32d. *The Combat of Schweidnitz*, 21st [31st] May, 1642. TORSTENSON victorious over the Imperialists under FRANZ ALBRECHT, Duke of SAXE-LAUBENBURG—the reputed assassin of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS—who died from wounds received in the action. [IV., 867.]

33d.. [V.] THE BATTLE OF BREITENFELD, or *Second Battle of Leipsic*, [see pages 39 to 48 *infra*,] 2d November, 1642. The Imperial army under the Archduke LEOPOLD WILLIAM and PICCOLOMINI, utterly routed by TORSTENSON. [IV., 884.]

34th. *The Surprise of Tuttlingen*, [see Note *, pages 119, 120, *infra*,] 24th November [4th December], 1643. French and Weimarian army, under RANTZAU, cut up by the Austro-Bavarians, under HATZFELD, the DUKE OF LORRAINE, MERCY, and WERTH. (V. 136.)

35th. *The Combat of Coldingen*, January, 1644. [See page 83, *infra*.] The Danes defeated in their entrenched camp, by TORSTENSON.

36th. *The Four Days' Combat of Freiberg*, 3d to 5th [13th to 15th] August, 1644. The French, under the Great CONDE and TURENNE, victorious over the Bavarians, commanded by MERCY.

37th. *The Destruction of the Imperial and Saxon Cavalry*, under BRUAY and ENCKEFORT, 23d November, 1644, at Niemeck, near Jüterbock, by the Swedish Cavalry, under TORSTENSON. [See page 111, *infra*.]

38th. (VI.) THE BATTLE OF JANKAU (*Janikau*, or *Jankow*), 24th

February [6th March], 1645, [see pages 127a152, infra.]. The Imperialists--Austrians, Bavarians and Saxons--under Field-Marshal HATZFELD, WERTH, and GËTZ, routed with tremendous slaughter and loss, by the Swedes, under TORSTENSON. (V., 544, &c.)

39th. *The Combat of Mariendal or Mergentheim*, 5th May, 1645. TURENNE, with the French, defeated by MERCY, with the Bavarians. (V., 571.)

40th. *The Battle of Allerheim or Nærdlingen*, (2nd) 3d August, 1645. The French, Weimarians, and Hessians, under the Great CONDÉ and TURENNE, obtained a doubtful success over the Bavarians, under MERCY, which was rendered a victory by the death of the latter hero. (V., 625.)

41st. *The Surprise of Susmarshausen*, 7th May, 1647. The Imperialists, under MELANDER, completely cut up by the Swedes, French, and Weimarians, under WRANGEL and TURENNE; although the credit chiefly belongs to KÖNIGSMARK. (VI., 316.)

☞ Besides the above-mentioned Battles, Combats, and Surprises, history presents some few others of minor importance, which, as they are not cited by any writer on military subjects, have not been deemed worthy a place in this list.

Page 239. Note *, in agate, 3d line, after 'HOFFKIRCHEN,' obliterate the words, 'whose title and rank are not given,' and substitute therefor, "The first captured by Duke BERNHARD OF Saxe-Weimar, at the battle of *Rhinefeld*, 21st (31st) February, 1638; the second, by BANER and TORSTENSON, at *Chemnitz*, 4th (14th) April, 1648; the third, by BANER and TORSTENSON, at *Brandeis*, 20th (30th) May, 1639."

Page 244. Note ‡, add thereto: "In the beginning of October, TORSTENSON likewise ran two mines under the Castle of *Grausenstein*, (two hours,—that is, one German, 4 English, miles,—distant from Vienna,) and blew it into the air. The writer questions if the castle referred to here is not erroneously designated, and that *Greiffenstein* is intended."

Page 246. Note †, for 'page 150,' read 'page 159.'

" " Note ‡, add:

"The description afforded by this note applies to the present magnificent monastery. The building, standing in 1645, which afforded a refuge to FERDINAND III., was that referred to in the 6th and 7th lines, as originally a palace of the *Babenberg Princes of Austria*."

Page 247. Text, 3d line. To avoid confounding the present with the previous Monastery buildings, strike out 'regal splendor of its edifices, and the.'

" " Text, 24th line, for 'or,' read 'is.'

[xxi.]

Page 247. Note, 5th line, for '20,000,' read '20,600.'

" " " last line, for '90,' read '40 pupils,' and add at the end, '(See BEATTIE and BARTLETT's *Danube Illustrated*, pages 116-'18.'

Page 249. Text, 3d line from bottom, after 'August,' insert '(D'AUBIGNE says 11th September, 1645.)'

Page 249. Text, 20th line, after 'himself,' insert a *, and add as a note :

"COXE states IL 320," that the Arch-Duke LEOPOLD WILLIAM and GALLAS led a strong corps of cavalry into Bavaria to the assistance of the ELECTOR, hard pressed by the French." This is not corroborated by the other authorities consulted by the writer. GALLAS appears to have remained at the head of the army, entrusted with the defence of the passes of the Danube, nor is it likely that a General so infirm as he was at this time, was able to participate in the rapid operations of large masses of cavalry, unencumbered with infantry or artillery. In fact his military career, as far as its efficiency for active command was concerned, may be said to have terminated with his ignominious campaign in Denmark."

Page 250. Text, 7th line from bottom, after 'thirteenth,' insert 'September.'

Page 259. Note *, last line but one, for 'what' read 'that.'

Page 268. Text, 10th line, after 'said,' the sentence should read :

"Now that the EMPEROR's right wing was fractured [in *Saxony*] (alluding, no doubt, to the truce, to which he had recently compelled the ELECTOR OF SAXONY to accede,) and his left wing entirely crippled [in the *Hereditary States*] (by his recent campaign, and the Swedish ravages in *Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, Moravia*, and *Lower Austria*, north of the Danube,) hereafter we must attack his body, [that is, those portions of the *Hereditary States* as yet unvisited by the scourge of war, particularly the districts lying along the Danube, and *Vienna*, the capital."

Pages A to X. [24] should be numbered, pages 269 to 292.

" 269 to 284, [16] " " " 293 to 308.

Page K. Note †, 1st line, for '1642,' read '1643.'

Page N. Text, for the line of " * * *," substitute :
"Comparison between the Swedish and Protestant German, and the Austrian Aristocracy, Chivalry, and Public Men of every Grade," DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Page T. Note †, 5th line from bottom, obliterate, 'What assistance!'

Page U. Text, 3d line, after 'ADOLPHUS,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"The discipline established by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, so far from having been obliterated in 1634, is felt in Sweden to this day, and the military organization of that kingdom, which he originated, still exists, with but little change. What is more, the distinguished Captain NOLAN, in his admirable work on Cavalry, published in 1853, says that the Swedish Horse Guards was one of the best regiments of foreign Cavalry that he saw on his military tour through Europe, and "an English military authority,"—according to "*A Brage-Beaker with the Swedes, or Notes from the North, in 1852*, by W. BLANCHARD JERROLD, 1854 —"declared, that the Swedish Guards were the best-appointed and the best-drilled regiment, without any exception, that he had seen." "

Page v. Text, 12th line from bottom, after 'Imperialists,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

* *All were not Swedes who are called Swedes* in the different histories of the Thirty Years' War. The Swedes proper were merely the leaven, which leavened the great mass of mercenaries and confederates whose disorders and indiscipline disgraced the name and banner under which they served. The best illustration of the truth of this assertion of and what the Great King thought of the Germans associated with him, is to be found in his memorable address delivered in his camp of Nuremberg, in August, 1632. "Besides," says HARTZ, II, 276—"9, "he [GUSTAVUS] foresaw plainly that want of morals would soon create want of discipline; and that then his once invincible army would be reduced to the level of the common standard. Nay, he remarked that even WALLENSTEIN in the present campaign preserved subordination and regularity, which were quite the reverse of that licentiousness with which formerly he had indulged his troops. Sending therefore for every commander to his tent, from the lieutenant-colonels to the lieutenant-general, the latter being the second post then in all armies; and (assuming which is very difficult) an air of affliction and firmness at the same time, he delivered his sentiments in the following words:

GENTLEMEN:—You partly belong to those numbers who have shown themselves unfaithful and disloyal to their own country (meaning Germany; for the German officers and soldiers were neither so moral nor so well disciplined as the Swedish), having endeavored to procure and complete its ruin to the utmost of your power. You, my generals, and all you my inferior officers, I have ever esteemed you as brave cavaliers, and make this confession now to your honor; testifying at the same time, that upon all occasions of service offered, and more particularly in the hour of battle, you have given me such demonstrations of your valor, as have entirely satisfied my most ardent wishes. But when I reflect on the ravages, extortions and cruelties lately committed, (and believe me, my friends, the seeing you all before me, enlivens my memory with the strongest recollection), and that you, persons of rank, birth, and education, and competent incomes, have been guilty yourselves of those very insolencies, and companions of those who neither observe discipline, nor see it observed—I own my mind is struck with astonishment and horror. Turn your eyes inward upon your own consciences, and I ask no more. Is it not a case afflicting and deplorable, is it not a sight odious to the Supreme Being; that one Christian even of the same profession in religion, should despoil another, that brethren should render brethren miserable, and friends destroy friends? Demons themselves, as far as can be conjectured, have more justice and less barbarity.

How often hath anguish cut me to the heart, when the voice of fame reports on numberless occasions, that the Swedish soldiers, are more cruel and more licentious than the Imperialists. But here lies a mistake. ALL MY TROOPS ARE DENOMINATED SWEDS, BUT THE OFFENCE SPRINGS FROM THE NATIVE GERMANS, and had I known the cast and complexion of the nation in the same manner, as I now stand informed, and that you GERMAN BORN HAD NO NATURAL AFFECTION FOR YOUR MATERNAL COUNTRY, then hath since appeared, rendering it no better service, and discovering no greater fidelity towards it; believe me on the honor of a soldier, I would never have saddled an horse in your behalf; much less hazarded my life, kingdom and reputation for you, as also the persons of those brave and faithful men, who accompanied me hither.

No—since I now perceive, that you are animated with rage for destroying your country, it had been the effects of my choice and judgment both, to have left you precisely in the state I found you; that is, in other words, plunged and buried in the depths of slavery, as well mental as corporal.

Let your own consciences bear testimony, that it is not my usual custom to deny any of you a request that is reasonable; and the Supreme Being knoweth besides, that I never intended more than (by the co-operation of Divine assistance) to restore every man to his own, and his own to every man; and for the acquisitions proposed to be made in Franconia and Bavaria, it was my first intention to distribute them impartially to the nobility and gentry of the German nation, and leave no man's good services unrewarded. But this diabolical practice of ravaging and destroying, lays a dead weight, I must confess, on my best purposes, and checks the vigor of my Christian revolutions. But answer me, my fellow soldiers, have you not the spirit and dignity of sentiment to reflect a little what kind of idea posterity will form concerning you in future histories? Remember likewise, I conjure you, what perplexities you are creating to your honor and consciences, and what visitations and punishments you are now drawing down, not only on your own persons, but on your country and successors, by these outrageous acts of oppression and inhumanity. Oh, that you could once reflect what an account you have to settle at the great tribunal! Happy, thrice happy, had been my condition, if I had still remained in my own kingdom, and not traveled so far to behold such enormities as I have beheld.

You will say, perhaps, that you want money, and yet it is evident to all mankind, that I pay you

and the whole army punctually, to the full extent of my power: but by your depredations, extor-
tions and ravages, you bring the honor of my credit in question, and deprive me of the very means
to support my forces. And whence, I demand a second time, proceeds it, that you are not satisfied?
What share have I received, in any instance from all your plunderers?—Just nothing. Here, there-
fore, I protest, in the presence of the Supreme Being (for what I say is religiously true), that in all
this war I have not enriched myself to the amount of six German [about \$5] dollars.

Nay, I can make it appear to demonstration, if any doubtful person amongst you desireth to be
satisfied under this article, that I have drawn from my own patrimonial treasures, since I have left
Stockholm, at two and thirty several remittances, the full and complete sum of three hundred and
sixty thousand pounds; all which I have expended for your advantage, and for the re-establishment of
such Princes as are united with me in the same truths of religion. This is true—(for there may be
some tincture of vanity in the recital)—I ought perhaps to have cast in shades; *but one thing there
is, which I can never allow to be buried in oblivion, and that is the loss of so many brave and excellent
officers, whose virtues indeed surpass all estimation. Here gratitude and human nature must break
forth; for I valued such persons beyond all my riches. And to proceed still further, what have
you, gentlemen, from the first to the meanest, ever contributed towards the expenses of the war?*

Henceforth, therefore, I request and command you to despoil no man of his goods or posses-
sions. As you have spirit and intrepidity, leave the marks of them on the breasts of your enemies;
but disdain not the honor of a warrior by committing outrages on the unarmed and the innocent.

*Be content with your wages, as a soldier ought; and substat not by pillaging and plunder, like
Banditti and Croatsians. Otherwise you, from the highest to the lowest, will be always infamous;
and I with such assistants, shall never be victorious.*

Thus spoke the king, and the speech which is here produced, almost verbatim, carries its own
marks of authenticity with it, being of such a cast that few historians will have the vanity to say they
were able to invent it. The effect was, it soon melted the rugged audience into tears, and produced
afterwards a thorough reformation. Nor was a syllable returned by way of justification or excuse.
Nevertheless, his majesty pursued the blow with a general proclamation, to which it was annexed
by way of penalty, that thenceforward, he would pardon no man, of what rank soever, either by
birth or station military, in case he appeared a delinquent. *“AND IF,”* added he to some Ger-
man officers, *“YOU PRETEND TO DESERT OR MUTINY, I HAVE ENOUGH LEFT OF MY FAITHFUL AND
VALIANT SWEDES TO CUT YOU ALL TO PIECES, EVEN IN WALLENSTEIN’S PRESENCE, for having reason
and Christianity on my side, I WILL BE OBEYED.”* He then caused a lieutenant to be hanged, whose
ill stars led him to be the first offender; and when a poor peasant complained of a common soldier,
who had stolen the support of his family, a single cow, he seized the fellow with his own hands, and
calling for the regimental executioner, commanded him that instant to perform his office! *“Friend,”*
*said he to the criminal, “every soldier is my child: yet it is better for thee to die, than that the
wrath of God should descend, on account of this transgression, upon me, and thee, and the whole
army assembled round us.”*

*These quotations are pertinent to TORSTENSON, for in humanity, discipline and strategy
he is universally admitted to have been the most successful imitator of GUSTAVUS.*

Page 271. Text, 18th line, after ‘summer,’ insert a *, and
add, as a note:

“TORSTENSON’S masterly plan [of operations] above
mentioned, [for the campaign of 1646,] was imperfectly ex-
ecuted.—(GELJER, page 329. Col. I.)

WRANGEL, talented as he was, was incapable of executing
the conceptions of his predecessor. KOHLRAUSCH remarks,
that he ‘continued the war with considerable success.’ But
we no longer discover in the direction of the Swedish armies
that marvelous eagle-eyed rapidity and energetic force which
characterized the strategy of TORSTENSON. Generals, whose
utmost efforts seemed innocuous when exerted in opposition to
the genius of TORSTENSON, were comparatively successful
against WRANGEL, who, however great as a subordinate, lack-
ed that vast capacity of intellect which made its possessor sec-
ond to none but GUSTAVUS himself. WRANGEL was a very
distinguished officer, but he lacked one quality, which so emi-
nently fitted TORSTENSON for supreme command,—that in-
nate power, which compels obedience by the mere influence of
personal superiority.

Page 272. Text, last line, insert a * after ‘the Pleissenburg,’
[IV. 751.] and add, as a note:

“The *Pleissenburg* [Castle] is situated at the S. W. corner of
Leipic, within the exterior line of fortifications, of which it
formerly constituted a part, yet entirely separated from the city

itself, and interior of the *enciente*. It consisted of a round tower—now the Astronomical Observatory—about 170 feet diameter, and 100 feet high, the salient of a triangular mass of buildings, the whole of which, except the Observatory, are, even to this day, appropriated to the use of the garrison. All along its three sides are casemates, and the ditch is still (in 1850) in existence on the south; on the other side it has been filled up. The ditch is on an average about 30 feet wide, in some places 40, and even more, and in others not over 20. The casemates [?] are about 60 feet in height. Within is a great court, sufficient to permit the manœuvring of at least 3,000 men—1 1-2 Regiments; the ordinary garrison consists of 2 Battalions of Rifle-men and 1 Battery of Artillery." (C. B.)

Page 282. ¶XX. Add as a note:

"For an illustration of this custom, see the Illumination in FROISSART, representing the funeral of RICHARD II. of England, reproduced on page 212, Vol. III. of LITTLE, BROWN & Co.'s [Boston, 1853] Pictorial and National Edition of SHAKSPEARE."

Valuable Additional Information,

Page 20. Text, 7th line, after 'health,' insert a *, and add, as a note:

"GELFER, page 310, Col. 2d, admits that the Swedish Government estimated TORSTENSON'S services so highly that nothing but his physical prostration induced them to grant him a furlough in March, 1641, and the impossibility of substituting any General for him, compelled him to accept the truncheon of ~~GENERALISSIMO~~ four months afterwards.*

Page 112. Text, 14th line, after 'TANTALUS,' insert a *. and add, as a note:

"As is always the case, the famine was succeeded by the pestilence. Provisions became scarcer every hour; and although the ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG agreed to furnish a supply, the Swedes maintained so strict a blockade that it was impossible for GALLAS to bring them in, or the BRANDENBURGERS to introduce them into *Magdeburg*. Such were the privations of the Imperialists, that the bonds of discipline could no longer restrain the troops, who had long since been reduced to scanty supplies of horseflesh, dogs', and asses', meat.—[T.E., V. page 483, 2d.]

*"Ye request furlough by reason of illness; but BANER is also ailing, and we have no one who could supply him; stand out yet for some time, for love of your Fatherland!"—(The ADMINISTRATION to TORSTENSON, July 7th, 1640.)

But on the 8th May, 1641, the CHANCELLOR writes to BANER: "We have been obliged to allow TORSTENSON, for ill health, to come home."—(GELFER, 310, Col. 2d, Note 8d.)

Page 115. Text, 32d line, insert a * after 'truce,' and add, as a note:

"TORSTENSON'S abilities, military and diplomatic, brought the Elector to his senses, and effected a truce. The others were merely his agents. The honor of humbling Saxony belongs to TORSTENSON alone."—(T. E., V., 500-2. R. 502. 1st.)

Page 116. Text, 24th line, after 'army,' insert a *, and add, as a note:

"On the 14th of January, 1645, the Imperial army, according to their own *Rollers*, numbered 16,000 men, and was augmented, in a few days, by 2,000 musketeers, (adding thereto the small detached corps, would make the aggregate at least 19,000 men, as stated at page 127, without counting the reinforcements from Saxony and Bavaria—the latter set down at 7,000 men of all arms.)

They estimated the Swedish force, at this time, as not exceeding 12,000 men—another account sets it down at 10,000 horse and about 6,500 foot, well clothed and equipped—nevertheless, they feared for the safety of Prague.

On the 28th of the month, the Emperor reviewed the armada which had been concentrated for that purpose under the walls of the Bohemian capital.—(T. E., V. 496. 1st.)

Page 123 Text, 20th line; after '*Voigland*,' insert a *, and add as a note the following additional particulars in connection with

TORSTENSON'S winter march from Zeitz, in Misnia, through the Ore Mountains (Erz Gebirge), to Saatz, in Bohemia, and wonderful flank march across the Bohemian Mountains. (along the Wattama), to Janikau or Sankowitz.

In his march from Zeitz,* in Misnia, to Janikau, TORSTENSON displayed an ability and fecundity of resources equal to

* There are several conflicting statements furnished with regard to TORSTENSON'S march from Zeitz to Kaaden and Saatz. The writer, after persevering but unavailing efforts to reconcile them, abandons the attempt in despair, and furnishes two for the reader to compare and judge for himself. The difficulty appears to arise—this is mere surmise, however—from the fact that the operations of each army-corps or detachment is credited to the GENERALISSIMO himself, instead of to the officer actually in command of it. Nevertheless, TORSTENSON'S ubiquitous energy was so astonishing, that he may actually have been present on all the occasions specified. In that event the difficulty must arise from the confusion of dates. From Kaaden and Saatz onward every step is certain, for we have three accounts in the letters of TORSTENSON himself, of a Swedish Colonel present throughout, and the Official Report of Field-Marshal HATZFELD.

I. As soon as it was known in Prague, that the Swedes had gained possession of the town and pass of Leitmeritz (by a strong detachment of, or the 1st, left wing, column

any NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE ever exhibited, not even excepting such as the latter manifested in his famous passage of Mount *St. Bernard*. BUONAPARTE's transit was unopposed, whereas every movement of the Swedes, after they had crossed the *Eger*, was made in the presence of an enemy, not only superior in numbers, but occupying the most advantageous positions to arrest their march, which they were easily enabled to do, since they were perfectly acquainted with the whole (their own) country.

A large portion of TORSTENSON'S troops traversed the *ErzGebirge*, and his whole army the *Bohemian Mountains*—a spur of the *Bohmer-Wald*—between the *Bradlanka* and *Wottawa* and *Moldau*, by untrodden mountain paths, never before—as is admitted by the German historians—believed practicable for any wheeled conveyance, much less cannon and military equipments, availing himself of the rude sledges of the country for the conveyance of his heavy guns.

On referring to the Remarks upon Artillery, pages 164-'7, *infra*, the reader will find that a large portion of his light pieces were susceptible of, and arranged for, transportation on pack saddles, and that a strong horse could convey a couple of GUSTAVUS' leathern cannon as fast as troops could march.

What more did the great French General accomplish? His forces crossed the *Alps* by a horse or bridle path, dragging after them their cannon, placed in the trunks of trees, hollowed

of the Swedish army!), the population were extremely alarmed, since it was reported that the Swedes had constructed temporary bridges over the *Elbe*, by laying beams of wood and boards upon the ice, so that they might march across and try their fortune against the capital. In consequence of this intelligence, 6 regiments of horse and foot were thrown into the city as a garrison, so that with the assistance of the citizens, said to be able to furnish an armed force of 10,000 men, all the posts were made secure, and guarded with such care, that the Swedes could scarcely have become masters of the place had they made the attempt. TORSTENSON, however, held no such intention. On the 11th January, having left therein 200 musketeers and 5 heavy guns which it was found impossible to carry on with it, the army, under the immediate command of the GENERALISSIMO, moved from *Leitmeritz* and crossed the *Elbe* upon the fragile bridges, hereinbefore described, and took the road to *Saatz*, his cavalry, which afterwards crossed at *Budin*, marching along the left bank, the infantry, artillery, and baggage, on the right bank of the *Eger*. Meanwhile Colonel, or as he is sometimes styled, Major General HELLMUTH WRANGEL, on his return from Denmark, had arrived at *Torgau*, intending to cross the *Elbe* upon the bridges there, but was obliged to remain on the left bank, since a large portion of the bridge had been carried away by the ice and freshets, after 4 regiments of horse had made the transit, which joined the Swedish main army at *Leitmeritz*. The rest of WRANGEL's force kept on along the left, that is the western shore, of the *Elbe*, and by the road through the pass of *Preissenitz* (*Fremitz*?), rejoined TORSTENSON at *Saatz*.

II. Another account states that on the 16th January, Major General WRANGEL passed *Magdeburg*, on his way to join the Swedish main army, crossed the *Elbe* at *Schonebeck*, and joined TORSTENSON, who at this time had his head quarters at *Hirschberg*, while his army was distributed from *Zittau* to *Freidland*, which two places were blockaded by six regiments. He had likewise garrisoned the castles of *Greiffenstein* and *Sekal*, each with 60 men, who by compelling the payment of the contributions imposed upon the neighboring districts, caused great suffering therein. KENIGSMARK was still at *Schweidnitz*, and had his army disposed "*en echelon*," along the road to, even as far as *Breslau*. (V., 499, 2d.)

out to receive them—proper sledges would, no doubt, have been made use of, had they been at his command in numbers sufficient; “those with rollers, which had been constructed in the arsenals, were wholly useless”—and transporting the gun-carriages, ammunition, and all other *materiel* on the backs of hired mules and the bat-horses of the army.

Whatever difficulties were—and no one can deny that they were all-sufficient to render the achievement glorious and wonderful—encountered by the Great CORSICAN, were *merely natural*; those which the great SWEDE overcame were augmented by the assaults and defence of veteran troops, under the command of the most enterprising, bold and dexterous partisan officer—with the exception of KÖNIGSMARK—developed by the Thirty Years' War, the Bavarian, JOHANN VON WERTH.

Now, let us examine the details of this great military undertaking, so inferior in magnitude to TORSTENSON'S march from *Moravia* to *Holstein*, that his biographers have not thought it worthy particular mention; whereas such a strategical movement alone is sufficient to elevate him to the first rank among Generals.

* * * * *

About the middle of December, 1644, the first rumors of TORSTENSON'S intended invasion of *Bohemia* spread terror thro' all the countries bordering on *Misnia*, wherein his army was distributed in winter quarters, and, from *Ratisbon* to *Prague*, and while some were hurrying to take refuge in the fortified towns, others fearing that they would be besieged were flying forth to voluntary exile in lands whither the Swedish arms had neither penetrated nor drawn nigh to. In one day, one Sunday, 4000 wagons passed the famous Stone Bridge across the Danube (V. 482, 2d)—said to be the strongest in Germany—at *Ratisbon*, although nothing definite was known of an impending danger. The fear of TORSTENSON hung like a storm cloud over all the lands north of the Danube.

“ Desponding fear, of feeble fancies full,
Weak and unmanly, loosens every power ”

of the bigoted population of the Bavarian Electorate, who deemed that the approaching army would prove an avenging host, and punish the atrocities which they had wreaked on their unoffending protestant brethren. Hurrying hither and thither as the panic impelled them, both troops and population realised the words of MONTAIGNE, that “ Fear sometimes adds wings to the heels, and sometimes nails them to the ground, and fetters them from moving.

In fact the Imperialists could not discover in what quarter they were to expect the attack of the Swedes, whose different divisions, spreading out like a fan from *Zeitz*, menaced the whole

Bohemian frontier from the *Elbe* to the *Eger*, a distance of 100 English miles.

On or about the 23d December the Swedes razed to the ground the Bishop's castellated-palace at *Zeitz*, which had cost 100,000 R.D.—an enormous sum in those days—to build, and demolished the castles at *Weissenfels*, *Grimma* and *Eulenburg* and the walls of *Neumburg* (V. 484, 1st) to punish the Saxons for their treachery, and inexcusable jealousy and abiding animosity to their co-religionists and former allies, and prepared to advance into Bohemia.

All these ravages and their attendant miseries were not the result of the cruel outbreaks or excesses consequent upon a relaxation of the bonds of discipline, but in accordance with a systematic plan of coercion, undertaken to compel the ELECTOR OF SAXONY to abandon his alliance with the EMPEROR and conclude an armistice with the Swedes. In this they were successful. The ELECTOR, obliged to choose between utter ruin and a truce with Sweden, soon after sheathed his sword and left the EMPEROR to his fate.

TORSTENSON'S army were in the highest spirits—the cavalry, mighty in discipline and efficiency; the infantry, divided into 12 Brigades, equally good, so that it was predicted on all hands that they could not easily find an enemy capable of resisting them any length of time.

The advanced guard of cavalry led by Major-General HOLSTEIN, made himself master, by a stratagem, of the pass of (*Gresenitz*)—*Greslitz* (*Grasslitz*)—on the *Zwode*, 19 miles N. N. E. of *Eger*—and also of that place, thus securing a practicable passage, through the dangerous *Bohmer-Wald*, into Bohemia. Meanwhile, TORSTENSON was only waiting for a severe frost to consolidate the roads to pass his whole army into that kingdom. (V. 483, 2.)

On the (4th O. S.?) 14th January,* *Bohemia* experienced the first of those evils which were to befall her, almost without intermission, for the next eleven months. On that day, 1,000 Swedish Cavalry and 300 mounted Infantry, made an incursion through the pass of *Prosenitz*, into Bohemia, and having wasted several villages with fire, fell back on *Annaberg*. Meanwhile the Imperial Colonel, SPORCK, dispatched with 1,200 Cavalry, to beat up the Swedish quarters at *Ellznitz* (*Elenitz*?) and *Voigtsburg* (*Plauen*?)—this must be the place, and so called because the Bailiff or *Voight*, (from whom the surrounding district got the name of *Voigiland*) used to reside in the Old Castle (*Rathschauser*, rising high above the town,) found that his adver-

*The T. E. (V., 496, 2d.) says that on the 14th (?N. S., 4th O. S.), TORSTENSON had his head-quarters at *Grimma*, on the *Mulde*, 17 English miles S. E. of *Leipzig*.

saries were so perfectly advised of all his intended actions, that he could only trace their movements by the ruins they had left behind. (T. E., V., 496, 2d.)

January 9th, TORSTENSON concentrated his forces at *Penig*—2 German, (8 to 10 English) miles N. W. of *Chemnitz*—where he reviewed 10,000 horse and 6,500 foot, (this aggregate nearly coincides with that furnished by SCHILLER,) all completely clothed and equipped, and amply provided with every thing necessary. Immediately upon the termination of this rendezvous the Swedish army took up its line of march towards the *Eger*,* while a division, under Major-General WITTENBERG, made an attack on *Chemnitz* and *Zwickau*, to distract the attention of the enemy, and facilitate the advance.

As soon as a hard and continued frost had rendered the deep and miry roads passable, for which TORSTENSON* had delayed his movements [V., 484, 1st.] the Swedish army, [January 20th, 21st] (V., 519, 2d,†)—the GENERALISSIMO, to expedite the march, had mounted the greater part of his musketeers on horses, (V., 500, 1st.)—advanced to *Annaberg*, and thence dividing into three columns, entered *Bohemia*, (V., 498, 2d.). The first—the left wing—most easterly—by the way of *Breisnitz*, [*Presnitz*]; the second—the centre—through *Joachimsthal*;‡ and the third—the most westerly—by *Neudeck* [*Neudek*], and reunited at *Kaaden* and *Saatz*, upon the *Eger*.§

The first column must have undergone tremendous labors, for, after crossing the ridge of the *Sonnenwirbel*, one of the loftiest summits of the *ErzGebirge* range—where the view, magnificent almost beyond conception, extends north as far as the *Saxon Switzerland* and *Riesengebirge*, south along the valley of the *Eger*, and east towards *Prague*—it left the main road, and, plunging into the defiles, through the forest-clad mountains, dangerous and difficult enough at all times, but how much more frightful when encumbered with the heavy falls of snow—which we know from contemporaneous accounts, occurred throughout this month—[V., 500, 2d.]—and intersected

*TORSTENSON, at this time, was so ill of the gout that he could not move with, but followed the army in the course of a few days.—(V., 519, 2d.)

†Some calculated that the Swedish army was 20,000 strong, [an over-estimate of 4,000,] and had 80 pieces, great and small, of Artillery; also 4 mortars, large quantities of ammunition, and considerable sums of money.—[V., 519, 2d.]

‡At this place is the oldest silver mine in Europe, and the first that was endowed with mining laws. The first silver dollars (*Thalers*, literally *Valley Pieces*,) were coined here; the name being only a contraction [corruption] of *Joachimsthaler*.—(MURRAY: Northern Europe.)

§The original (T. E., V., 499, 1st.) has, "the route towards *Eger* *Oltzenis* (*Oellenitz*?), *Blauen* (en), and thereabouts."

"The Artillery had taken the road towards *Sahmaiden* (*Sahmaiden*), not far from *Altenburg*."

by numerous and furious mountain torrents—augmented by the same thaw which the Imperial Generalissimus reports so greatly hindered the march of his own army—made their way to the appointed rendezvous at *Kaaden*.^{*} This was an undertaking fraught with the greatest peril, and can be compared to nothing more appropriately than McDONALD'S passage of the *Splügen*. The second column kept the main road from *Dresden* to *Western Bohemia*, and although nothing in comparison to that already described, the march was difficult enough, considering the obstacles peculiar to the elevated and rude country [the *Fichtelberg* ?] and the season. The third [column], by *Neudeck*, followed the course of the river *Rohla*, to the valley of the *Eger*, and thence along that stream to *Kaaden*.[†]

This was the column which, no doubt, led the Imperialists to suppose that TORSTENSON'S intention was the capture of *Elnbogen*, and invasion of the *Upper Palatinate*.

On the 12th February the *Eger-Independent-horse-troops* (*Frey-Reuter*), captured Major-General MORTAIGNE, near the town of *Born*, 3 (German, 12 to 15 Eng.) miles S. by E. from *Leipzig*, and brought him in a prisoner, to *Eger*. MORTAIGNE, who had been sent by TORSTENSON from *Kaaden* and was on his way to *Leipzig* with documents of great importance from the crown of Sweden, looked upon his own mishap as but of little consequence, but grievously lamented the loss of his dispatches, which contained the secret councils of his GENERALISSIMO, detailing not only what he had concluded to attempt against the Imperial forces, but every circumstance, connected with his marches, the strength, and distribution of his troops. Colonel

^{*}January 21, [T. E., V., 500, 1st.] Major-General AXEL LILJE—who returned to assume the government of *Misia* and *Thuringia*—marched from *Leipzig*, with 300 Cavalry and 100 Dragoons, to join TORSTENSON, whose main army lay quartered in the Circle of *Saatz*, in Bohemia.—(T. E., V., 500, 2d.) Meanwhile the Swedes, besides other advantages, had taken and burned the town of *Bruz*. But the Castle of *Landswart*, on a height above the town, still held out; which, however, likewise surrendered on the third day of the investment, to TORSTENSON, because the garrison were destitute of ammunition.

The Swedes found therein 3,000 *Strich*—about 8,400 bushels—of fruits; or, as we understand it, grain—much wine, and many other articles of value, which the neighboring peasantry had brought thereinto as a place of security.

After this, it was rumored that TORSTENSON intended to make another attempt upon *Tetschen*. From this, it would appear that the Imperialists were totally unacquainted with the actual movements of the Swedes; and nothing can prove more clearly how completely TORSTENSON deceived them, than that, after all—as we shall see—they came within an ace of failing to intercept his march; so that both the first collision between the Swedish and Imperial Generalissimos, and the battle of *Janikau*, were brought about by accident.

In fact, the Imperialists, advancing hap-hazard, may be said to have stumbled upon the Swedes upon the latter occasion.

† See LIST OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES through which the Swedish main army marched on their advance to JANIKAU, (*page xlviii., infra.*)

PARADEYSER, without a moment's delay, sent off these papers to the Archduke, Generalissimus, who then lay at *Klattau*.

As an evidence of the efficiency of TORSTENSON'S scouting parties, and the perfection of his system of espionage, a *Liste* was found among these letters, which set forth, not only the numerical force of every regiment in the Imperial army, but furnished an accurate return of how many men each corps could at this juncture bring into the field, and were effective; that is, fit for immediate active service; likewise the number of troopers in each regiment of Cavalry, who were without horses, &c., &c. With such exactness was everything connected with the condition of the Imperial army reported, that many of its superior officers were not half so well acquainted with the actual force and positions of the different corps of their own army, and even their own divisions, as the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, who had it thus all written down for his examination.

What is more, at a dinner given to MORTAIGNE, that officer boasted that nothing took place within the Imperial Camps, that not a man could be detailed for special service, without the Swedes receiving instant information of the fact through the most trust-worthy channels. He added that the Swedes were better acquainted with the smallest details, and penetrated the secrets of the Imperial councils with more certainty than the very Imperial officers themselves, although in the midst of what transpired at all times, and serving with their troops.

At this time the whole of *Bohemia* and *Prague* itself were alive with Swedish spies, scouting parties and emissaries, who continually sent in to TORSTENSON accurate accounts of all that passed.

* * * *

This was on the 21st (O. S., 31st N. S.?) of January, 1645. (T. E. V. 541, &c., and 520, &c., collated). Here TORSTENSON was obliged to halt for several days, because the bridge across the *Eger*, near *Saatz*, had been carried away by a freshet, and the same thaw which had swelled that river had again rendered all the roads impassible. On the 8th February, as soon as the bridge was re-established (6th) and the state of the roads would permit, the Swedish army broke up its camp and moved from *Kaaden* (see page 123 *infra*) where both officers and soldiers had acquired rich booty, and enjoyed good quarters, crossed the *Eger*, and halted the first night at *Luditz*. At this time Major-General WITTENBERG had been created *General* and *Lieutenant-General*, vice Major-General CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, promoted to be *General* and *Grand Master of the Artillery* [*Ordnance*]; [*Feld-Zeug-Meister*] Major-General KÖNIGSMARK having been appointed *Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry*. [V. 541, 1.]

Meanwhile on the 9th—11th, the Imperialists had concentrated all their forces at and around *Blowitz*, about 15 English miles S.

E. of *Pilsen*, and N. E. of *Klattau*, where they had been joined by the Bavarian contingent, comprising 7,000 horse and foot, under Field-Marshal JOHANN VON WERTH. The movements of the Swedes gave rise to almost as many different conjectures as there were men in Prague, and almost every individual differed in opinion with regard to their object. Some thought that TORSTENSON intended merely to make himself master of and take up his winter quarters in *Pilsen*; others judging from his prior operations that he was about to make an irruption into the *Pfalz*; but those best capable of judging were of opinion that he was about to force his way into *Moravia*, and deliver *Olmütz*, long and vigorously blockaded, and at this juncture so straitened that if not promptly succored it could not hold out much longer.

On the 12th February the Swedish left [east wing], comprising 14 regiments of horse, had arrived at *Malesitz* [*Mallesicz*], *Reschinitz* and *Zauschkau* [*Tuskau*];* the right wing, the center or main army, and the artillery at *Wischerub* [*Weseritz?*], and thence were on the road to *Dobeschau* [*Dobrzau*, on the road to *Klattau* ?].

The whole army marched on resolutely [*resolutamente en Bataillen*], prepared for action, or as some render it, in complete order of battle; so that if an opportunity presented itself, they could at once give battle to the Imperialists. [V. 520, 1.]

After experiencing great difficulty in crossing the *Moldau* and *Beraunka*, [4th a 11th February,] HATZFELD concentrated his army, and pressed forward to arrest the advance of TORSTENSON, and anticipate him in the possession of *Pilsen*; but a thaw, which set in on the 4th, occasioned such freshets,—raising the ice in the Bohemian rivers, and breaking it loose from the shores,—that HATZFELD admits, in his Report to the EMPEROR, that he himself was unable, for two days, to get across the *Beraunka*. In another place, we find that the immense quantities of snow which fell completely frustrated many of the counter-movements of the Imperialists. These are the admissions of the enemy. What indomitable courage and energy must that General have possessed, who pressed on, and through, defiant of such obstacles, and encountered Nature in her sternest mood, with the same resolution with which he combatted his mortal enemies.

When HATZFELD reached *Blowitz*—about 15 English miles S. E. of *Pilsen*, and the same distance N. E. of *Klattau*—and *Grunberg* [*Green Mountain*] 5 or 6 Eng. miles S. S. E.—TORS-
TENSON, marching night and day, had already turned aside, and got beyond *Pilsen*, upon the road to *Pressitz*, which place he left two hours before sunrise the next day, pushing on to *Klat-*

* *Tuskau* is a little N. W. of *Pilsen* and *Mallesitz*, midway between *Raschitz* farther south.

was, and leaving the enemy in complete doubt as to his future movements.

Throughout these campaigns, the Austrian Light Horse—at one period the most famous in Europe, prior to the employment of the Cossacks—seem to have been greatly inferior to the regular Light Cavalry of the Swedes; for, while the latter appear to have kept the GENERALISSIMO perfectly advised of all the movements of the former, the Imperialists found themselves in the presence of TORSTENSON on several different occasions, without the least advisement of his proximity; thus now, when TORSTENSON was marching from *Pilsen* to *Klattau*, although there were rumors of his movements, the only certain knowledge of his whereabouts was derived from the clangor of his military music resounding through the mountain solitudes, the noise of his march, and the firing which attended his occupation of the villages near *Pilsen*, and along the road to *Pressitz* [*Przestitz*], midway between *Pilsen* and *Klattau*.

On February 14th, the Swedish head-quarters were at *Klattau*, which the Imperialists had evacuated on their approach. TORSTENSON'S Eclaireurs reporting that the enemy, in full force, were posted on the *Grimberg* (*Grunberg*), just north of *Nepomuck*, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO the next day [the 15th] continued his march upon *Horasziewitz* [*Horazdiowitz*], in order to make sure of the passage or ford across the *Wottawa*. The enemy, however, divining his intentions, and being in possession of a better road thither, were enabled to march upon and defile through the Ford [*Pass*] on the 15th, before the Swedish army could come up.* When TORSTENSON arrived [16th] there safely, "God be

* On the following day (15th February), finding that the enemy (Swedes) had reached *Welischau* in advance of us, we (Imperialists) pressed forward to *Horatziewitz* (*Horazdiowitz*). As the advanced guard only reached that place at nightfall, we could not reconnoitre the locality with sufficient care to determine whether or no to await the enemy at this point.

The next morning, discovering that the positions offered every advantage to the enemy, we passed over the stream at *Horatziewitz* and established ourselves on the heights beyond. The enemy (TORSTENSON) who had either been notified of this movement by his eclaireurs, who could discern what occurred, from the neighboring elevations, or had divined our position, advanced upon us, hoping, by a forced march across the mountains, to overtake and fall upon us, by surprise, since his forces had only been 1½ hours distant, i. e., ¾ (German—about 3¼ English) miles distant from us the preceding night. He came up too late, however [to effect his purpose], and on the night of the 15th-16th, only some slight skirmishes occurred.

On the [16th] 26th at first we judged from appearances that the enemy were about to retire, but at length he advanced in complete line of battle to the foot of the lofty height on which we had taken up our position, and took up counter positions, as if he intended to pass the stream under cover of his guns, and attack us. This actually occurred; but when our artillery, which had been delayed, somewhat, by a gully, came into action, he fell back, having suffered considerable loss from our guns, and moved off along the road toward *Strakonitz*, keeping on our flank. Throughout this march whenever opportunities occurred, the artillery of both armies had exchanged shots, and slight skirmishes took place. The town of *Strakonitz* we garrisoned some the night be-

blessed" [Gott Lob!] are his words, he found that the Imperialists had left some troops under the command of a Major (*Obrist Wachtmeister*) in the town, on the hither or northern side of the

fore, at first with a small detachment of dragoons, and afterwards with a strong force of musketeers, so that the enemy were not able to get possession of the place, although it was on his side [of the *Wottawa*] and quite near his halting place. The next day (17th) the enemy advanced to *Dedlitz* before daybreak, but left his guards posted as they had been during the preceding day and night, which led me to suppose that he thought we would follow immediately in pursuit, so that he might have the opportunity to fall upon us, while disordered by the movement. Therefore, when reports were brought in from all sides that he had marched towards *Pisaka* (*Piszeke*, *Piseka*, *Pisek*), we likewise abandoned our position, with the intention of advancing in the same direction. But the enemy soon discovered this and immediately arrested the further march of his troops in the undoubted hope that we would come across [the stream] and up with him [and accept battle]. No sooner, however, was this apparent than we halted upon the very spot we then occupied $\frac{1}{2}$ (German, about $\frac{1}{2}$ English) miles from *Strakonitz*, and took up [the best] positions [to receive an attack]. During the preceding night, while his camp was pitched at *Horatdiowitz*, the enemy sent forward a detachment to *Pisakau* (*Pisek*) bearing a forged order, in which my hand-writing as well as my signature was counterfeited—ordering the Commandant, as well as the citizens, in my name, to receive 100 horses and 50 dragoons, within the city; but when the Commandant, *Lieutenant-Colonel HARANT*, whom I had previously placed therein with some dragoons and Croates, to defend the place, discovered the deception, and ordered his troops to open a fire upon them, they [the Swedes] drew off [without making any further attempt].

On the 17th [O. S.] 27th [N. S.], the enemy, who the day previous had sent his baggage on ahead to the *Moldau*, when all was quiet moved off, himself, in the night towards *Berlick*, and through the negligence of our partisan corps and (patrols) scouts, it was not, until quite [too] late, that we received reports of this manœuvre. [Thus *TORSTENSON* completely outwitted *HATZFELD*, according to the latter's own admission.]

The only question now to be resolved, was, whether it was most advisable to follow up the enemy, who had thus got the start of us [the latter seemed the most feasible plan], for as the *Moldau* was completely bridged with ice throughout, we supposed that the enemy would cross over at many different points, and before we could overtake them, they would have taken up positions upon the farther side, and thus have deprived us of every opportunity of getting in advance of them [and intercepting their march on *Olmutz*]. ~~But~~ What is more, I thought myself that it would be dangerous to follow up and attack such a smart or sagacious, and watchful general, who in such a case would possess at all times the power of selecting his own field of battle, and such positions as were best adapted for the employment of his infantry and his artillery, in both of which arms he was stronger than we were, whereas all these advantages lay with us in case that we could regain our position in advance of him. ~~But~~

[On reviewing the account of this march, the reader will find that the Imperialists, who may be said to have stumbled upon the Swedes, between *Pilsen* and *Præstitz*, on the direct march from *Kaaden* to *Horatdiowitz*, 60 or 80 Eng. miles, after a parallel march of about 40 English miles, lost them on the 17th (27th), the Swedes diverging to the north, the Imperialists to the E. N. E. What makes the whole more strange is that they should have almost accidentally fallen in with each other, six days afterwards, after passing over a distance of 50 English miles, by the most opposite routes.]

The result was, we determined to march off as expeditiously as possible, and this was done as follows: The army moved from *Strakonitz*, passed *Pisaka*, and the same day we, as well as the artillery, crossed the [*Moldau*?] at one hour's distance, i. e. 1-2 [German, 2 1-2 English] mile, and bivouacked quite comfortably in a forest. On the following day, although the baggage had

river, to defend the access to the Ford. This so enraged the **GENERALISSIMO**, that he at once formed a column of attack, and stormed the place, capturing several officers, and a large number

not, as yet, crossed over, yet nevertheless the army pressed on towards *Muhlhausen*; meanwhile the baggage directed its march towards *Tabor*, situated on our right hand.

During our march, however, we received reports that the enemy had bivouacked the previous night [21st], only 1 1-2 [German, about 7 English] miles distant from us, and was posted near *Tabor*. In consequence of this, we accelerated our march to such a degree that on the very same evening [22d] we also arrived within a short distance of *Tabor*, and not only discovered the enemy again, but were enabled to remedy the want of provisions, whose insufficient supply had exerted such an injurious effect upon our troops that whole squads and detachments, both of horse and foot, had been induced to desert on that account, in spite of all my menaces [and precautions]. With regard to the supply of provisions, such inefficient arrangements had been made by the Commissaries, sent on, in advance, to prepare for our arrival, that there was no bread ready [in the store-houses], since they only commenced to bake after we had arrived, so that we were delayed at our halting place until 8 o'clock P. M. of the following day [23d], and even then obtained but a small supply of bread.

While we were thus delayed at *Tabor*, reports were brought in that the enemy had halted one whole day at *Seltschan* [about 18 English miles N. N. W. of *Tabor*], and in the country immediately circumjacent, and thence had taken an [literally] upward route, which made me conclude that he had not marched on *Beneschau*, [14 English miles N. N. E. of *Seltschan*, and 25 English miles due N. of *Tabor*], nor to the *Hosida*, but had either taken the road leading towards the Bridges or to *Leditz*, [Ledetsch, on the *Sasawa*, and in the direction of *Olmütz*, about 25 English miles E. by S. of *Beneschau*]. Thereupon we resolved to advance upon the road to *Sternberg*, [Star Mountain,] [about 28 English miles N. N. E. of *Tabor*, and a little over 10 E. of *Beneschau*,] in the hope that as he was obliged to cross that road we might be enabled to intercept and meet him on an advantageous [battle] field.

Moreover, in order to receive hourly notice of the movements of the enemy, Colonel *Sporck*, with 200 picked cavalry, was detached to observe the march of the Swedes and ascertain with certainty where they lodged [bivouacked, the Swedes appeared to have had no tents at this time] at night, and in what direction they turned the head of their columns in the morning; in fact, to observe with care their every movement, but to avoid being drawn into any engagement or encumbering himself with prisoners. And thus scouring the country, we moreover enjoined upon him to keep us advised [send in reports from time to time] by postillions and "guides" (*Wetten*,) or *Estafettes*, [horse messengers attached to the staff,] of which a number had been assigned to his command for this very purpose; and that the Colonel might not be ignorant of our position we furnished him with a time-table or memorandum, setting forth where we could be found from hour to hour.

Charged with such orders, (*Depeche*,) he set off in [good] time, before the army moved from *Tabor*. Then, in order that we might advance more expeditiously to meet [or rather intercept] the enemy, the baggage was left behind *Tabor*, and the Captain of the District (*Crayss* [*Kreis*] *Hauptmann*,) was ordered to lodge [or secure] it in *Budweis*—the proper officers having been detailed from every Regiment to take care of the baggage belonging thereto, and see that no soldiers, except those detached for the purpose, or such as had lame or disabled horses, remained or skulked behind in those places.

On the same evening that the army marched from *Tabor*—whence it moved at 3 o'clock P. M.—notwithstanding we accomplished only 1 [German, 4 to 5 English] mile, the rear guard did not come up until a late hour in the night. About 10 or 11 P. M., Colonel *Sporck* sent in an *Estafette*, who reported that

of privates, together with their Commandant, who was mortally wounded; the rest of the garrison escaped across the river. The whole army of the enemy covering thus the passage of the river, the next day [16th] the Swedes made a reconnoissance in force to discover if there was not a better opportunity, below, to effect the passage of the *Wottawa*. The Imperialists perceiving this, made a corresponding movement; so the Swedes marched along the left and the Imperialists along the right, as far as *Strakonitz*, which was occupied by a force of Dragoons. The two armies, to use the words of TORSTENSON'S letter, "talked with each other throughout the day, with their *pieces*," from the opposing mountains, "whereby, thank God," says he, "we sustained but little damage, having lost only some few men and horses belonging to the baggage train, by the enemy's shot."

The Imperialists, to whom the topography of the country was better known than to the Swedes, by a series of able and rapid movements, occupied all the positions which commanded those points at which the river could be crossed. Whereupon, satisfied that it would be impossible to force the passage in face

the Swedes had taken up their quarters for the night at N— [no name given], and that he was apparently intending to go on afterwards to N— [no other name given], the same we had intended to make our halting place for the night. In consequence of this intelligence, we pressed forward as expeditiously as possible, so that we arrived in time between *Janckau* and *Woritz*, where we posted our army behind a mountain, until we could obtain further intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts. In the meanwhile, we learned that the enemy had not as yet passed by, but had retraced their steps toward *Janikau*. In consequence, thus concealed, we maintained our positions until the enemy should come up, and afford us a favorable opportunity [to attack them].

Meanwhile, I, in company with Field-Marshal GOETZ—deceased—rode forward upon the road by which the enemy were expected to appear, and reconnoitered the field, and different strong points, and the favorable positions it presented, which occupied some hours. At length Field-Marshal GOETZ returned to his command, but I, with a small escort, kept on to inspect the range of hills which the enemy had occupied the day before we came up. When I was not far distant from this point, we observed some troops belonging to the detachment under Colonel SPORCK coming over a very high hill behind us, which were immediately followed by a strong body of the enemy's cavalry, at full gallop. As I was mounted upon a very poor charger, I found myself so completely entangled amid our own and the enemy's troopers, that I should not have been enabled to have escaped capture, if the latter had recognized me. In the commencement of this affair I despatched [some of my escort] to the main army with orders for a detachment of cavalry to mount [and come to my assistance]. As soon as these made their appearance, coming out from the intervening forest, the enemy—who had followed hard upon and cut up our flying troopers almost within striking distance of the main [Imperial] army, itself wheeled about and fled, pursued in turn by SPORCK's detachment, while the Croates assailed them [vigorously] on both flanks, so that of this corps of 400 Swedes, only a few escaped the hot pursuit, which was kept up until they had found themselves under the protection of their own main army.—[Field-Marshal Count HATZFELD'S Official Report to the EMPEROR.—T. E., V. 536, 2d. a. 536, 2d.]

(*conspectu*) of the enemy's whole army, TORSTENSON halted at *Rado Misslack* (Radomisl), and remained quiet there throughout the 18th.

At this place he assembled his Generals in a Council of War, to hear their opinions as to what future action would be most advisable; after which, as if by inspiration, the GENERALISSIMO determined to try whether the *Moldau* could be crossed below, which was found to be practicable.

Thereupon TORSTENSON commenced that extraordinary flank march, which excited the admiration of his opponents at the same time that it astonished and bewildered them; and, abandoning the beaten road, plunged into the defiles of the wild mountains, covered with dense, dark forests, composed of fir, beech, oak and birch, intermingled—dangerous and difficult enough at any period of the year, but how much more frightful and impracticable at this tempestuous season, encumbered as they were with snow drifts, slippery with ice, and ploughed by furious torrents freed from their wintry fetters by the recent thaw. A more difficult country for an army to cross over can scarcely be imagined. Lofty mountains, clothed with wood, deep defiles, and gloomy valleys, the channels of impetuous streams fed by the numerous adjacent lakes and ponds, presented obstacles at every step to the advancing columns—fatigued by long and rapid marches, and exposure to all the changes of an inclement and inconstant climate. But neither man nor nature, in their roughest mood, could arrest the Swedish General. His resolution had been taken. Whether simply to relieve *Olmütz*, or to transfer war's most dreadful horrors from territories—once smiling, and productive fields, but now reduced to deserts—to districts fertile and still prosperous—the domain of that unfeeling dynasty, whose tyranny and bigotry had caused the desolation, chronicles afford no clue. To TORSTENSON, to have an object unfulfilled, was all-sufficient to arouse his extraordinary energy and courage; and, until his object was attained, his will, like that of the bold Prussian, BLUCHER, was ever *Forward*.

By unbroken and untraveled mountain paths, which had never hitherto been traversed by wheel-carriages, much less by cannons and military equipages, TORSTENSON gained *Kloko-nitz* (Kluczenitz), on the *Moldau*—by the way of *Piseck* and *Lida*—which river the Swedish Cavalry, long train of baggage, and artillery, crossed by a shallow ford, discovered, 1-2 (German, about 2 1-2 English) mile below (the?) *Zwickau* (the *Wlca-wa* river?) on the 20th February, 1645, and some miles further down, the Infantry upon the ice, 1 [German, 4 to 5 English] miles below *Orlick* (Worlik?) In spite of the bad roads, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Imperialists in Light Cavalry, the Swedes, nevertheless, accomplished this highly difficult march without any loss. TORSTENSON, through suffering

severely from his malady, and oftener in his bed (litter) than on horseback, was present everywhere, encouraging his men, and inspiring them, by his example, with the requisite fortitude to encounter manfully whatever hardships and labors the exigency presented and demanded.

List of Towns and Villages,

with their corresponding names, from the best recent Austrian maps—through which the *Swedish main-army* under the command of His Excellency, My Lord, Field Marshal LEONARD TORSTENSON, marched, from *Kaaden*, 14th February, 1645; until that GENERALISSIMO relinquished the command, 4th December of the same year; from the engraved copy of the original plan by Quarter-Master-General-Lieutenant G. W. KLEIN-STRETL, and published in the VI volume of the THEATRUM EUROPEUM :

1 Oeden,	KAADEN,	38 Konigstett,	Königsfeld.
2 Willnitz,	WILLOMITZ,	39 Meroditz,	Meritz.
3 Ktisch,	CHISCH.	Brin.	BRUNN.
Lutitz,	LUBITZ.	40 Zernowitz,	Kunrowitz.
4 Clum,	Chlum.	Selowitz,	Selowitz.
5 Pilsen,	PILSEN.	41 Nemtschitz,	Gross Nemtschitz.
Dobizon,	DOBZAN.	Teacht,	Tracht.
6 SREMSO.		42 Gukinfort.	
Schwbo,	SCHWIBAU,	Stalz,	Stantz.
7 Glatzaw,	KLATTAU,	43 Lob,	Laa.
Hellischow,	Ellischau.	44 Mistelbach,	Mistelbach.
8 Buschitz,		Ulrichskirch,	Ulrichskirch.
9 Horatzdegowitz,	HORATZDOWITZ.	45 Wolkersdorf,	Wolkersdorf.
Repnitz,	Rzepitz.	Stetten Stadl—	Enzersdorf.
10 Radomischla,	Radomisch.	46 Stokerau,	Stokerau.
Sedletz,	SEDLITZ.	Hausleutn,	(Hohen-Leuthen ?)
Merotitz,	MIRÖTTITZ.	47 Abetsoff,	Abtsdorf.
Hardeck,	Hradek.	48 Ramerspach.	
11 Letta,		49 Nallich.	
12 Clotrung,		Schada.	
14 Beltschen,	SELTCHEN.	50 Objar.	
15 Gassandowitz.		Rekola.	
16 Kaderstie.		51 Waschitz.	
17 Jancko,	JANKAU.	52 Teobitsch,	Teobitsch.
18 Woschitz,	JUNG WOSCHITZ.	53 Messeritsch,	Gross-Messeritsch.
19 Zernowitz,	Ciernowitz.	34 Osteow.	
20 Bilgeram,	PILGRAM.	55 Wickerhitz.	
21 Iglaw,	ISLAU.	56 Ingerwitz.	Ingerwitz.
22 Markpirent.		57 Politzka,	Politzka.
Sadeck.		58 Leutomisel,	Leutomisch.
23 Pudese,	BUDWITZ.	59 Hohenwart,	Hohenwart.
Zaslum,	ZNAYM.	60 Selschitz.	
24 Bruu,	Bruck.	61 Schemnitz,	Schemnitz.
Rotz,	ROTTZ.	62 Königgratz,	Königgratz.
25 Schratthal,	SCHRATTENTHAL.	63 Jaromitz.	Jaromitz.
Ramerspach.		Porno.	
Hohenwart,	Hohenwart.	64 Trautenau.	Trautenau.
Heidersdorf,	Heidersdorf.	65 Lieben.	Lieben.
67 Rotndorf,	Rotndorf.	Landshut.	Landshut.
Grafenwerd,	Grafenwerth.	66 Kupferberg,	Kupferberg.
28 Sobrau,		Hirschberg.	Hirschberg.
29 Hausleutn,	(Hohen Leuthen ?)	67 Remnitz.	Remnitz.
30 Stetten,	Spilttern.	68 Ostatt.	Böhm-Neustadt.
31 Enzersdorf,	Enzersdorf.	69 Fridland,	Friedland.
Elpeltan,	Leopoldau (Elpeldau)	70 Reibsdorf.	Reibsdorf.
32 Stammersdorf,	Stammersdorf.	Grafenstein.	Grafenstein.
33 Hochruperdorf,	Hoh Ruperdorf.	71 Gobel.	Gobel.
34 Mistelbach,	Mistelbach.	72 Leip,	Böhm-Leipa,
Inzersdorf.	Inzersdorf.	73 Gruberg,	Gruberg.
35 Zitzersdorf,	Zitzersdorf.	74 Auscha,	Auscha, Ausmig.
Hohenaw,	Hohenau.	75 Schildeng,	Schuldenitz.
36 Wisternitz,	Unt Wisternitz,	Zohorzon,	Zahorzan.
Auspitz,	Auspitz.	Leutmeritz,	Leutmeritz.
37 Nuala,	Nuala.	TORSTENSON	commanded the com-
Zernowitz,		MAND.	

Page 164. Text, 12th line from bottom, after 'era,' insert a *, and add, as a note :

"For the best information with regard to artillery, during the first half of the XVIIIth Century, read that most agreeable and instructive work, the *Etudes sur le Passe et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie*, par NAPOLEON-LOUIS-BUONAPARTE. *Tome Premier. Paris.* J. DUMAINE, *neveu et succ. de G. LAGUIONIE, (Maison Anselin), Rue et Passage Dauphine*, 36. 1846.

Page 189. Text, 26th line, insert a *, after 'eimers,' and add, as a note :

"The *eimer* mentioned here could not have been the Swedish *aime*, which is a very small measure, not exceeding the fourteenth of a pint, it must have been the old German measure, containing from two to three and four gallons."

Page 213. Text, 20th line, insert a *, after 'MERCY fell,' and add, as a note :

"There is quite an interesting anecdote related of Field-Marshal MERCY, connected with this battle, which we translate somewhat freely from that valuable French work, *Nouveau-Dictionnaire Historique des Sieges et Batailles Memorables, &c. &c.*

On no previous occasion had MERCY—"that illustrious general, who seemed to unite in himself every quality necessary to a warrior"—or his troops, displayed so much confidence and determined courage, as on this famous occasion—the day of *Allersheim* or *Nærdlingen* Id—when drawn up and awaiting the attack of the French. The Imperial, or more properly speaking Bavarian, Commander, who believed himself on the eve of certain triumph, before giving the order to commence firing, swallowed in quick succession forty glasses of wine, without seeming to have his brain affected in the slightest degree by the fumes of the treacherous liquor. In the excitement of anticipated victory, he embraced his wife, who accompanied him everywhere throughout his campaigns, in a perfect transport of joy, exclaiming, "There is the sweetest kiss which I ever gave you in my life. Do you see that army of fool-hardy Frenchmen, who are advancing to attack me? God himself has delivered them into my hands. Rejoice with me, for this day's success will restore not only peace, but its ancient [former] glory to the Empire." With these words, he gave the signal, and at once, far and near, the whole plain resounded with explosions of artillery. The first desperate attack of the French was repulsed with loss. Again they advanced with undiminished courage. Shouting, "Courage, my brave soldiers!" MERCY threw himself upon them with his

[1.]

Bavarians. "Victory is ours!" he cried; "God has blinded these Frenchmen!" With this exclamation on his lips he received a musket shot, and fell in the midst of his troops. With the departing spirit of the hero, victory abandoned the Imperial eagles, to perch upon the banners of the French.

With **MERCY** may be said to have terminated the pre-eminence of the Bavarian arms.

Page 224. Text, 3d line, after 'Centners,' insert a *, and add, as a note:

"The *centner* [cwt.] of Sweden contains 6 *lis-pund* V. V., or 120 *livres* V. V.=50.82 *kilog.* [a *kilog.*, abbreviation of *kilogramme*, equal to 2 lbs. 5 1-2 *drachms.*]—(A *BRAGE-BEAKER with the Swedes, or, Notes from the North, in 1852, by W. BLANCHARD JERROLD. London: 1854.*)



[As the author intends to publish a revised and amplified edition of this work, the supplementary matter will be embodied therein; and, consequently, no **APPENDIX** is furnished with the present volume. For this reason, all references to an **APPENDIX** should be considered as if they did not exist. A great portion of the additional information, intended to appear in the **APPENDIX**, has been furnished in the **ERRATA AND OMISSIONS.**]

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

As mentioned in the Dedication, **Lennart Torstenson** has always been one of the chief objects of the writer's admiration, whose Biography it was for many years my intention to prepare, thus to supply an *hiatus* in the history of, perhaps, the most remarkable struggle which ever convulsed Europe, rendering the whole central portion of that continent one vast arena and the immediate seat of war, a very living hell, but resulting in the establishment of comparative mental and religious freedom. It always seemed to me inexplicable that while the campaigns of so many generals, by no means his superiors, and questionably his equals, have been considered worthy of illustration and study, those of **TORSTENSON** should, not only, never have been faithfully translated into English, but are scarcely ever adduced as models worthy of imitation; whereas they are wonderful examples of what astonishing results, genius, energy, perseverance and courage can achieve over every obstacle and in spite of all the impediments the most distressing want, contagious diseases and accumulated perils can array in the most disheartening and appalling forms to daunt the heart of man, fetter a soldier's enterprise, and cripple all his powers, and demolish, by a succession of unexpected shocks, the wisest plans of the ablest military leader.

When I recall the terrific horrors and exhausting sacrifices of the **THIRTY YEARS' WAR**, it seems as if the vast battle fields of *Germany*, that arena of fratricidal, and, bitterest of all, religious strife, could be compared to nothing more appropriate than the "Valley of Crosses," whose horrors make the very flesh quiver, as delineated in that siege of sieges, **JERUSALEM'S**.

In spite of the desperate and inextinguishable valor of the **Jews**, the investment of that city had been completed, and all their sorties, however ably planned and vigorously executed, resulted in defeat. In these sallies or attempts to escape, the enemy, who were daily contracting the circle of their lines, slew thousands, while almost equal numbers remained prisoners to that foe who scarcely knew the word "pity." Exasperated at the stubborn character of the defence and the unrelenting fury of the besieged, the Romans determined to crucify their captives, in order to intimidate their countrymen, and multiplied

II

their victims "until room was wanting for the crosses and crosses were wanting for the bodies." Exposed, in one of those deep valleys, whose depths were fathomed from the battlements of Judah's stronghold, at once to the concentrated rays of Palestine's burning sun and the horrified gaze of their brethren aloft on Sion's sacred bulwarks, the sufferers expiated their patriotic efforts by a death of protracted torture, almost unequalled in severity. Excited to frenzy by the agonies their eyes beheld by day and the lamentations their ears drank in by night, the garrison threw open their gates and rushed forth once more upon the iron-clad masses which girt them in.

Maddened by the thirst for vengeance, while one division threw itself upon the Roman lines, to divert the attention of the main army, the other plunged into that Valley of Torment, annihilated the Roman Guard, and were busily engaged in the pious duty of releasing and tenderly removing their agonized fellow-soldiers and countrymen, and consuming those already dead, as well as their instruments of torture, on one vast funeral pile, when Titus hurried forward reinforcements to arrest their triumph and force them back into the city.

As the tide of Rome's and Jewry's war, met in furious contest, the darksome valley, illuminated by the fitful glare of that one fire, became at once converted into the bed of a howling, seething whirlpool of human slaughter, elevated over which the dying wretches, who had not been rescued, writhing in every stage of suffering, looked down, upon a scene of human passion raging with a fury equal in intensity to their own consuming anguish.

Amid the shock, recoil, the "vast and tempestuous rolling and heaving of infuriate life," whatever fresh forces mingled in the struggle, became absorbed at once, and those who fell, perished, tramped beneath the feet of tormentor and avenger, in that quagmire of mingled gore and flesh and arms and garments. Ebbing and flowing, as fresh forces poured down on either side, they were lost as if engulfed, and the unexampled struggle endured until the " 'Army of Vengeance,' a name given to it alike by Jew and Roman, had accomplished its purpose with dreadful retribution."

Even such a butchery was but a faint type of that wholesale slaughter which for thirty years* fattened the fields of *Germany*, fallow as regarded their proper fruits, but prolific in crops of blood-thirsty soldiery.

* The THIRTY YEARS' WAR is said to have actually commenced 26th August, 1619, although the flames of contention had been kindled years before, and was concluded by the Peace of Westphalia, 24th [14th!] October, 1648.

That Whirlpool of Battle, which the *Gefolge*,* of MANSFELD and Bohemian insurrection occasioned, pouring their furious tides in adverse currents to the Imperial hereditary stream, became at last a vast *War-Maelstrom*, in which the sword and fire, pestilence and famine,† united their forces to draw in and engulf whatever came within their influence. Army after army, magnificent in appointments, perfect in discipline, heroic in valor, plunged into that vortex which rejected but a few wrecks, relics of what it had absorbed, just as the *Norwegian Maelstrom* casts forth on distant shores ragged trunks of trees or jagged pieces of ship-timber, memoria of giants of the forest or gallant ships sucked into its insatiate maw! How often had fresh armies from *Sweden*, reinforced at first, chiefly, from *England* and *Scotland*, but eventually from every Protestant state in Europe, filled up the chasms, disease and want and battle had made! How many crops of youth and manhood, fit for that Devil's Traffic, *War*, had the Roman Catholic Circles of the Empire yielded for the syckle of Death! How often had the wave of Swedish victories dashed against the innermost bulwarks of the Imperial throne, and as often receded to the verge of the *Baltic*, whose swelling billows poured forth, as of old, fresh floods to inundate anew and bathe in blood those fields from which the moisture of preceding surges had not yet evaporated.

*GEFOLGE, the retinue or train of military dependants, who, attracted by the mere celebrity of his name, gathered round the Great ERNEST OF MANSFELD—in the same manner that in ancient times legions of soldiers collected around the warrior-princes of Germany—ready to follow him whithersoever his prowess was needed.—[See KOHL-RAUSCH.]

ERNEST COUNT MANSFELD, who fed himself entirely from the point of his sword, maintained for many years (with little help from foreign or German potentates) an army of 20,000 men, and died rich!! [Essay on Military State, &c. &c. by W. HARTE, Page 40.]

†The FAMINE, during the greater part of these wars, kept pace with the PESTILENCE. Wheat was sold more times than once at a price I dare not give credit to: namely, £3 18s. a bushel.* GUARDS WERE POSTED TO PROTECT THE NEWLY-BURIED FROM BEING DEVoured. There were instances of children being seduced, massacred, and eaten up. Two women fought for a slice of a dead horse, and one killed the other. A straggling beggar decoyed away a poor woman's child, and began to strangle it in order to eat it; but the vigilant mother surprised her in the fact and killed her. The face of the earth was ruined for want of agriculture, and every animal eatable was so greedily searched after, that the beasts of prey missed their daily food. When Lord ARUNDEL passed through the Empire, in return from his embassy to VIENNA, a fox crept out of a brake, and seized one of his attendants by the leg; the fellow took it up, for it was so weak it could not escape; its eyes were haggard and sunk in its head, and it weighed just nothing. And, if I remember right, there was another remark in the same relation, namely, that almost every house contained nothing but a famished dog.—(Essay on the Military State, &c. &c. [pages 53, 54.] by W. HARTE.)

* Some of my friends object to this particular, which had been confirmed to me by the best historians in Germany, from the market books kept in several cities. Looking back into the first rough draughts of my history, I find CARVER tells us, that in the year 1634, when he was Chaplain to WALTER DEVEREUX's Irish Regiment at the siege of Avesburg, that raw flesh sold for thirteen pence half-penny a pound; that a bushel of coarse flour, mixed with bran, sold for £3 6s.; (N. B., the German bushel contains 9 gallons;) and a quart of ordinary wine cost about 6s. 8d.—(Ibid., tom. I, page 134.)

IV

In 1618, the baleful flash of the War Beacon first threw its lurid glare athwart the Bohemian mountains; in 1630, the Swedish Hero cast his "magical" sword into the balance, and crying out that God, and God alone, was his Banner, in 1632, stood the "Deliverer of Germany," when *Lutzen* closed that career, unexampled in all times, and plunged the Reformed Faith, anew, in the depths of affliction, from which he had so triumphantly raised and sustained it. Thenceforward, hither and thither, advancing, retreating, swallowing up the fruits of the earth, the glorious testimonies of man's industry and genius, destroying and returning to trample in the gory mire, or grind into powder, that remnant which accident or sheer exhaustion, not mercy, had previously spared from annihilation, Bellona's train of evils, circling her Jaggernautic car, had trooped and whirled from the snow fields of Muscovy to the sunny vales of France, from the land of the Goth to the free soil of the Switzer; and, bowed in misery, man lifted up his desponding heart to Heaven, which, seemed shut to his appeals of suffering, and asked in bitterness of spirit "When shall all these woes cease?" And yet, how many calamities were still to be poured forth from the Almighty's cup of wrath and indignation! * * The year 1641, found the Swedes, once more, on the very ground their feet had occupied where their Great and Good King^(a) knelt to return thanks to God* for his safe passage to that land whose soil eventually drank his blood, poured forth in the cause of humanity and true religion. Since that eventful hour, how many lofty heads had fallen low! Death had taken a lesson from the Syracusan tyrant, and lopped off the tallest and most glorious flowers: MANSFELD, in his 46th year; Duke CHRISTIAN, of *Brunswick*, in his 29th; TILLY, in his 73d; GUSTAVUS, in his 38th; PAPPENHEIM, the best cavalry officer of his day, at the same age; WALLENSTEIN, in his 51st; Duke BERNHARD, of *Weimar*, the youngest of eight equally brave and warlike brothers, in his 36th; BANER, in his 40th; KNIPHAUSEN, and crowds of lesser note, but still glorious-spirits, had laid down their lives in prosecuting this quarrel of faiths and nationalities, when the Swedish Lion's choicest whelp, the son-in-arms of his adoption and nurture, if not of his blood, that "famous"† TORSTENSON, "the most active and talented of all the Generals in this war,"‡ caught up the stand-

(a) 1630.

*Immediately on landing, after having given some short, necessary orders to the generals that served under him, he (GUSTAVUS) retired a few paces from them and his men, and falling down on his knees offered up a prayer to the Supreme Being; and then turning round to his officers, some of whom seemed surprised at so uncommon an example of piety, told them, with an alert and cheerful air, "*That a good Christian would not make a bad soldier. The man,*" continued he, "*that hath finished his prayers, hath completed one half of his daily work.*" HARTZ, I, 153.

†HOLLING calls him the "famous TORSTENSON" prior to his captivity in 1632-3.

‡KOEHLRAUSCH's History of Germany.

ard, emblazoned with the 3 crowns, to which his illustrious Preceptor had proudly asserted and gloriously maintained his claims, and to the laurels so fresh and green with which GUSTAVUS, BERNHARD and BANER had garlanded its staff and armed point, added other wreaths no less numerous and vivid in their verdure.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS won the fields of LEIPSIK and LUTZEN, and struck the first blows which pierced the harness of Rome's chosen champion, *Austria*. TORSTENSON gained the victories of *Breitenfeld* and *Jankau*, which struck his falchion from his grasp, and laid him prostrate, willing, at length, to concede those rights his bigotry and pride had so long and fiercely denied.

Compared with the campaigns of NAPOLEON, or that gigantic expedition whose array-of-nations now menaces the walls of *Sewasstopol*, the achievements of TORSTENSON are viewed by many in the light of mere partisan efforts. That men should reason thus erroneously, without examination, seems excusable, but how soon will their opinions undergo a complete revulsion when a thorough investigation reveals the marvelous results which placed him in the foremost rank of able and intrepid commanders. The numbers he led to victory were indeed small when we recall the armaments with which the French Emperor occupied *Vienna*, *Berlin* and *Moscow*, the hosts with which banded Europe invaded *France*, the gigantic forces which met at *Waterloo*, or moved towards the *French* frontier, from the *North Sea* to the *Mediterranean*, after that overthrow, or which a few years since poured like a deluge from the North, West and South, upon devoted *Hungary*. But his Great Master in the Art of War, the DUKE OF ALVA, and TURENNE, authorities without superiors, were all opposed to such enormous armies as tax the brain of a General as heavily to subsist as to manœuvre; and the result justified their judgment. Moreover, a study of history, military and political, statistics and geography, reveal many other conclusive reasons why it was impossible to concentrate larger masses, when TORSTENSON appeared upon the scene and assumed the command-in-chief. At that period, Europe, divided up into many small, and, by no means affluent, governments; arrayed against each other, not only by religious but political animosities, and exhausted by 22 years of incessant warfare, could no longer raise nor maintain such armies as the present and preceding centuries have beheld marshalled against each other; in fact, all the great battles of the XVIIth century were decided by forces whose aggregate would scarcely compose a wing of one of those mighty armaments which have taken the field within the last 50 years. At *Rocroy*, the Great CONDE, at the head of 22,000 *Frenchmen*, met and defeated the experienced DON FRANCISCO DE MELOS with 26,000 renowned *Spanish*

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veterans, thereby preserving the whole north of *France* from invasion, and its capital from insult ; at *Leipsic*, GUSTAVUS had, *Swedes* and *Saxons* united, 32,000 men, while TILLY commanded 37,000 Imperialists ; at *Lutzen*, GUSTAVUS and WALLENSTEIN, each, displayed, in line of battle, about 20,000 tried soldiers ; at *Nordlingen*, Duke BERNHARD, of *Weimar*, and GUSTAVUS HORN, led 26,000 *Swedes* and *Allies* against 40,000, one half *Imperialists*, one half *Spaniards*, the former under FERDINAND, King of *Hungary*, the DUKE of *Lorraine*, Generals GALLAS, PICCOLOMINI, and JOHANN VON WERTH, the latter under the CARDINAL-INFANTA ; at *Wittstock*, BANER and TORSTENSON, with 22,000 *Swedes*, routed the combined *Imperial* and *Saxon* forces, 31,000 strong, commanded by the ELECTOR of *Saxony* in person ; at *Breitenfeld*, TORSTENSON, with 20,000 *Swedes*, again destroyed the *Imperial* army, numbering 30,000 fine troops under the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM and PICCOLOMINI ; and at *Jankau*, TORSTENSON, with 16,000 *Swedes*, annihilated the EMPEROR's last army of 19,000 veterans under Field-Marshal HARTZFELD. The mention of these bloody and decisive combats suffice to corroborate our position, that TORSTENSON'S armies equalled those of his most distinguished predecessors, and history proves that with them he accomplished marvels more wonderful than all but those which rewarded his Martyr-Soldier-King.

Again : The modern military art and science was yet in its infancy when the fostering care of the transcendant genius of GUSTAVUS enabled it to overleap the intermediate phases and attain the vigor of early manhood.* *Engineering*, however, was still as far in advance of *Artillery* as GUSTAVUS and TORSTENSON had made that Arm superior to the others. Notwithstanding the improvements in their tactics and equipments, introduced by the Swedish Monarch, the relative duties of Horse and Foot soldiers could not but have been in a great measure misunderstood, when we see the former outnumbering the latter in almost every army, and on one occasion *Fehrbellint*, a Bran-

* Yet, one thing is very extraordinary : Though each of his Generals was, properly speaking, a favorite educated by him, and though his enemies were constant eye-witnesses to every branch of his military conduct, yet the art of war declined* from his death, till the time that MONTMOURILI and TURKENS revived it in part, conformably to the principles of the great inventor.—(*Essay on the Military State, etc., in the former part of the Seventeenth Century*, [page 12,] by W. HARTE.)

*Except in the cases of his immediate successors in the command of the Swedish armies. DE P.

† From the TEXT accompanying the ATLAS of the most memorable Battles, Combats and Sieges of Ancient Times, the Middle Ages, and Modern Era, compiled from the most reliable Sources, with the co operation of the Topographical Section of the Royal Corps of the Wurtemberger General Staff, by FR. VON KAUSLER, Colonel in the Wurtemberger General Staff and Member of the Swedish Academy of Military Sciences, published at Merseburg, 1839, we translate the following details of the BATTLE, or more properly speaking, COMBAT (Treffen) of FEHRBELLIN, with such further re-

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denburger army, almost entirely composed of Dragoons, defeating nearly double their number of Infantry strongly posted and defended by a formidable Artillery.

"The State of War in those days differed in many respects from what it is at present. Most conflicts of consequence were

marks from the Historical Dictionary of Memorable Battles and Sieges, etc. [designated H. D.] as will add to the interest of the narrative:

This battle was fought on the 18th June, 1675, between the Brandenburg troops, commanded by their Elector FREDERIC-WILLIAM,* and the Swedes, under the orders of General WOLDEMAR WRANGEL.

The numerical force of the different armies was as follows: that of Brandenburg was composed of 6000 Cavalry, 500 Infantry,† accompanied by 12 8-pounders; that of the Swedes, of 11,000 men, almost entirely Infantry.

I. POSITION OF THE SWEDES.

At the same time that the Elector FREDERIC-WILLIAM of Brandenburg was posted with his contingent on the banks of the Rhine, for the defence of the Empire, the Swedes under the command of Field-Marshal CHARLES GUSTAVUS-WRANGEL, made an irruption into the March of Brandenburg and Pomerania, where they committed the most unheard of cruelties. The strongest divisions of the Swedes were established at Brandenburg, Rathenow, and Havelberg. The Elector, on receiving news of this invasion, as soon as his obligations to the Empire would permit, hastened with all possible speed to Magdeburg, where he found the hereinbefore mentioned troops drawn together; and, after having held a Council of War, formed a plan to surprise the Swedes, by a forced march. On the night of the 15-16th June, Rathenow was surprised by the Brandenburg General, Field-Marshal DORFFLINGER‡ [see page 22, text,] who made prisoners therein a Regiment of Swedish Dragoons, commanded by Colonel WANGELIN. General WOLDEMAR WRANGEL, who shared the Command-in Chief with his brother, the Field-Marshal, sick at this juncture, directed with all haste the retreat of his troops through Barnewitz, on Fehrbellin; whither the Elector pursued them, his sword at their very backs, and at the same time detached a corps of 180 horse, under Lieutenant-Colonel HENNINGUS, to get in the rear of the Swedes, and break down the bridge across the Rhin, in the rear of Fehrbellin, on the road to New-Ruppin, which commission was faithfully executed by HENNINGUS.

Having reached the neighborhood of Fehrbellin, WRANGEL at once perceived that his only hope of safety was to face the enemy courageously, and accept battle. In accordance with this resolution, he gave orders that the bridge across the Rhin should be reconstructed with all possible celerity, and formed in line of battle, his left wing resting (*appuyé*) on the marsh [*des Rhin Luch*], intersected with water-courses, along the left bank of the Rhin, his right wing deployed in the direction of the oak forest, [*Dechtower-Eichen*] and village of Dechtow, [having in his front an open plain, H.D.]; by this manœuvre he cut off all access to the village of Fehrbellin.

III. THE ELECTOR'S PLAN OF ATTACK.

After having held a Council of War, the Elector decided to direct his principal attack against the Swedish right wing from the Forest of Dechtow, to attempt nothing against the centre, defended, as it was, by a formidable artillery, and simply to menace

*The writer has in his library a very fine engraving, a portrait of the GREAT ELECTOR, published at Paris in 1693, whose stern but honest features are almost lost in the flowing curls of an enormous wig, but it is but fair to suppose that he was considered a handsome man, from the encomiums lavished upon him. A French verse below styles him, "The support and honor of the German Empire, and declares that in virtue and valor he exceeds all the great Cæsars."

† The few Brandenburg Infantry, present in the battle, were carried *à la Voltigeur* on the crroups of the cavalry, whose terribly hard riding in pursuit of the Swedish invaders, is still commemorated in a German verse:

"Das war ein hartes Reiten vom Rhein bis an den Rhein,
Doch harter war das Streiten am Tag von Fehrbellin."

TRANSLATION:

"Though furious was the riding from the Rhine unto the Rhine,
More furious was the fighting on the day of Fehrbellin."

‡ Why the credit of this victory is so often given to Field-Marshal DORFFLINGER is not to be accounted for, unless the Elector's operations were governed by his counsel, for he does not appear to have been upon the field, the French account stating that he did not come up with the Infantry until the morning of the 19th, when, like BLUCHER after the battle of Waterloo, he took up the pursuit of the Swedes and captured a number of prisoners.

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decided by the sword, an implement in the present age almost entirely useless—[for Infantry. DE P.]

“The Science of Fortification was then in its infancy.

the left wing with several squadrons under the command of the Landgrave, FREDERIC of Homburg.

IV. DETAILS OF THE COMBAT.

1. The Elector having come up between the village of Linum and the Forest of Dechtow, established his artillery on a sand-hill, about opposite the left centre of the Swedes, which constituted the apex of an obtuse triangle, whose base lay between the two before mentioned points, and, under the protection of this battery, skirted with his principal force the Forest of Dechtow, while the Landgrave of Homburg (with 1600 horse, H. D.) advanced against the Swedish left wing; but the Landgrave, who transgressed his orders, and charged with too much precipitation, was repulsed by the Swedes with considerable loss.

2. The Elector, informed of what had occurred, hastened his attack against the Swedish right, § and although his Cavalry suffered severely from the Swedish artillery, he nevertheless repulsed a counterchange of WRANGEL's Cavalry.

3. The Swedish Infantry made unsuccessful attempts to carry the Brandenburger Artillery, but was repulsed and much cut up by the Regiment of Brandenburg Guards and the Cavalry Regiments, Anhalt and Moerser.

4. WRANGEL, seeing his right wing broken, ¶ by the reiterated charges of the Elector, the majority of whose troops were concentrated on this point, retreated in two columns on Fehrbellin, along the crest of a range of hills; throughout this retreat the right column was continually harassed by the Cavalry charges, directed against it by the Elector.

5. *The Swedish Infantry, however, repulsed all these attacks vigorously, and continued its retreat in the most beautiful order.*

6. The left column, which retired along the edge of the Rhin marsh, was not again molested by the Landgrave of Homburg, whose troops had suffered too great a loss to hazard a second attempt.

7. The Swedes gained Fehrbellin, where they found all their baggage, and halted behind their wagon train, parked on the bank of the Rhin to the left of the place, the feeble entrenchments of the village (Dorp**) of Feldberge and the walls of Fehrbellin. Meanwhile the Brandenburg troops took up their position, in some degree encircling the Swedes; when night terminated the combat.

8. During the night the greater part of the Swedes evacuated Fehrbellin, and retired by Ruppın to Wittstock. The next morning, 19th June, the Swedish rearguard also abandoned Fehrbellin, and set fire to the bridge across the Rhin, scarcely yet re-established, to protect their retreat. A large number of cattle, 200 baggage wagons, and 5 pieces of artillery, remained in the hands of the Brandenburgers, who, in addition thereto, captured on the field of battle, 8 pairs of colors, 2 standards, and 4 guns.

V. RESULTS OF THE COMBAT.

The Swedish loss in wounded and killed is estimated, according to some, at 2500; according to others, at 4000 men.

The loss of the Brandenburgers should have been proportionally much less, but it is nowhere distinctly intimated.

§ History records for the admiration of posterity the heroic devotion of FROBEN, one of the Elector's equerries. FREDERIC-WILLIAM, being mounted on a white charger, FROBEN perceiving that the Swedes took particular aim at this horse, distinguished among all the rest by his peculiar color, besought the Elector to exchange horses with him, under the pretext that his own was less restive and stood firmer better. The change effected, FROBEN galloped to another part of the field, and the Elector was astonished to find that, while the fire, so hot but a moment before, slackened about him, a perfect hailstorm of bullets followed the movements of his white charger; and but a short time had elapsed before FROBEN, struck dead by a bullet, saved, by his fall, the life of his distinguished master.

¶ The writer possesses a beautiful series of lithographs, illustrating the changes in the uniforms of the different Prussian [Brandenburg] Regiments, almost as far back as the date of this battle; and nothing can be more striking or gallant than the dress and equipments of this very ANHALT Regiment of Dragoons; which, however, with the exception of heavy, funnel-shaped jack-boots, in place of high gaiters, differ but little from that of the Musketeers, belonging to the Infantry of the Line of the same country and era.

¶ The “Historical Dictionary” [H. D.] states—but we find it nowhere else corroborated—that several regiments of the Swedish Life Guards [*Gardes du Corps*] were cut to pieces, whose flight occasioned that of the left wing, and that a portion of the Swedes took refuge in the marsh, where they were massacred by the neighboring peasantry.

**DORP, DORP, is a German word signifying a little village or hamlet (suburb?) dependent on a greater village. The old English word THOR means the same thing.

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Towns were besieged and defended with fewer cannon than are made use of now—being, in general, protected only from the insults of plunderers. The art of a campaign, therefore, consisted in giving decisive battles and possessing the *passes and navigable rivers*, by which means the fortified towns submitted, of course; nevertheless, all parties confided much in their artillery. TILLY and GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS battered some places with incredible fury, and made use of pieces of a very considerable size. The former erected many large batteries at the battle of *Leipsic*, and WALLENSTEIN was not ill provided at that of *Lutzen*."

"The generals marched their troops with greater spirit and expedition than has been customary since. The common march of the infantry was 16 and 18 miles a day. In a journal of each days marching, which a Scottish regiment made for 6 years successively, I find that quantity to establish the medium; and, to calculate more favorably, allow the German mile to be only 4 1-2 English miles," [a *Wurtemberg* Mile, which I have adopted as the basis of my calculations throughout this work, exceeds 4 English miles by such a mere fraction that the excess has not been taken into the account; 100 ordinary German, or rather *Prussian* miles, are equal to 497 3-4 English miles;* and the scale attached to the "*Atlas of the London Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*," makes 15 German miles equal to 68½ Eng. miles. DE P.] "In cases of emergency and importance, it was usual to stretch the journey to 22 miles; thus, by the above mentioned diary, one corps of troops (which rested 3 months after GUSTAVUS' death) marched in 4 years 3,515 miles; and, by the way, it must be observed that the fire-arms of that time were much heavier than they are at present."†

The facile capture, also, one after another, or rendition of fortresses and strong towns, may perchance excite a smile when such easy conquests are claimed as triumphs worthy a great general; but he who sneers should remember that if forts and fortified places were weak at that date against artillery, as we now see that mighty agent of destruction, artillery, and especially siege artillery, were much more primitive and inefficient than the walls against which they were directed.

The fact is, the two first engineers worthy that title, as we understand their art, were the Hollander CORNHORN, and Frenchman VAUBAN, born respectively in 1633 and 1634, both of whom arrived at the maturity of their genius when TORSTENSON.

*Practical Arithmetic, written according to the latest definitions and laws, by ERNEST SOMMER, Teacher of Mercantile Arithmetic at the Royal Commercial School of Leipsic Honorary Member of the Polytechnic Society, etc. etc.

†Essay on the Military State, etc. etc. in the former part of the XVIIIth Century, London, 1787; (pages 14, 15,) by W. HARTZ.

slumbered with his fellow heroes in the vaults of Riddarholm, and at the time when the Swedish general stood exultant amid the wreck of the Imperial armaments, were yet in their boyhood.

"The age of Louis XIV," of France, (1643-1715,) so writes Major HALLECK, in 1846, "effected a great revolution in the art of fortification, and carried it to such a degree of perfection, that it has since received but slight improvement." Another, as unexpected and startling an overthrow of all those ideas to which military engineers were most thoroughly wedded, has been reserved for the very period in which these leaves are issued from the press, and the sieges of *Silistria* and *Sevastopol* have revealed the real strength of those earthworks whose importance was first discovered and applied by TORSTENSON'S great Preceptor and King, who, to use the quaint language of the Scotchman MONRO, describing the famous encampment at *Werben*, whose remains still exist at the confluence of the *Havel* and *Elbe*: "WHEN HE WAS THE WEAKEST HE DUGGED MOST IN THE GROUND."

But this is wandering somewhat from the subject, so to return again to the question before us: How often have whole provinces, nay kingdoms, succumbed to the victor in a great battle, when the army, in the field, for their defence has been defeated and dispersed! Is the surrender, at first summons of a score of fortifications, more extraordinary than the terror inspired by first success of the French Republican arms in Holland, when, after the passage of the *Waal*, "the immense naval resources, the vast wealth which ages of independence had accumulated in the United Provinces, lay at the mercy of the Convention," and, "to complete the wonder of the campaign, a body of cavalry and flying artillery crossed the *Zuyder Zee* [South Sea] on the ice, and summoned the Fleet lying frozen in the *Tenzel*," whose commandant surrendered to a force which a single broadside would have annihilated. Did not the single victory of *Marengo* cost the Austrians all their advantages, which the Russian hosts had quitted their icy steppes and traversed the German Empire to secure, and the very next day after the battle behold the ineffaceable disgrace of the Piedmontese fortresses yielded almost without the ceremony of a summons? Did not the twin victories of *Jena* and *Auerstadt* prostrate the land of the great FREDERIC at the feet of NAPOLEON, and five weeks suffice to place the keys of the Prussian fortresses, some of the strongest in Europe, amply supplied and garrisoned, in the hands of the victor, and affix a stigma on the Prussian arms no future successes have sufficed to obliterate? And, alas, crowning misfortune and inexplicable degeneracy, was not *Finland* torn from the arms of Sweden, a separation still bewailed by both countries, united by ties, woven and interwoven

by centuries of mutual benefits and glories, reward the capture of *Stenborg*, the *Gibraltar of the North*, yielded after a feeble defence to a panic consequent in the precipitate but mastery advance of a Russian army. Land of glorious memories! whither had flown that devoted valor, which characterized thy sons at *Leipsic*, *Lutzen*, and those other hundred fields which made the name of FINN renowned, and, fighting, still side by side, with thy bold Swedish Brethren, won for the Mother Country the proud title of "*Arbiter of Europe*."

But enough; the military annals of the world afford in every era numerous examples, similar to those selected, to establish the truth of all that I herein advance.

And now, it would not be amiss to consider in what exalted language native and foreign historians estimate the subject of this memoir. "By far the largest number of great Captains," says VOLTAIRE, "have become such by degrees. The DUC D'ENGHEIN was born a General. The Art of War, in him, seemed to exist as a natural instinct. In all Europe, HE, and the SWEDE TORSTENSON, alone, possessed at the age of 20 years, that genius which could well pass for matured experience."

"It may be worth observing here, once for all," exclaims HARTE, quoting PUFFENDORF, "that he, (GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,) CONDE, and his own disciple TORSTENSON, were the only three generals who at 20 years of age showed the public all the effects of long experience."

"This fellow-warrior of BANER, [often styled the SECOND GUSTAVUS,]—his equal in genius, his superior in persevering energy, mastering, by his greatness of soul, a body enfeebled by captivity and diseases; BENEATH SWEDEN'S THRONE [i. e. after the great GUSTAVUS] THE GREATEST OF SWEDEN'S COMMANDERS," is the testimony of GEUER.

"TORSTENSON richly deserved the surname of *BAJAZET*, *ILDERIM*, [i. e. LIGHTNING,]" says LUNDBLAD. "Like an *Argus*, he looked forth everywhere with an hundred eyes, and then, like a *Briareus*, acted with an hundred arms."

"TORSTENSON," says KOMLRAUSCH, "who, although so weak in body that he was always forced to be carried in a litter, WAS, NEVERTHELESS, THE MOST ACTIVE AND TALENTED OF ALL THE GENERALS IN THIS WAR."

SCHILLER styles him the "PUPIL OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, AND HIS MOST SUCCESSFUL IMITATOR." "Though a martyr to the gout, and confined to a litter, he surpassed all his opponents in activity; and his enterprises had wings, while his body was held by the most frightful of fetters."

COXE uses almost the same language: "It was truly said of him, that while his body was confined to earth, his mind

was free as air, and his enterprises had wings," and adds, "*he was the most active and enterprising of the Swedish Generals.*"

BECKER says "*that TORSTENSON had inhaled the soul of his renowned, his immortal Master;*" and HOLLING, referring to him, as early as 1632, speaks of him as the "**FAMOUS**" TORSTENSON.

And last and greatest testimony, because the Witness who gave it was TORSTENSON'S Monarch, General, Friend and Master in the Art of War, the Great GUSTAVUS—one of the six most eminent Military Leaders the world in its progress of near 6,000 years has produced, ALEXANDER, HANNIBAL and CÆSAR in Ancient, and GUSTAVUS, FREDERIC and NAPOLEON in Modern times—declared that *in his Pupil, when from 18 to 20 years of age, he saw already a good General*, and subsequently pronounced that Disciple "**CAPABLE OF COMMANDING ANY ARMY.**"

Similar quotations might be multiplied *ad nauseam*, but were historians silent his exploits, trumpet-tongued, would declare his greatness. His victories, and they were victories indeed—annihilating blows—are his best testimonials, and his triumphant expeditions his worthiest monuments; and that Man who made the haughtiest, mightiest Potentates tremble before him, must have been indeed a Hero.

Finally, to close these Introductory Remarks, I hope my readers will excuse an explanation of the origin of, and how I succeeded in obtaining the data to complete, the accompanying BIOGRAPHY.

As stated in the opening paragraph, having determined, years ago, to write a complete LIFE of **LENNARD** (erroneously styled by SCHILLER, "**BERNARD**," and by other historians, "**LEONARD**" and "**LEONARDO**") **TORSTENSON**, I searched all the Libraries to which I had access, for some Memoir which would serve as a skeleton to clothe with new and interesting facts connected with his glorious and, in some respects, unexampled career.

The only English Books which rewarded my investigation were TURNER's elegant Translation of GEIJER's eloquent "*History of the Swedes*," and a quaint version, "*The Compleat History of Sweden*," apparently abridged from PUFFENDORF. My next resource was to discover some work in French or German, whose translation would afford a sound basis, if no more, for the Work of Love; but none found mention but the "*Eulogy of TORSTENSON*," printed in the "*Memoirs of the Swedish Academy*," the composition of the Founder of that Institution, GUSTAVUS III, subsequently republished among the works of that polished and accomplished Sovereign, and the "*Life of TORSTENSON*," by CHARLES-REINHOLD-BERCH, both of which are referred to as authorities in that invaluable compilation, the "*Biographie Universelle*." In the hope of obtaining these, a book-importer

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was spoken to, and requested to interest himself in procuring them ; but although this took place over one year ago, the works have not been received.

Some nine months since, Mr. CHARLES-BESCHOR, then lately arrived in the United States from LEIPSIK, the great centre of the German Book Trade, informed me that he thought he could, through his friends on the spot, obtain what was wanting, or at all events some clue to aid me in my investigations, such as, at least, the Titles of German Translations of Swedish works treating of TORSTENSON or the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. All hopes of obtaining that which I had so long and earnestly desired had been dismissed from my mind, when, to my great surprise and delight, the sheets, unbound and not even folded, the text printed on the coarsest and apparently olden-time paper, of FREIDRICH VON SCHUBERT's German Translation of J. F. VON LUNDBLAD's "SWEDISH PLUTARCH," were placed in my hands about 8 weeks since, and at once taken up by Mr. BESCHOR, my knowledge of the German being very limited, who, after four days' incessant labor, day and night, returned them to me, accompanied by a hasty but literal translation in English.

This it was, at first, my intention to revise and carefully publish in the choicest language at my command ; but, when I came to compare this Biographical Sketch with the Narratives of GRIJER, PUFFENDORF, SCHILLER, and BECKER, I found that many details were wanting which would, at the same time, add to the interest of the work viewing it merely as readable matter and equally enhance its value as an historical reference. In accordance with this resolution I determined no longer to confine myself to a mere translation, but by an earnest study of Maps* and Gazetteers,† and a thorough comparison of Authorities, make von LUNDBLAD's Memoir of TORSTENSON *de facto* my own Biography of that Great Man.

After the date when TORSTENSON recovered his liberty, although throughout I have used von LUNDBLAD as my *Basis*, other facts and language have been so interwoven with his

*Among others, Dr. KARL VON SPRUNER's Historisch Geographischer Hand-Atlas zur Geschichte der Staaten Europa's vom anfang des Mittelalters bis auf die Neueste Zeit, &c. &c. 1854.

Also, the Historisch-Geographischer Atlas, zu den allgemeinen Geschichtswerken von C. v. ROTTECK, POLITZ, u. BECKER, in 40 colorirten Karten von JULIUS LOWENBERG. Freiburg im Breisgau, im Verlage der Werderechen Kunst u. Buchhandlung. 1839.

(Historic Geographical Atlas, elucidating the general Historical Works of C. v. ROTTECK, POLITZ and BECKER, containing 40 colored maps, by JULIUS LOWENBERG, Freiburg in the Breisgau, published at Werder's Scientific and Artistic Book Repository. 1839.)

†W. GUTHRIE's and E. JONES' General Gazetteer and Compendious Geographical Dictionary, &c. &c. Dublin, 1764, has been of the greatest assistance in determining localities and running boundaries long since expunged from maps of Europe.

matter that as much as any posthumous Biography, dependent entirely on others for data, can be this is mine; the first 9 pages, likewise others, interspersed, however, are pretty much a mere translation. The Notes, with very few exceptions, are mine; the majority of the mere References, on the other hand, are VON LUNDBLAD'S.

In the course of preparing this Book the greatest difficulty experienced, and the difficulty has been great and often vexatious, has been the discrepancy in dates furnished by different authors, which, sometimes, seemed almost unsusceptible of reconciliation; nor, in fact, have I always attempted it; but, feeling qualified from comparatively extensive examination of this period of History, particularly its Military Records, permitted my own judgment to determine that which appeared to be most reasonable, adopting those dates in which the majority concurred, or which were set down in the Journals of Officers, holding high commands, under BANER and TORSTENSON.

Few, in this country, I am well aware, take much interest in the subjects of which this little Volume treats or of cognate matters, but to those who do, and honor it with their perusal, it would be as well to state that although compilation and composition has been a "Labor of Love," it has been by no means a short or facile undertaking. Mr. BUESCHOR, it is true, occupied only four days in making a rough translation of VON LUNDBLAD, but the subsequent pages occupied my every leisure moment, and oftentimes whole days and evenings have been thus devoted, for upwards of 3 months.

In order to avoid the publication of too bulky a Volume, I have, as far as possible, confined myself to *facts and dates*, which an Historian should look upon as the DUKE D'ALVA* (*Castigador de Flamencos*, as that blood-thirsty old tyrant but excellent officer was often styled,) did upon *Veterans*, saying that such constituted "the *Bones and Muscles* of the Military Body, and that new-raised *Recruits only filled up the interstices with shape and plumpness*," to which last might not inaptly be compared Remarks, laudatory and explanatory, from which I have refrained as far as the same were not absolutely necessary, in my opin-

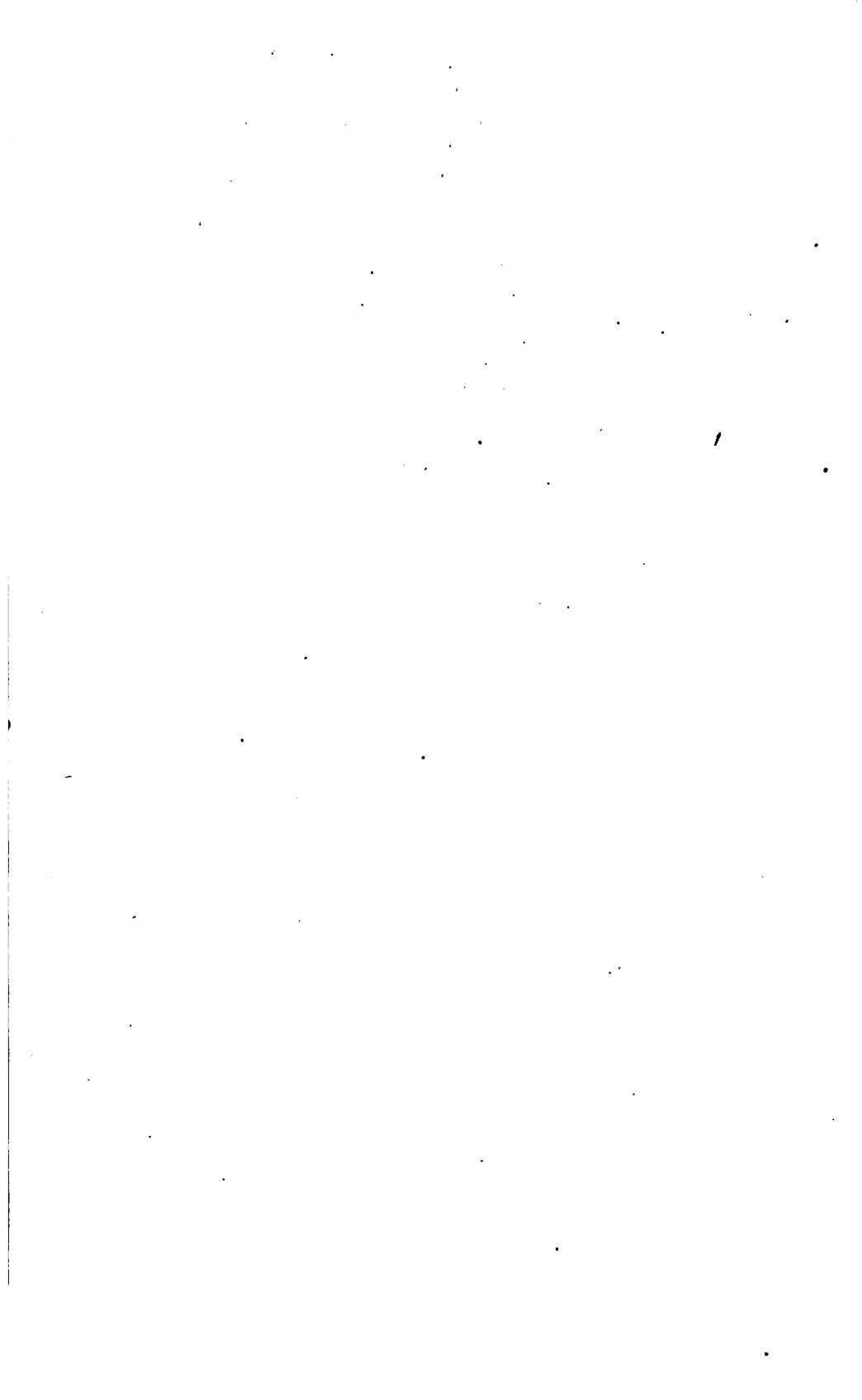
* FERDINANDO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, DUKE D'ALVA, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Spain, "which he disgraced by his crimes," was born in 1508, entered the army early, became a General at the age of 30, served in Italy, Hungary and Africa, under the Emperor CHARLES V. and King PHILIP II. and achieved merited distinction for his bravery and ability as an Officer and Statesman; both of which, great as they undoubtedly were, were far surpassed and degraded by his blood thirsty cruelty, almost unparalleled in history, and religious (Roman Catholic) bigotry. In 1566, sent into Flanders to crush the rising spirit of the Hollanders, he exercised his authority with the most infamous barbarity; 18,000 individuals, among which were the best and bravest and noblest in the land, perished on the scaffold, and more than 100,000 emigrated. This "sanguinary monster" died in 1582.

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ion, to enable readers to comprehend the motives and movements of the GREAT SWEDISH WAR CHIEF, which, the latter, fully to appreciate, require constant and careful reference to reliable maps on a large scale throughout every page, descriptive of his operations, and, without such maps, it is impossible to do justice to him or his achievements.

With this Introduction, I commit this Biography to my Readers, in the pleasing hope that, when they have completed its examination, they will concede that my Hero was worthy of the trouble, money and labor I expended in this Commemoration of his Greatness, and admit, taking all things into consideration, that he was one of the *very ablest Generals* who have flourished since the invention of gunpowder, and one of the *most manly men* who have ever lived.

J. W. de P.



DEDICATION.

*Lives of all great men remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footsteps on the sands of time ;
Footsteps, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwreck'd brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.*

LONGFELLOW.

TO MY FATHER :

Throughout my life, nothing has afforded me such unalloyed pleasure as that taste for the study of history, to which you early ministered by furnishing my book-shelves with sound and instructive publications, judiciously selected.

Examination and reflection long since led me to select, from the great mass of eminent men of whom I read, *four individuals*, as the objects of my unbounded respect and admiration ; nay, if such a term is admissable in relation to the dead, even of warm affection. It is not exaggeration to say, I love to linger with their memories.

The *first*, *Gustavus Adolphus*, that sainted-warrior monarch of Sweden, "expected in all Germany like a Messiah," who established the Protestant Faith on such an immovable basis that all the powers of Rome have not availed to shake it. His equal in all things, he was greater in many than our own illustrious Liberator.

The world has never yet beheld the tender and constant husband, judicious parent, steadfast friend, pleasing poet, accomplished musician, remarkable linguist, enlightened diplomatist, illustrious commander, indomitable soldier, and exemplary Christian, united, save in him.

The *second*, *Leonard Torstensson*, whom GELLER, the charming historian of his country's glories, pronounced the greatest war-chief, with the exception of his unequaled master, the great GUSTAVUS, Sweden, prolific in heroes, ever possessed. Schiller calls him "his most successful imitator"—who, "though a martyr to the gout," and other maladies, the most excruciating which afflict the human frame, "and confined to a litter, surpassed all his opponents in activity, and his enterprises had wings while his body was held by the most frightful of fetters." He was one whose dauntless spirit all the horrors of a dungeon, conceived in the fellest spirit of the Inquisition, could not shake, even though it shattered his vigorous body ; whose soul waxed mightier as his physical powers wasted ; who declared that he "would rather

die than survive himself;" and, thus defiant, lived a conqueror over fate, the enemy, and disease, till his last breath was spent--a patriot hero.

The *third*, **Our William**, Prince of Orange,* another victor over mortality, whose lion-heart, beating responsive to his vast intellect, shook the frailest of bodies, that **DUTCHMAN**--who humbled France's greatest King, and made England what she is and what she never could have been without him--greatest in defeat, never despairing, never fearing the worst that man could do, ever trusting in God and that invincible soul that God gave him.

The *fourth*, **JOHN CAVALIER**, the peasant's son, the shepherd, baker's boy of Anduze--that beardless youth of 17, whom religious fervor summoned from his parent's cottage to work out a career of glory at the same age at which Samuel, in his father's sheepfold, anointed Jesse's son as Israel's king: who, without education, or warlike training, at the head of his undisciplined Protestant brethren, by him subsequently disciplined, foiled and defeated four of France's best generals when France's generals were the best, and treated, as an equal, with that Marshal Villars who saved great Louis from draining to the dregs his cup of humiliation.

It often seems strange to myself how my heart thrills when I recall the achievements of these super-human spirits, at the very mention of whom a chord within me vibrates. Hundreds of pens, far, far more capable than mine, have striven to do justice to evangelical religion's greatest champion "under Helm," "the whole world's wonder," and our ancestral Holland's unshakable **WILLIAM**.

Corstenson, however, on the other hand, is almost unknown, save in those countries where his fiery genius and his hand of iron have left ineffaceable tokens of what a **MAN** can do.

To lay before you a biographical sketch of him for whom I feel an admiration and respect, even beyond what these lines express, I have labored with a perseverance nothing but love of the subject could inspire.

Weighed down myself with the bitter consciousness that physical infirmity, if years bring no relief, would not permit me to avail myself of the opportunities, which even this era may present, for distinction in that career to whose laurels I did once hope to be able to aspire or carry out the plans my ever-active mind delights in. projecting; it affords me the greater satisfaction, from our very brotherhood, as it were, in pain to introduce to you, my father, my *model hero*, the greater that his chiefest conquest was over man's direst enemy, disease.

* **WILLIAM III.**, of England.

Lennart Torstenson.

The troubles which convulsed the north of Europe, but especially Sweden, under the reigns of SIGISMUND and CHARLES IX, influenced also the family of TORSTENA or TORSTENSON, which appears, as far as we can discover, only towards the latter part of the "Middle Ages," but had already become in the XVIIth century one of the most distinguished in Sweden. The first ancestor known with certainty was HANS of TODENE, a West-Gothic nobleman, whose son SVEN HANSSON lived about A. D. 1440. Of his descendants, TORSTENSON, and LINDORM BRUNSSON of *Hagetorp*, were Swedish Senators, or, as it was called, "Counsellors of the Empire," under the reign of GUSTAVUS I. This TORSTEN was married to ANNA SLATTE, heiress of TORSTENA, which consequently became the family estate of the race. At the battle of *Stangebro*,* 20th September, 1598, ANDERS LENNARTSON fought for the cause of CHARLES IX, and led victoriously one wing against the enemy. At the same time his brother TORSTEN LENNARTSON, Lennart Torstenson's father, left his native country, and, in the fulfillment of what he esteemed his duty, crossed the sea as an exile. When, with his wife MARTA POSSE, he fled the Swedish realm, he left his only son Lennart Torstenson, the subject of this biography, to the care of his mother MARGARETHA ANDERSDOTTER EKEBLAD, afterwards married to ANDERS OXHUFVUD, the child being then only three months old.

Lennart was born 17th August, 1603, at *Torstena*, which is situated at the foot of the *Hunneberg* mountain, not far from *Wenersborg*,† at the southern extremity of Lake *Wener*. In his grandmother's house LENNART received such an education as in a great degree compensated him for the absence of his parents. In those heroic times it was customary to imbue the youthful mind with a fervent love of religion, and by narrating the deeds of their forefathers encourage and excite them to imitate them. None of these early lessons were forgotten by TORSTENSON,

**Stag-budge*. GELIER says 25th September, 1598. This battle placed the crown of Sweden on the head of CHARLES IX, father of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

† A great part of the land near WENERSBORG belonged to the family of TORSTENSON, and on the other side of the River GOETHA (GOTA), they had extensive possessions, amongst which was RESTA, now the summer residence and crown-demeane of the Governor (Landhofding), where LENNART's father died after his return from Poland. Even to this day, the memory of the great Commander of the family of TORSTENA is cherished by the inhabitants of that part of the country—much as a MYTH, however—and is transmitted from father to son. In this parish—RESTA—the peasants usually name their sons TORSTEN. Such a monument, consecrated in the hearts of so simple a people, is more durable and far more enviable than if built of bronze and marble.

for which reason, even at an early age, he evinced an elevated and devout esteem for morality and order, united to a vivid impression of the value of honor and bravery, such as was to be expected from the nephew and the grandson of such valiant generals as ANDERS LENNARTSON and his brave father. LENNART TORSTENSON'S grandfather was General of the Swedish Infantry, and fell on the 10th November, 1563, in the Danish war, at the battle of *Mark*, (in the retreat from the unsuccessful siege of *Halmstad*.) in the parish of Slattockra, in Holland.

From his seventh year to the death of his grandmother, LENNART was instructed by a private tutor on her estate, and, while there, at the same time that he displayed a rare power of acquiring learning, his habits and behaviour were equally steady and reliable. All this time his father was an exile,* and afforded him an example of a disinterested and sincere devotion to principle, having not only abandoned friends and wealth in his native country, but also, by his absence, exposed his beloved son to an uncertain fate. His grandmother being dead, he was received into the house of his father's sister AGNETA LENNARTSDOTTER—who, at this time, was married to BOO RIBBING, of *Saby*, Charles IXth's Counsellor, an independent and intelligent man—where he finished his education; and thence his uncle-in-law, likewise his paternal-governor (*Malmsman*) and guardian, afforded him a favorable opportunity of entering the State Service. In 1618, RIBBING presented his young relation to king GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, at Jonkoping, who at once made him his Page, or, as it was then styled, Squire of the Chamber. In this quality he remained four years in the retinue of the king, accompanying him, as the case might be, in his travels at home or campaigns abroad. At the siege of *Riga*, and in several subsequent battles, LENNART TORSTENSON did not leave the side of Gustavus Adolphus, carrying the king's armor upon his own breast, in order thus to have the same more ready in case his monarch should have need of it. Just before one of the battles against the Poles, TORSTENSON was sent by GUSTAVUS with orders to one of the subordinate generals. During his absence the dispositions of the enemy having been entirely changed, other very different movements, the opposite to those commanded, became necessary to meet them, which the king, irritated at the circumstance, pointed out to him on his return, with some asperity. "Pardon, Sire," said TORSTENSON; "I saw that the enemy's march had been changed, and gave, in your Majesty's name, the requisite orders in

*TORSTENSON LENNARTSON did not return to Sweden until 1621, having received the requisite permission from Gustavus Adolphus, only in that year. He died upon his estate *Rena* [RENA?], on the 31st March, 1631.—(See *Gustaf-Adolf's Historia of Hallenberg*.)

accordance therewith." GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS did not reply, but at the supper-table made TORSTENSON sit at his side—and from that hour our hero enjoyed the king's friendship and particular attention.*

In the naval operations against *Danzig* (1623), TORSTENSON served on board the same vessel with GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. After having returned thence he was sent to travel, at the royal expense, with Count HORN, dispatched upon a secret mission to *Holland*. In the next year, however, TORSTENSON was recalled, and returned by the way of *Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock, and Denmark*. Immediately on his arrival home, on the 23d October, 1624, he was, in the castle of *Gripsholm*, declared capable of bearing arms, which was done by acknowledging the young nobleman to have attained man's estate, and girding him, according to the old custom, with a sword, in order therewith to defend himself.† Very soon afterwards, the young LENNART received the appointment of *Ensign* in the Body Guard, and at the battle of *Wallhoff* (1625), on the field of *Semgallens* (*Semigallia* E. portion of Courland, in Poland,) he carried the *body-ensign*. In the ensuing year, when the king invaded Prussia, he was promoted to a *Captaincy*; in 1627, became *Lieutenant-Colonel* of four companies of *Norrland's* Infantry, and in 1628, *Colonel* of the same Regiment, whose numerical force was then doubled at the head of which he distinguished himself, especially at *Marienburg*. The armistice of *Stumsdorf* (1629), checked for a short time the warlike activity of our hero. Having conducted his Regiment to its appropriate district, and placed it in cantonment there, he proceeded to *Upsala*, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS having made that renowned old city his place of residence during a raging and infectious epidemic (1629), in order to be

* *Oeuvres de Voltaire, Tom. XIII, p. 212. Paris. 1827.*

According to Schiller's account, the king, menacing him with the hand, said, 'Torstenon! that might have cost you your life; though,' he added, 'I see in you a good general.'

Of all the great commanders of which the XVIIth century was so prolific—and the same remark may be extended, with a few wonderful exceptions, over the whole period of history—only three generals, GUSTAVUS, TORSTENSON, and OONDE, exhibited at the age of 20 years all the maturity which in other men results from experience. Conspicuous as LENNART TORSTENSON became in the supreme command of armies and that rapidity of conception and vigor of execution, without which no military chieftain can ever become pre-eminent, he particularly excelled as an officer of artillery, having won his earliest, and some of his brightest, laurels as Colonel and General of Ordnance and Grand Master of the Artillery, and made a reputation, second to none, by his admirable employment of the siege and field trains entrusted to his supervision. In the same manner that in every age and in every branch of the mechanical arts and sciences, the honor of each great improvement or invention has almost invariably accrued to the chief, the world being ignorant of the patient merit and unobtrusive genius of the obscure subordinate with whom the idea originated, perfected by the greater means, leisure and opportunities of the superior—so may the credit of organizing the Artillery Arm on an entirely new basis belong in a great measure to TORSTENSON, without detracting from his great master's reputation.

† *Namnkunniga Svenska Herrars och Fruars Skadepen, af Berch Sid 184.*

present at the councils for the great enterprise of liberating Germany. When the army left *Elfsnaben* for this great undertaking, Colonel TORSTENSON received the command of the "excellent" artillery, of which he was afterward *Grand Master*.* Every military reader must be aware that this Arm attained a degree of perfection under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, which it had never before possessed. It was not only the introduction of the newly invented *LEATHER-CANNON*, by means of which this second Epaminondas spread horror and disorder among his enemies, but chiefly by the greater facility of manœuvring his great iron guns, the mobility with which he endowed them, whereby his artillery under TORSTENSON, who "had already made a name in this branch of the service," became so terrible.†

* PUFFENDORF says he was already "*Great Master of the Artillery*" at this epoch.

†In the march of improvement directed by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the amelioration of the Artillery kept up with, or even much in advance of, every other branch. He organized a field or siege train, whose calibres were 3-pdrs. 6-pdrs. 12-pdrs. 16-pdrs. and 30-pdrs.; the guns bronze, cast iron, or leather—that is to say, wrought-iron pipes strengthened with concentric staves of wood, compactly bound together or wound with small cords or strips of leather, the whole enveloped in a covering of the latter material. The king was very partial to these pieces, and used them on all possible occasions, from the year 1628 to the hour of his death. The regimental pieces, never separated from the corps to which they belonged, were very short and light, and drawn by a single horse, or a squad of men.

"The leather guns," to translate Chemnitz, "were of the utmost service in his wars against the Poles and Prussians, and afterwards in his German campaigns; those small, short, regimental pieces with wide mouths, which oftener belched forth grape shot than balls, and committed such marvelous havoc among the masses of Tilly's troops at Leipsic."*

The heavier guns were horsed with eight pair, and the others with two or three pair each. To accelerate their fire, he adopted very light wooden cases for cartridges—(*Cartouches de Bois*) [*Sabots*?]—to which the balls were attached, "which enabled his Artillery," adds Khewenhuller, "to fire eight times ere an expert musketeer could fire six [times]," so that the king's cannon were discharged more rapidly than the enemy's small arms. (Examine *Études sur le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie, par Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte*—since President of the French Republic, and now the Emperor NAPOLEON III.—Paris, 1846, '51.)

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS LENT those wings to the Artillery which FREDERIC II, the GREAT, of Prussia, afterwards GAVE—but the honor of originating the idea belongs to the Swede. His Artillery was the first which united mobility of manœuvre, rapidity of fire, and precision of aim. FREDERIC WILLIAM, the GREAT, *Elector of Brandenburg*, nephew, pupil, and intended son-in-law of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the GREAT, king of Sweden, and great grandfather of that illustrious prince, FREDERIC, the GREAT, owed his victory of FERRIBELLIN over the Swedes—the crowning achievement of a glorious career—to the presence of FIVE pieces of Artillery, which kept up with his Cavalry, [dragoons, no doubt, first instituted by his uncle,]—he had no Infantry—in their pursuit of the enemy. To him, therefore, may be attributed the credit of first organizing, or rather using, *Horse Artillery*; for, although his uncle had achieved such wonders in mobilising batteries, no writer, even the most partial, appears to claim that he actually reached that perfection of celerity during his lifetime, whatever hints he may have thrown out, which bore such fruit in 1765. This at once demolishes the theory that Horse Artillery is the conception of FREDERIC the GREAT. (Consult *Études Historiques et Militaires sur la Prusse, par Ed. de la Barre Duparc, Capitaine du Génie, Professeur d'Art Militaire à l'École de Saint Cyr.* Paris, 1854.)

*Here we have a Mountain Howitzer on a Prairie Carriage. Well said Solomon—"There is no new thing under the sun." Eccl. i. 9.

By his admirable direction of these mighty auxiliaries, **TORSTENSON** distinguished himself throughout the campaign, at the capture of *Demmin*, *Griefenhagen*, *Landsberg*, *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and more particularly in the glorious battle of *Leipsic*.

At a time when the different commanders, **BANER**, **HORN**, and several others, were detached, each, with his corps d'armee, independent of the other, to execute their monarch's plans, **TORSTENSON** was always retained with the main army, and traversed with his royal master in the art of war and diplomacy all the countries on the Rhine and the Danube, like as in triumph. When any resistance was offered, **TORSTENSON** was always the promptest to attack, very often also he was the foremost in the trenches, and first upon the walls. Thus we observe him at the siege of *Wurzburg* (1631). The castle of this place, called *Marienburg*, situated on the left bank of the *Mayn*, was strengthened with three bastions, a dry but very deep ditch, a covered way, and a glacis, held a garrison of 1000 men, and, in addition, contained provisions for one year. So strong was it considered that all the treasures of the aristocracy and of the Catholic clergy throughout its vicinage, had been deposited within. The Governor-Commandant **KELLER**, an old and experienced warrior, at the approach of the Swedes, blew up two vaulted arches of the stone bridge across the *Mayn*, which connected the castle with the unfortified city. The king having passed the river by means of flat-bottomed boats (*praams*), ordered the trenches to be opened, and determined to attempt a storm, for which the "BLUE" brigade and the brigade of **AXEL LILJE** were selected and placed under the command of **TORSTENSON**. During the night a Swedish officer, a Livonian, accompanied by but 7 soldiers, reconnoitered the draw bridge, and found it, either from over-confident negligence or forgetfulness, not drawn up. On being challenged, with the unexpected answer—Swede! he, with his small party, dashed across the bridge before it could be raised. He was already inside of the castle, when the Swedish column, ready to attack, forced its way in at his summons, like a torrent, sweeping all before it; and in a few moments this castle, considered impregnable, with all its provisions and treasures, was in the hands of **TORSTENSON**. The Governor-Commandant, who defended himself like a madman, only escaped death by the promise of discovering the secret vaults in which the treasures were concealed, for such was the fury of the Swedish soldiers, in retaliation for the atrocities of the Imperialists, that they cut down without pity all who were found with arms in their hands, answering their appeals for mercy with the cry which must have struck terror to the conscious enemy of "*Magdeburgh Quarter*."

Very soon afterwards, while storming *Kreutznach* (1632), an unimportant city in the district of *Pfalz* (Rhenish Bavaria), which

however, was advantageously situated and protected by a castle, well nigh as strong as that of *Wurzburg*, in Bavaria Proper, TORSTENSON came very near losing his life. The fortifications upon the weakest side, rising in tiers, commanded one another, so that GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS himself, on seeing them, was utterly astonished, and called them the "Devil's Own Works," and the half-moon crowning the whole, the "Devil's Head."

But this exclamation was no evidence of want of courage, either in himself or his followers. Having discovered an appropriate place for the attack, he, the next day, gave the necessary orders to storm. Colonel WINKEL, a valiant and resolute man, conducted the forlorn hope, amongst whom were many Englishmen. At the first onset, the Swedes were repulsed, but on the second they carried the works. TORSTENSON was one of the first of the storming party, and was wounded in the head by a stone when he was just about scaling the wall on a ladder. Half-dead, he fell down into the ditch, and was carried away insensible.*

Some time after, TORSTENSON, having been restored to health, by the ably-directed fire of his Artillery, enabled the Swedish army to accomplish the passage of the *Leck* (Bavaria), in which battle the cruel TILLY was mortally wounded by a round shot, fit punishment for the atrocities he had countenanced at the *Sack of Magdeburg*. Very soon after this, we see him prominent in storming WALLENSTEIN's camp, near *Nuremberg*. This free city of the Empire had declared itself as early as 1631 for GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, who, in July of the ensuing year, came to relieve it from the threatened vengeance of the Roman Catholic forces. In a very short time he pitched his camp, whose extent embraced the entire circuit of the city, divided by the river Pegnitz (Bavaria) into two parts, and so effectually protected it with ditches and ramparts, that when WALLENSTEIN, who arrived on the 6th July, 1632, saw the nature of these defences, he abandoned all idea of attacking them; and instead, therefore, of assaulting the Swedish field works, determined to take an even more advantageous position, and thus starve out his enemy by means of a protracted blockade. About 20 miles from *Nuremberg*, upon the heights between the Biber and Rednitz (two small rivers of Bavaria Proper), he established his vast forces, numbering 60,000 men. Thus the two armies, upon which the fate of *Germany* depended, stood face to face for over two weeks, without undertaking any thing import-

*At the capture of BUDA by the Hungarian army under GORGEY, in 1849, Colonel MARIASSY, leading his battalions, was twice thrown down from the walls, a height of 42 feet; and, although severely wounded, still remained at the head of his column, entered the fortress, and, strange to say, survived his falls and his wounds. KLAFFKA is my authority. DE P.

ant or decisive. In the meanwhile *Oxensterna*, Prince *WILHELM*, of *Weimar*, with several other corps, joined the king, whereby his whole strength came to exceed 70,000 men. In the meanwhile, the scarcity of provisions had reached such a point in both camps that daily more than 100 men perished, which determined the king to attack *WALLENSTEIN*. Upon a range of hills near *Gerbersdorf*, he, from three heights at once, bombarded *WALLENSTEIN*'s position, who, from his side, established, as it were, upon the very clouds—in allusion to the lofty position of *Altenburg* castle, the key of his works, answered with a like furious and continued fire. The third day after, having left *Nuremberg*, the defence of which he had entrusted to the city militia, *GUSTAVUS* arrayed his army in line-of-battle, drove back the enemy's outposts, and led his troops across the *Rednitz*. *WALLENSTEIN*, when he became aware of these movements, changed his position on some points, and concentrated his strength by *Altenberg* and the feudal fort now called *Altenburg* or the *Old Castle*, which was then known as the *Burgwall*. These heights were surrounded by ditches and walls, and the whole approach had moreover been rendered difficult by three double barricades and lines of abattis, which encircled the foot of the elevation. *WALLENSTEIN*'s exclamation, when one of his Adjutants brought him news that the king had taken the heights, will sufficiently prove the natural strength, defences, and advantages of his position: "There is no God in heaven," cried he, "if this stronghold can be taken."

Such was the situation of both armies, when a singular accident hastened the attack. On St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1632, at the 9th hour of the morning, service having just been finished in the king's camp, the valet-de-chambre of Count *ALTENBURG*, a general of the Emperor, was brought captive before the king, who testified, having deserted to the Swedes, as can only be supposed in obedience to his master's order, that want had increased to such a degree in the imperial camp, that *WALLENSTEIN* was about to decamp, compelled thereto by the scarcity of provisions. Moreover, it was reported that there were strange movements in *WALLENSTEIN*'s camp, which the king himself observing, at once ordered the assault. The direction of the attack was confined to Duke *WILHELM* of *Weimar*, as Lieutenant-General, who was empowered to act as Commander-in-Chief, in case it should become necessary: the Cavalry were assigned to his younger brother, Duke *BERNHARD*, under whom General *STREIF*, an old *Manfeld* trooper, was second in command; while the whole Artillery, consisting of 60 pieces, was, as usual, confided to *TORSTENSON*. On the part of the Swedes, the first onset was made by 500 musketeers, of whom 100 having fallen, they were driven back. The king at once perceived that he had been misled by the deserter, but nevertheless he resolved upon

continuing the bloody work. He next ordered the Finns to attack, but these also were forced to retire. Seven times he renewed the assault, each time with new and fresh regiments, directing his attacks especially against the *Altenberg*, where *WALLENSTEIN* himself, *ALTRINGER*, and *GALLAS*, remained present during the whole of the day. The Swedes fought without cover against an entrenched enemy, and the combat was one of the fiercest and bloodiest throughout the whole of this long [30 years] war, continuing for 10 hours amid the incessant roaring of 200 cannons. The king himself did not leave the first line, but notwithstanding his glorious example, neither his own subjects nor the flower of his German auxiliaries could secure any decided advantage. In another quarter, however, the Duke *BERNHARD* had gained a height not far from the *Burgstall*, from which it was possible to fire into every part of the enemy's camp, but unfortunately the labor of dragging up the guns was rendered impossible by a heavy fall of rain during the night—so that this otherwise important conquest was thereby rendered worthless, and abandoned. The evening was now approaching; *WALLENSTEIN* still maintained himself in his fortified camp, and the king had proceeded too far to extricate his troops from the battle without great danger; he therefore dispatched a Scotchman, Colonel *HEPBURN*, and ordered them to concentrate and form themselves anew in the plain. Before this order of the king could reach the troops, a numerous body of the enemy's cavalry, under *FUGGER*, threw itself irresistibly upon the Swedish lines, just where *TORSTENSON* had put himself at the head of a body of infantry, who fearlessly opposed himself to quadruple numbers of the assailants; but after having, remaining himself to the last the nearest to the enemy, enabled the greater part of his men to retreat in safety, he himself was taken prisoner by a regiment belonging* to the Elector *MAXIMILIAN*, of Bavaria, and delivered into his power.

Night now covered the field, and those who had not won the rest of death† now took the rest of sleep. The next day,‡ *GUS-*

*Every Imperial Regiment has an *INHAVER* or Proprietor, who is exactly similar to the English Colonel. This is an honorary title. The actual Commandant is the *ONKST*, equivalent to an English Lieutenant-Colonel.

† The Imperial army is said to have lost 2000 men, and as many wounded and prisoners. The loss of the Swedes is given very differently. The Protestant writers, *HARTK*, etc. estimate it at 2000 men; the Roman Catholics, however, *HORMATZ*, etc. at 5000.

‡ The next day would be 25th August, whereas *SCHILLER*, *GEIßER*, etc. all say the king departed on the 8th September, 15 days after, leaving *OXENSTJERNA* and *KNIPHAUSEN** to defend Nuremberg. On the 12th September, *WALLENSTEIN*, believing the place impregnable, ordered his soldiers to fire their huts and the surrounding country, and marched off, "encompassed, as ever, with flames." So, after all, *GUSTAVUS* conquered, for he foiled his great adversary, and saved Nuremberg.

*When *GUSTAVUS* left *KNIPHAUSEN* as Governor of Nuremberg, he comforted the citizens, plunged in distress and anxiety, by saying, as he laid his hand affectionately on that General's shoulder—"Gentlemen, this man has defended a walled village against all the efforts of *TILLY*." The great king alluded to Sergeant-Major-General *KNIPHAUSEN*'s "incredible defence" of *New Brandenburg*, a large fortified village, with 2,000 men, against the distinguished *TILLY* and 22,000 veterans, 2,000 of whom fell in the enterprise.

TAVUS broke up his camp, and, in full sight of the enemy, recrossed the Rednitz, without a shot being fired on either side.

Maximilian, cruel, Roman Catholic bigot, furious, at once, at the triumphs of the Swede over his friends and his faith, the occupation of his strongholds, and the profanation, as he deemed its capture, of his very capital, made his precious captive, the favorite of GUSTAVUS, feel the full force of his hate: TORSTENSON, accordingly, was sent to Ingoldstadt, one of Bavaria's strongest fortresses, there to be held close prisoner, not as a conquered enemy and honest soldier, but like a criminal and malefactor, for whom no punishment could be severe enough. The first six months of his incarceration were passed in a dark and damp vault, the walls of which were covered with saltpetre, whose poisonous evaporation destroyed his health and strength; so that the Swedish hero, at the time of his capture in the prime of life, deprived of even the light of the sun, became in the course of a few months not only a confirmed invalid, but thenceforth subject to the acutest forms of disease. Nor did TORSTENSON experience better treatment until the mournful death of his glorious master led the Elector of Bavaria to believe that all danger had now passed. It was a general custom at this era, that officers of rank taken prisoners arms in hand, could only regain their liberty by the payment of extravagant ransoms. In accordance therewith, before the death of GUSTAVUS, offers had been made in order to accomplish TORSTENSON'S liberation; but, unfortunately, all such negotiations and conferences had been interrupted or fruitless. After the king's death, OXENSTJERNA tried various methods, but in vain, to accomplish the same object; until, finally, WALLENSTEIN, being desirous of redeeming his brother-in-law Count HERRACH, who had fallen into the hands of the Swedes, their High Chancellor [of the Empire] availed himself of this accident with great adroitness, declaring that he would set HARRACH at liberty on the sole consideration that TORSTENSON should be given up in exchange. WALLENSTEIN, in consequence, was obliged to pay a great sum of money as his ransom; and, in this manner the Swedish general's chains were at length broken, and OXENSTJERNA, who had already learned *his value* in the various campaigns in which they had served together under GUSTAVUS, immediately placed him at the head of an army-corps. With this, TORSTENSON invaded Bavaria, and laid siege to Landsberg, a fortified city on the river Lech. Having cannonaded it for three days, he took it by storm, on the 13th April, 1633, and because the citizens had won for themselves a bad name amongst the Swedes by their cruelty toward them, caused its walls and ramparts to be destroyed.*

* Some further remarks of the original author would seem to indicate that the words, "*precious captive*," refer to TORSTENSON'S masterly ability and never-failing courage, and that the conduct of the Elector towards him may have been dictated as much by fear lest he should escape and do him still more injury by his acts and example, as by vengeance for the damage he had already occasioned.

With the permission of OXENSTJERNA, he very soon after relinquished the command of his army-corps to Field Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN, in order to return home and endeavor to restore his health in his native air. His bitter grief for the loss of his king, bewailed not only as a monarch but a dear counsellor and friend, led him to *Wolgast*, whence he sailed in the squadron which conveyed the royal corpse to Sweden. When it was interred in the *Riddarholm Church* [of the Knights] at *Stockholm*, he carried on that solemn occasion the State Banner, one emblazoned with the escutcheons of all the different provinces of the kingdom. While TORSTENSON remained in Sweden his time was divided between the care of his health and preparations for the German war. He directed his especial attention to, and bestowed all his labor on, every thing which would serve to improve the artillery, preserve it in good condition, and ensure its efficiency, in consequence of which he was, in 1634, commissioned *General of Ordnance*, or rather *Grand Master of the Artillery*, with which elevated rank he was ordered to accompany, as second in command, the army, 20,000 strong, of old JACOB de la GARDIE, sent in June, 1635, into Prussia, to moderate the claims of the Poles, at the expiration of the Armistice of *Stunnsdorf*, which was a truce of 6 years, concluded under *cauans*, on the 16th September, 1629, through the mediation of France and England, in order that, by terminating the long war between Poland and Sweden, satisfactory, indeed, to the latter, GUSTAVUS might be enabled to take part in the German war without leaving his new and valuable acquisitions, as well as his trans-Baltic states, exposed to an invasion which would not only have required all his home-revenues to repel and punish, but cut off those supplies of men, without which it would be impossible to prosecute his contemplated enterprise to a glorious and successful issue.

Nor was it without good reason that the Swedish Regency apprehended a renewal of hostilities, in this quarter, after the disastrous issue of the battle of *Nordlingen*, fought on the 7th September, 1634,* in which the fortune of war deserted the Swedes, who there sustained not only a disastrous defeat, but lost, by an eight years' captivity, one of their best generals, the able and generous HORN,† whose very quality of prudence rendered his loss almost irreparable at this juncture, for, had his counsels been respected, this battle would neither have been given nor lost. Neither did the Austrian Cabinet lose a single moment nor neglect a single incentive which could stir up Poland to resume the war; but, happily, the hatred of the Poles against the Swedes had so subsided with the death of SIGISMUND, which took

*GULKE says 26-27th August, 1634—perhaps the difference is in Old and New Style.

†Cardinal RICHELIEU says that the Imperialists considered HORN'S capture as more important than the victory.

place on the 22d December, 1634; that his son ULADISLAUS, whose claims and pretensions were far from inconsiderable in the beginning, could not revive it. That peace was maintained, without great sacrifices on the part of Sweden, can only be attributed, however, to the stringent measures adopted and energy shown by that government. The presence of JACOB de la GARDIE, the renowned victor over the Muscovites, with a well provided army, made the Poles, generally inclined to war, afraid, and gave weight to the Senate's proposals for an Armistice for 26 years, which was accomplished through the mediation of France, England, Holland (and Brandenburg), on the 2d September, 1635. This result was very advantageous to Sweden, for by mere demonstrations and the surrender of a few harbors for the period of the Armistice, they obtained that which would otherwise have cost streams of blood and greatly endangered their possessions in Germany. The Armistice having been entered into, Sweden had no need of so great an army on the side of Poland, for the forces of this state, which had excited the apprehensions of OXENSTJERNA, and the Senate, retired into the interior, and marched toward the *Ukraine*, to subdue the Cossacks. TORSTENSON, who, after the departure of JACOB de la GARDIE and PETER BANNER, assumed the command of their forces, now received orders to relieve and assist BANNER, whom the superior numbers of the enemy had compelled to fall back upon the frontier of *Moschenburg*. These orders were so much the more welcome, as in his present position he could find no nourishment for his activity. He accordingly, toward the close of 1634, advanced along the shores of the Baltic, passing through *Masubin** and *Pomerania*, dislodged the Imperialists under MARAZIN [Maracini], taught the inhabitants of Pomerania, who had evinced hostile sentiments, submission, and, turning his march to good account, was enabled thereby to discipline his forces, of whom the great proportion were raw recruits. BOGISLAUS, the last Duke of Pomerania, was near the end of his days, with whom expired the ducal family, which, since the introduction of Christianity, had governed this state, for whose decease the Swedes were only waiting to enforce their claims upon this province of the German Empire, as an appropriate indemnification for the losses they had sustained in the war. With this object Sweden had charged herself, alone, with the defence of the Duchy during the lifetime of the aged Duke, and at this time SEJEN BJERKE resided at *Stettin* as Swedish Minister, whose mental gifts were such that he was second, only, to OXENSTJERNA in council, with instructions, as soon the ducal race was extinct, to take full possession of the country and organize at once a competent administration. In the accomplishment of these plans it was of the utmost importance, in order not to lose all claims, perchance, at once, that the Swedes should

* *Ossubia*, a district of Farther Pomerania—principal towns, *Colberg* and *Osslin*.

not be excluded from the territory during the last hours of the dying BOGISLAUS, whose last illness, after all, occurred most unfortunately for them at a period when the Imperialists held possession of the whole country, having invaded it on several points at the same time.

In addition to this, the inhabitants had not only become dissatisfied with the pretensions of the Swedes, and refractory under their occupation, but had also taken up arms wherever circumstances permitted, to oppose their claims, and expel the Swedish troops. These dangers became the more imminent, as BANER's army was considerably reduced, so that he had enough to do with the forces at his command, to maintain himself and defend *Fore* (West) or *Hither Pomerania*, the more particularly as the *Elector of Brandenburg*, who beheld the establishment of the Swedes as his neighbors, with the greatest dislike, had recourse to both secret and open measures to kindle the flames of war. It required all STEN BJELKE's courage and ability to maintain the interests of his country; nor would he still have been able to do so, notwithstanding all his vigilance and labor, had not TORS- TENSON made his appearance at the decisive moment, with all his forces. The island of *Wollin*, which had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists, was recaptured, the partial uprisings and threatened disturbances suppressed for the time, and the garrison of *Stettin* increased. Having by these means secured the possession of *Pomerania*, TORSTENSON continued his march through *Usedom* and *Demmin*, and, in November, 1635, reached *Malchin*, where he united his forces, consisting of 2,000 horse and 6 regiments of foot, with those of BANER, which amounted after the junction to 9,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry.

This reinforcement, to say nothing of the presence of such a leader as TORSTENSON, gave an entirely new appearance to BANER's disorganized army, and a new and unexpected turn to the war.

Saxony had now to swallow the bitter fruit of her own treacherous vacillations and political apostacy, and experience the vengeance* of allies betrayed and religious adherents sacrificed to the most unprincipled state policy.

The Saxon-Electoral troops had their head-quarters at *Parchim*, when, after TORSTENSON'S arrival, the Swedish army put itself in motion. Thence they were easily forced back without difficulty upon the *Havel*, being unwilling, notwithstanding their great numerical superiority, to grant a decisive battle to the Swedes. In the meanwhile, the country was pillaged by both armies, which harassed each other by diverse attacks, in which,

*Such were the atrocities on both sides, excited by religious antagonism and mutual injuries, that BANER, in a manifesto against these cruelties, published 24th May, 1636, confesses that they had risen to such a height "that it would be no wonder if the earth should gape, and by the just judgment of God swallow up such dishonorable malefactors."

however, BANER generally had the advantage. On one occasion, TORSTENSON, sent out with part of the cavalry, met several regiments of the enemy near *Goldberg* and *Kyritz*, and in a very short time destroyed the whole and captured 11 standards. In consequence of these losses, which broke the strength of the enemy's main army to a great degree, as well as by BANER's march upon the *Elbe*, the war was slowly removed from *Pomerania*. The SAXON ELECTOR retired towards *Misnia*, endeavoring by every means to force the pass on the *Saale*, and avert the war from the *Saxon* frontier, but found in TORSTENSON an obstinate adversary, BANER having at this time left the army and taken up his residence at *Magdeburg*, where his first wife had died. After his return, TORSTENSON shared with him not only the honor of the conquest of *Luneburg* and *Winsen*, but also that of the victory on the fields of *Wittstock*,* whose glories and results effaced the defeat of *Nordlingen*.

The Saxons had been established in a strong camp before *Perleburg*, having 13,000 foot and 15,000 horse, to whom BANER and TORSTENSON could oppose less than 9,000 horse and 7,000 foot. Finding they would not quit their advantageous position, the Swedish generals endeavored to compel them, by stopping the passage of the *Elbe*, attacking with that view *Havelberg* and the fort of *Werben*. In this they were so far successful that the SAXONS left their camp to cover the return of a detachment of 3,500 men, sent under General KLITZING to sieze *Old Brandenburg*. Determined to engage before this junction could take place, the SWEDES immediately advanced until in sight of the enemy, and then endeavored to gain possession of a rising ground near *Wittstock*; but the SAXON front being protected by a wood and other strongholds defended by artillery, BANER caused his left wing to turn the wood and charge them in flank, wheeling off himself towards the right with the other wing, in the hope, by presenting so small a force, of inviting an attack and drawing the enemy from so advantageous a position. This manœvering succeeded; the SAXONS poured their whole forces upon the right wing, and the contest was long maintained with equal animosity and obstinacy on both sides. Not a Swedish regiment but rallied ten times, returned to the charge, and was as often repulsed. Several had even begun to fly, when the second line under WITZDOM, to whom the blame of this partial disgrace must attach, on account of the little energy he displayed in bringing his command into action, renewed the attack, and the left wing charging the enemy in flank, their whole array was immediately routed. Five thousand of the Saxons and Imperialists were left upon the field, besides such as were killed in the pursuit, or who fell into the

* Fought on the 24th September, 1636.

hands of the exasperated peasantry ; 150 standards and colors, 23 pieces of cannon, the whole baggage and silver plate of the Elector, and 2,000 prisoners, were the fruits of this victory.* In fact, scarcely 1,000 infantry, and those mostly Saxons, escaped from the field ; the Imperialists were captured and destroyed on all hands. Almost all the cavalry, however, saved themselves by flight during the darkness. The Swedish loss amounted to 1,100 killed and 3,000 wounded. Such a proportion shows hard fighting—one in every four had been hit or killed.

From this field of glory, which restored the Swedes at once to their former reputation, and placed them in almost as advantageous a position as they had ever occupied, they drove the Imperialists through *Thuringia* and *Hesse*, into *Westphalia*, and then, returning, took up their winter-quarters in *Misia* and the neighboring provinces.

Early in the ensuing spring of 1637, having cut to pieces 8 Saxon regiments near *Eilenburg*, the Swedish generals pursuing them, captured *Torgau*, and about this time *Erfurth*, and then sat down before *Leipsic*, whose siege they were constrained to raise, as all the Imperial generals hastened at this juncture to unite and concentrate their forces, in order to pour them in irresistible numbers on the Swedish army, weakened by its very successes. TORSTENSON, who had generously borne his part in the failure before *Leipsic*, had an equal share in the glorious defence of the entrenched camp of *Torgau*, in which the Swedes maintained themselves for 4 months, from February to June, 1637; and also in that retreat to *Stettin*, one of the most remarkable achievements of the kind recorded in military annals, by which BANER saved his army, comprising only 14,000 men, with the exception of a few stragglers and invalids, and almost all his baggage and artillery, notwithstanding the efforts of 60,000 opponents under the command of experienced generals. Although TORSTENSON acted throughout in a subordinate capacity, and his name is scarcely mentioned in this connection in history, all the credit, as usual, accruing to BANER, the Commander-in-Chief, there can be no doubt but that, as his great Master GUSTAVUS availed himself of his abilities in perfecting that artillery, inimitable in its day and long after, of which our hero was the chief, in like manner BANER availed himself of the resources of that mighty intellect and military genius, whose conceptions in subsequent years far exceed in marvellous results this master-piece of strategy, which reflects such credit upon BANER.

*Both BANER and TORSTENSON, as their reward, were invested with considerable grants in fief, both at home, in Sweden, and in Germany ; and the former received orders to gratify deserving officers with estates which might be won from the enemy, as also to distribute among them gold chains and pictures to the amount of 3,000 rix dollars. GELZER.

Having spread the report that he intended to relieve *Erfurth*, BANER abandoned his positions and all the baggage he could spare, at *Torgau*, and crossed the *Elbe*, on the 19th June, with the ultimate intention of uniting his forces with those of Field Marshal HERMAN WRANGEL, in obedience to the order of the Swedish Regency. As soon as he decamped, the Imperialists pursued him towards the left, to prevent his carrying out his plans, and sent their light horse to charge his rear, which were vigorously repulsed with considerable loss. Thus, without any damage to himself, BANER was enabled to achieve the passage of the *Oder* at *Furstenberg*, on the 23d of June. His troops fording the stream neck-deep, drew the artillery and baggage across when the horses refused to work, the Commander himself setting the example. BANER had made this movement, intending to cross the *Wartha* at *Landsberg*, where he expected to meet WRANGEL, and thus reinforced, be able to make head against the enemy; but that old general, who seemed to be actuated by a desire to thwart him, did not carry out his orders, so that on debouching from the marshes at *Custrin*, he learned that WRANGEL was on the other side towards *Stettin*, and found that just as he deemed himself secure he was utterly at a loss to know what course to pursue; for, far from having been able to outstrip his enemies, as he had flattered himself that he would, on account of the extensive marshes and numerous streams they had to traverse in their pursuit—what was his astonishment when, at the end of his four days' march he beheld before him, posted at *Landsberg*, the whole Imperial army, whose front exceeded 3 miles in length! The explanation of this is, GALLAS, who had kept him invested on the *Elbe*, and 12 hours after his decampment from *Torgau*, received intelligence thereof, passed the *Oder* by a shorter road and bridge near *Custrin*, and effected under the walls of *Landsberg* a junction with the Imperial general MARAZIN, who had been previously ordered thither. At this sight BANER felt that he had thrust himself, as it were, into a net whence to escape he could only rely on his own resources and those of his own tried brothers in command, and the valor of his troops. In his rear lay a pillaged country, whose inhabitants were in arms against the Swedes; on the left the *Oder*, guarded by the Imperial generals BUCHHEIM (Count of Bouchain) and ISOLANT; on the right *Poland*, into which he did not dare to venture, through fear of violating the Armistice recently entered into; and in front a large and difficult river, guarded by overwhelming numbers occupying advantageous positions. Under such circumstances, who would not have pronounced the Swedes lost men? Having neither pontoons wherewith to construct a bridge, or boats to supply their absence, no other choice appeared but to die honorably or to become prisoners. BANER himself despaired, and under the excitement of the moment burst into vain recriminations of his

French allies, who, by their inactivity on the *Rhine*, had permitted the enemy to accumulate such forces for his destruction. This, however, was but momentary. Measures were at once taken to spread abroad a report, that the Swedes intended to take refuge in *Poland*, whence the route was designated into *Pomerania*, throughout which his officers were enjoined to maintain strict discipline and pay for all provisions and necessaries in ready money. For his wife and those of his officers with him he asked and received passports, and actually sent them, together with his principal baggage, in that direction. Persuaded that the army would follow, a portion of the Imperialists advanced towards the *Netze* (*Netze*), and hastened to construct bridges in different places, in order to be enabled thereby to pursue and intercept the Swedes amid the forests traversed by the roads along which they must pass. Triumphant in the partial success of this ruse, and in order to give greater color of truth to the rumor, *BANER* burnt part of his baggage, and even burst several guns, in the presence of a *Brandenburg Cornet*, known to him to be a spy, to whom also he gave a sum of money and promised a more ample recompense, as well as to promote him to the rank of Captain of Cavalry (*Rittmaster*), if he would furnish him with a reliable guide, capable of conducting him by secure and unfrequented roads into and through the Polish territory towards *Farther Pomerania*. As might be expected, all that which had taken place was immediately communicated to the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* and *GALLAS*, who were well aware of *BANER*'s ability and headlong courage, not to say termerity; the lofty resolution which ever actuated *TORSTENSON*; the gallantry of *STALHANSKE*, and *Swedish* intrepidity, did not receive it as by any means impossible. Dead or alive, they were determined to capture them, and in order to do this, it became necessary at once to counteract this intended advance. *GALLAS* hastened by forced marches to the farthest frontiers of the *Electorate*, to bar all entrance into *Poland*. *BUCHHEIM* also abandoned his position to follow and unite his with the other Imperial forces—all was hurry-scurry, no judgment, nor even common sense; as if the Swedes had been game and the Imperialists hunters, commanders and subordinates were carried away by the excitement of the chase, and forgot all prudence in the desire of being in at the death. And thus the line of the *Oder* was freed from the presence of an enemy. At that moment, when the Swedish soldiery labored under the same impression as their opponents, unobserved and unobstructed, with the greatest rapidity, at 9 o'clock in the evening, *BANER* wheeled towards the left, and availing himself of the low stage of the water, passed the *Oder* near *Goritz*, above *Custrin*, just as he had a few days previously forded it at *Furstenberg*, expecting to fight his way through the army of that *BUCHHEIM*, who was already overwhelmed with his own

disgrace and the reproaches of his superior, at having permitted himself to be so deceived. Thus saved as by a miracle, he effected a junction with old WRANGEL, and encamped under the walls of *Stettin*, on that same spot where his great King, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, had established his army 7 years before (20th of July, 1630).

Any one can imagine the astonishment and self-reproaches of the allied commanders when, on their junction along the frontier, they found no traces of the *Swedish* army there, but heard the next day that BANER had escaped without loss. So satisfied had they been of their ultimate success, that they had not only boasted of the victory long before hand, which they never actually won, but partitioned between themselves and the ELECTOR of *Brandenburg* not only the booty but even the prisoners, proclaiming throughout the *Empire* that they had the *Swedes* comfortably in a bag. Upon hearing of this, BANER was not a little gratified that he had outwitted them—and sent them word that when they had him in the bag they ought to have tied the mouth, which saying, and the facts, gave rise to a caricature, conceived in the spirit of the time, which represented the Imperial generals very busily engaged in tying securely the mouth of a bag, in which the *Swedish* army was enclosed, while BANER, with his sword, was cutting a hole through one of the corners, to enable it to get out.

While towards the end of the year 1637, the *Imperialists*, under GALLAS, overran *Vor* [*Hither or Upper*] *Pomerania*, the *Swedes* were compelled to be content with remaining upon the defensive. It is true, that TORSTENSON made several successful sorties against him, but the advantages he gained thereby, were of little or no lasting consequence; and never, during the whole period of that long war, were the prospects of the *Swedes* in a worse condition than at the close of that year. A great portion of the conquests made in the central parts of *Germany* were lost, and *Pomerania* itself, in spite of all the efforts of the *Swedish* commanders, had become the theatre of war. *Usedom*, *Wolgast* and *Demmin* were in the enemy's hands, whose flying parties advanced to the very walls of *Stralsund* and *Stettin*, and the *Germans* who, in outward appearance, adopted the *Swedish* cause, were often no better than secret traitors, frustrating the execution of the most judicious plans.

Nevertheless, BANER and TORSTENSON did not yet abandon all hope. The united efforts of these two great men were thus far successful, in that, they were able to hold the invaders in check, and thus delay their operations until succor could arrive from *Sweden*. But, as if it were not enough that the *Swedes*, as the weaker party, had to give ground everywhere, to the enemy, their cares, even in *Pomerania*, which the *Imperialists* had been forced to abandon, in consequence of the scarcity of pro-

visions, were augmented by new events which were of no less importance, nor less dangerous in their consequences. The diminished *Swedish* army was almost destitute of clothing, and the scarcity of provisions had increased so fearfully that hunger alone would have dissolved the corps, had not BANER been sufficiently prudent to procure from the island of *Rügen*—rich in corn and cattle, which GALLAS had been neither able to pillage nor lay under contribution—those provisions which were absolutely necessary to meet the most urgent wants. At the same time, to add calamity to calamity, an epidemic disease was raging among the cattle; the inhabitants of the open country, pillaged by the *Imperialists*, had flown for refuge to the sandy plains of *Poland* or *Brandenburg*, in the hope of preserving their lives; and so great was the misery and distress that those few who remained had not the least morsel left for their subsistence, and were driven to implore that the *Swedish* generals at *Stralsund* and *Stettin* would grant them some little food, “in the name of God and religion.” In addition to all this, money was wanting to pay the soldiers, and it can only therefore be ascribed to the love they bore to BANER and TORSTENSON, and to the hope that the expected reinforcements would again enable them to open the way to new victories and rich pillages, in countries not yet visited by the scourge of war, that they remained faithful to their colors. Still, while faithful to their colors and generals, all true discipline had ceased, and neither TORSTENSON nor BANER could in their own land—for thus they considered *Pomerania*—put a stop to the unbridled license which reigned there in spite of the severest punishments.* The *Swedish* generals made every possible exertion, sought every where, and tried every means, to procure assistance, and finally discovered provisional resources for the restoration of the army at the very juncture when distress had reached its climax, and when a *Baltic* winter prohibited every hope of assistance from the government at home. The honor of this, although it chiefly belongs to BANER, whose circumspection and inventive genius directed the whole, was shared by TORSTENSON, who, as his second in command, assisted him both as a friend and counsellor and true brother-in-arms.

By means of loans negotiated in his own name and on his own credit, BANER completely reorganized the army, and procured clothes and horses for the cavalry from *Poland*, so that when finally the reinforcements did arrive from *Liefland** and *Calmar*,

* *LIEFLAND*, *LEVLAND*, *LIVONIA*, a large province between the gulfs of *Riga* and *Finland*, at this time a rich possession of Sweden, but since 1732, a part of the *Russian* Empire. Its land is so fertile in corn that it is called the granary of the North. Its waters abound with the finest varieties of fish; its forests with the largest game, and best of woods; and the domestic animals are very numerous. The inhabitants were so attached to the paternal government of Sweden, that *PETER* the Great, perceiving their

his army comprised no less than 11 brigades of infantry and 32 regiments of cavalry. When he mustered them, June, 1638, upon the plains near *Stettin*, the *Imperialists*, who anticipated no aggressive operations, remained careless and unconcerned near *Malchin*, struggling, as the *Swedes* had done before, with hunger and sickness. The greater was the terror, not only of the unhappy population, but also of the enemy, when the news arrived that *BANER* was approaching with an army created apparently by the agency of magic. So unexpected was their advent, that *TORSTENSON* and *STALHANSKE*, in the vicinity of the very head-quarters of *GALLAS*, surprised several regiments, by a pass which had been remissly left unguarded, made Colonel *MUNSTER* and a considerable number of the enemy prisoners, capturing at the same time 10 standards, which, as the first trophies of the campaign, were transmitted to *BANER*. The result of this *camisado* was such that *GALLAS* fell back upon *Havelberg*, *BANER* following him thither into *Saxony* and the *Imperial Hereditary States*. The *Swedes*, in consequence, were enabled to cross the *Elbe* without opposition, and whilst *BANER* himself marched upon *Erfurt*, in order to restore the Swedish arms to their former ascendancy, he left it for *TORSTENSON* to drive the enemy out of the precincts of *Halberstadt*, which feat accomplished, *TORSTENSON* joined *BANER*, and they together took *Pirna*.*

dilike to Russian authority, compelled them to abandon their country, and drove some of them as far as the *Caspian Sea*. Afterwards, being persuaded to recall them, it was found that most of them had perished before the edict was published—so that this gallant and faithful race are now represented by a mongrel breed, the offspring of emigrants from all the countries bordering on the Baltic.

*The hand of war fell so heavily on this city that its sufferings, extraordinary even in this era of sorrowful memories, are known in the annals of the contest as the *Misery of Pirna*. * * The *Swedes* then overran *Saxony*, and actuated by the very spirit of vengeance, (justified in some measure by the apostacy of the electoral government, and enmity manifested in return for the benefits conferred by the alliance of the GREAT GUSTAVUS,) inflicted the most terrible punishment on that unhappy country. History presents nothing more revolting than the narrative of the misery of these times, as preserved in the archives of several cities and towns, which underwent such aggravated horrors as are therein recorded. At the capture of *PIRMA*, in the *Electoral Circle*, (Circle of Upper *Saxony*) and the devastation around it, the distress seems to have surpassed all conceivable limits. The *Imperialists* had sacked *Pomerania*, *WALLENSTEIN* invariably left nothing but ruin and ashes behind him, and in retaliation the *Swedes* not only sacked but oftentimes killed and burnt or otherwise destroyed whatever was living or destructible. No one was left to cultivate the fields, and had there been, their labor would have availed nothing, for seed corn was wanting as well as the necessary farm animals. Whole villages were without an inhabitant, and if any man entertained the least hope of preserving his life his only resource was to take up arms in the service of one of the belligerents. Those inhabitants who had escaped instant slaughter had no prospect but starvation. Lures from the knackers' yards, dead and even putrifying carcases, rats, mice and other vermin became choice dainties; many human beings expired on the dunghills, in which they were searching for food, and it was even reported and believed that famine, as at the siege of *Jerusalem*, drove women to such lengths that they devoured their own children. Grain was not to be had, all the cattle was in the hands of the soldiery, and death became so sudden and general that the disinterred corpses of human beings and the carcases of animals filled the streets which no one thought of cleaning, even had they dared; and the result was the preva-

the key to *Bohemia*, and after having also beaten the *Imperialists* near *Chemnitz*, 4th April, 1639, they carried the war into the kingdom of *Bohemia*. **TORSTENSON** remained till in the fall of 1640, **BANER**'s trusty companion.

For a long time previous **TORSTENSON** had asked the *Swedish Regency* to grant him leave of absence from the army on account of his infirm health. Although he did not love, in as great degree as **BANER**, the pleasures of the table, he was still apt to indulge himself and make free at times, as some compensation for the hardships of the field, and drink most heartily with his comrades.* This was the custom of those times in which respect **TORSTENSON** did not see fit to differ from his associates, although its effects, united with those resulting from the severe labors inseparable from the execution of the important duties of his office, could not but exert a detrimental effect on his physical powers. Somebody directing his attention to this natural consequence: *I RATHER WISH TO DIE EARLY, was the reply worthy of such a man, THAN TO SURVIVE MYSELF.*†

The army stood in *Buckeburg*, (now in the *Principality of Lippe-Deptmold*.) in the county of *Schaumburg*, when he received permission of the government for his return to *Sweden*. **TORSTENSON**, there, took leave of the friend of his youth, **BANER**, whom he was destined never to meet again, and of the army for which however his presence soon again became imperative. During the winter he remained at *Stralsund*, and on his arrival in his native country assumed the seat offered to him in the Senate, to which he was called on the 12th April, 1644.

TORSTENSON had hoped that, far from the din of arms, he could now devote himself to his private interests and the less exciting duties of his new office, but this comparative repose did not last long before he was called upon to leave once more, sorely against his will, that tranquility which he had so long and ardently desired. As soon as the news of **BANER**'s death arrived the infirm warrior was selected, not only by **OXENSTJERNA** and the Senate, but by general acclamation as the successor of **BANER**, for **JACOB de la GARDIE** and **HERMANN WRANGEL** were too old and **LARS KAGG**, suffering from a wound in the throat, was

lence of the most horribly contagious diseases. Even **BANER** himself was so alive to this distress and misery that, in 1638, he wrote to the Swedes besieged in *Erfurt*, that he would have advanced to their relief long before, had not the country on both sides of the *Elbe* been so pillaged and laid waste that neither dog nor cat, much less man and horse, could pass through, much less sustain life for any time in it. In fact, through districts so spoiled, which even the enemy had been compelled to leave, he could not lead his army without subjecting it to more damage by the march than would result from a defeat at the hands of the *Imperialists*.

* *Histoire de Charles Gustave par Skoldebrand Sid. III.*

† *Halland's Historia och beskrifning af S. P. Bezel, 1 Del. Sid. 271.*

moreover incapable of standing the cold. In vain, TORSTENSON alleged his general physical incapability, besides his peculiar maladies, the gout and stone in the bladder; but OXENSTJERNA would not listen to his excuses, assured that, if the general's health would permit, there could be no doubt as to his abilities. The CHANCELLOR of the *State* declared in open Senate that he yet remembered very well his late great king's remark about General LENNART shortly before his captivity at *Nuremberg*, (when yet but 27 years old,) to wit: "*That his Majesty was of opinion that he could well be entrusted with any army. Since that time the General had been all over the scene of war, was well acquainted with it, and above all, dearly beloved by the army.*" (A)

In a letter to CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, Major-General in *Germany*, TORSTENSON himself acknowledges his desire to remain at home: "God knows how reluctantly I return to the war, but all private scruples must yield to the will of the authorities, and the service of my native country."* Thus he accepted the truncheon of command, being at the same time created *Field Marshal*, 16th June, 1641. (B) That the numerous advantages which this office conferred never for a moment entered his mind or influenced his decision, his well known and acknowledged disinterestedness is all-sufficient evidence.†

Considerable reinforcements of good troops for the army in *Germany*, and fresh supplies of money, accompanied TORS- TENSON, in order that he might undertake something decisive immediately on his arrival. For the administration of diplomatic affairs, he was accompanied by LARS† GRUBBE, and, as General of Ordnance he carried with him the renowned LILJEHOK, who, to a vast experience, joined an intrepid and youthful ardor. This latter was at the same time destined to be TORSTENSON'S successor in command in case that he should die or be compelled to leave the army on account of his bad health.

The condition of the Swedish army, after BANER'S death, made the early departure of the new *Commander-in-Chief* the more absolutely necessary, since the officers as well as the soldiers preferred exorbitant claims, and manifested their displeasure and insubordination very openly. The triumvirate consisting of ADAM PFUEL,|| ARVID WITTENBERG, and CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, who, until TORSTENSON'S arrival, exer-

(A) ADLERSPARRES SAMLINGAR, 1 Del. Sid. 218.

*Handlingar rörande Skandinaviiska historien, 5e Del. Sid. 78.

(B) LUNDLAD has July, 1641.

†He received 17,000 Rix Dollars salary, free quarters, and 12,000 Rix Dollars as Governor of *Pomerania* [a Swedish silver Rix Dollar is about equal to 1 Dollar U. S. currency]. *Fests Entwurf zur schwedischen Geschichte*, 3tes, Stuck S. 120.

‡ LAURENS.

|| GELZER says, ADAM PFUEL; and PUFFENDORF states the command was vested in the four Major Generals, ADAM PFUEL, CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, ARFVERD WITTENBERG, and CHRISTOPHER KONIGSMARK, adding the latter.

cised joint command over the forces, actuated by envy, could neither agree with each other, or bridle the unruly masses. At the same time agents were not wanting on the part of the Danes, Imperialists and Saxons, who left no method untried to make the Germans serving in the Swedish army, discontented with and unfaithful to the common cause. While these things were going on, and the Imperialists, in consequence of their disagreements, had gained the upper hand, **TORSTENSON**, suffering from the hereinbefore-mentioned maladies, was forced to keep his bed at *Stockholm*. It was only as late as in September, that he became sufficiently restored to embark at *Elfmaben*, but was again so delayed by adverse winds as to be at sea for three weeks before he could reach *Wolgast*. Having left that port for *Stralsund*, on his arrival there he was again detained by a relapse. The army was expecting him in the meanwhile with great impatience, and had sent two of their Colonels, **CASPAR CORNELIUS MORTAIGNE** and **GEORGE VON DORFFLINGER**, both natives of different countries, whom, however, the war had thrown together, to meet the Commander, and bid him welcome. **MORTAIGNE**, who was of a French-Flanders family, had already been accredited as an Envoy at *Stockholm*, and enjoyed the unbounded confidence not only of his superiors but also of the common soldiers; **DORFFLINGER**, on the other hand, was an Austrian, born of poor and low parents, and, before the beginning of the war, had learned the tailor's trade, but, under **BANER** and **TORSTENSON**, formed himself a great general, and, subsequently beating his instructors, was victor over the Swedes at *Fehrbellin*,* on the 18th-28th June, 1675—on which memorable field, with the rank of Field Marshal, he commanded the forces of the **GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG**.

On learning the position of the army, and the sanguine hopes which the soldiers entertained at the arrival of their new Commander, **TORSTENSON** asked the delegates in what way it would best be possible to relieve the distressed condition of the troops? "If **TORSTENSON**," they answered, "were but with the army, then we would need no farther aid."† In consideration of this reply, he determined, though not yet entirely recovered, to hasten at once to the Swedish camp, which was then pitched near *Sarsted*, about 4 miles N. N. W. of *Hildesheim*, to which he was the more incited, as he was informed that the enemy evinced an intention of contesting with him the passage of the *Elbe*. The rapidity, however, with which he always executed that which he had once determined upon, frustrated all the plans of his opponents, and at the very moment he was supposed to be lying sick in *Pomerania*, he was, at one time, all activi-

*See NOTE [Battle of *Fehrbellin*] to INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

†*ZIEGLER'S Histor. Labyrinth der Zeit*, S. 414.

ity in the midst of his own troops, at another, in conference with the envoys from *Luneburg*, and, at another, with *BEAUREGARD*, and the leaders of the *Weimarian* army. At first, his actual assumption of the command afforded him but little cause of satisfaction, for he had scarcely arrived in the camp, when the French Minister or War Commissioner declared that the *Weimarian* troops, that is, those formerly raised and commanded by the renowned Duke *BERNHARD* of *Weimar*, but now in the service of France, should at once separate from the Swedish army proper, and move nearer to the Rhine, to cover the French frontier. In vain *TORSTENSON* endeavored to prove to him the danger arising from such a separation; the French diplomatist showed himself as obstinate towards the new Generalissimo as *GUEBRIANT* had proved towards *BANER* in Bavaria; and the *Weimarian* corps crossed the *Weser* near Minden, and passing through the so-called *Westphalic-Gate*,* marched thereby into *Westphalia*. This incident, although it changed *TORSTENSON'S* present plan of operations, was in another respect not without the most beneficial results, because, from that moment, he was independent of all foreign control, and could form and change his course of action without the interposition of uncertain allies, governing thenceforward all his movements in accordance with his own views alone, and the condition of his own troops.

• Lennart Torstenson,

Field-Marshal, Generalissimo.

Here we open a new page in this history, to welcome back to active operations and supreme command that *HERO*, whom, 10 years before his illustrious Sovereign—the first general of his era, unequalled but by two in modern times, *FREDERIC* of Prussia, and *NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE*—pronounced **CAPABLE OF COMMANDING ANY ARMY**; that faithful friend, far-seeing counsellor, and tried fellow soldier, with whom *BANER*, side by side, had met and conquered man and climate, pestilence and need of every thing, who, borne to the earth at times by excruciating suffering, yet rose defiant and superior to every want and every obstacle; that great Commander, *BANER*—so competent to judge, and himself so worthy that *GUSTAVUS* had confessed “that next to God, he owed to him (John Baner) the victory of *Leipsic*”—bequeathed to his army, as his

*The mountain pass known as the *Westphalic-Gate*, is that gorge by which the *Weser*, immediately after the junction of the *Warra*, enters the lowlands at *Minden* separating the *Teutoburger-Wald* and the *Harz Mountains*).

successor and their leader, in an express and solemn clause of his last testament. **TORSTENSON** was worthy such selection, for it is conceded that he was equal in genius and superior in persevering energy, to **BANER** himself, known by the title of the "**SECOND GUSTAVUS**,"—sufficient eulogy.

Hitherto, we have ever seen him acting in a subordinate capacity, but can still discern the influence of his ability and courage, for he was ever foremost, where occasion called, in the events with which he was connected, and whenever invested, if but for a day, with independent command, with the force and coruscation of a thunder-bolt, he fell upon and routed his opponents.

The orb of Swedish military pre-eminence, which, since its eclipse on the fatal field of *Lutzen*, had struggled through the murky clouds of war, streaming out at intervals with all its pristine radiance, and then lost, as it were, in the darkling mists of calamity, now burst forth in all its power, and shone on brighter and warmer, until the "solemn and ever memorable and sacred" **PEACE OF WESTPHALIA** invested its decline with glories as resplendent as those which attend the sun in nature, at its setting.

Henceforward, to use the words of Schiller, "the scene of war was changed, and new maxims adopted, which necessity dictated, and the issue justified. All the countries in which the contest had hitherto raged were exhausted; while the house of Austria, safe in its more distant territories, felt not the miseries of the war under which the rest of Germany groaned. **TORSTENSON** first furnished them with this bitter experience, glutted his Swedes on the fertile produce of Austria, and carried the torch of war to the very footsteps of the imperial throne."

Although this (the Thirty Years') war, says **BECKER**, in his "*History of the World*," had already swept away so many great and distinguished commanders, the school of the great **GUSTAVUS** was still ample enough to furnish more new generals. **BANER**'s successor, **TORSTENSON**, had already in the Polish wars, throughout which he had accompanied **GUSTAVUS**, inhaled the soul of his renowned, immortal master; and now, having received orders to lead reinforcements into Germany, and replace **BANER** in the chief command, he scarcely showed himself there, when a renewed spirit of life and order entered the nearly savage and disorganized army, and mighty deeds were done, whose results resembled and recalled the rapid and glorious careers of victories of **GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS** and (Duke) **BERNHARD**. And could it be believed? This man, who accomplished these wondrous results with the rapidity of lightning, had to be carried upon a litter; since the unappeasable and frightful torments of the gout, from which he suffered, made it impossible for him either to mount a horse or ride in a carriage,

and in a condition in which thousands of other men could not have left their beds, he traversed the German Empire, and made two* Electors, one King (of Denmark), and the Emperor, himself, tremble at his very name.

Having led his forces across the *Aller*, a river of Hanover, and pitched his camp between that stream and *Sulza* (*Ulzen*?) he himself took up his quarters in *Bergen*, a town of *Hanover*, on the *Prussian* frontier.

The first and by far the most difficult affair was to satisfy the officers. **TORSTENSON** had brought with him from *Sweden* considerable sums of money, and had moreover procured additional supplies to the amount of 180,000 Rix Dollars [1 Rix Dollar \$1] borrowed from the *Hamburg* merchants through **ADLER SALVIUS**; but this was not sufficient for the satisfaction of all their demands. Every one of them insisted upon receiving the whole amount then due, and strict fulfillment of the promises, made to them from time to time, by the Government of *Sweden*. The **GENERALISSIMO** not being able to distribute more than he actually had, announced to them the impossibility of further payment, concluding with the words: "that they now could carry out whatever they had made up their minds to do, discharge their duties and be victorious, or by their insubordination pave the way for their own destruction. If they would wait for better times they might be certain none would be suffered to lose, and the *SWEDISH* Crown should learn their readiness to submit." By this speech he won over at once several of the malcontents, whose example was very soon followed by the others. Scarcely had these troubles subsided, when a new one arose in the army itself. **TORSTENSON** fell sick anew, and so rapidly and dangerously, that the rumor that he was actually dead spread like wildfire throughout the whole army, and soon became known to the enemy, so that the latter, upon the demonstrations of **KURT BERTRAM PFUEL**, one of its leaders, thought the opportune moment had arrived to undertake something of importance against the *Suedes*. With this intent, therefore, the *Imperialists* drew nigh, and the *Suedes* were proportionally cast down and disheartened. **TORSTENSON** lay dangerously ill; **LILJEHOK**, a comparative stranger to the other generals, had not as yet been able to gain their confidence; **WRANGEL** was absent; **WITTENBERG** had a leg broken; and **ADAM PFUEL**, the oldest Major General, malcontent as he was, had left the army through disgust at **LILJEHOK**'s promotion, and was in *Hamburg*. The only leaders in whom dependence could be placed were **KOENIGSMARK** and **MORTAIGNE**—the first of whom commanded the cavalry, the latter the infantry. His critical situation might

*Actually three—those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bavaria. DR P.

have been productive of the worst consequences, had not **TORSTENSON** recovered as quickly as he had fallen sick. When he heard of the enemy's movements, he, on the 26th January, 1642, broke up his camp, which he did the more readily as provisions had become extremely scarce in that vicinity, especially with regard to forage, and sent **KÖNIGSMARK**, one of the very best partisans formed in the war, likewise one of the first to espouse the Swedish cause, ahead, as an advanced guard, with a body of cavalry. Lamed in feet and hands, so that he could not even subscribe his name, **TORSTENSON** was carried on a litter at the head of his regiments, to show them that, although infirm in body, his genius could still provide for their security. The march was directed upon *Salzwedel*, situated upon the small but navigable river *Jetze*, in the northwestern part of Brandenburg, near the *Hanoverian* frontier; and when the news arrived that the enemy were posted near *Stendal* and *Tangermünde*, (in the district of *Magdeburg*, in the *Old Mark*,) he proceeded on towards *Arendsee* (N. E. of *Salzwedel*), from whence he garrisoned all the passes on the *Elbe*. While he was posted there, he discovered new intrigues amongst the German officers of his army, which came to light by quite a curious accident. The letters which the leader of the malcontents, a Colonel by the name of **SECKENDORF**, had written, through the carelessness of their bearer, were lost in a barn. A cat, scratching in the manure, got them fast into her claws, and commenced playing with them, which some troopers happening to observe, picked up the letters and carried them to the Commander. These afforded sufficient proof to justify an examination, which **TORSTENSON** did not hesitate to hold, in order to restore discipline by a summary chastisement. The criminal Colonel was at once sent before, and tried by, a Court Martial, found guilty, and beheaded; but the other participators in his crime, **TORSTENSON** spared—judging, partly, that the example made in the decapitation of their ring-leader would deter his companions from like acts in future, and lead them back to obedience; partly, that it would not be best to excite, by excessive severity, too wide-spread an apprehension among those comparatively innocent, the avoidance of which would be the more judicious, as he was not aware to what extent the disaffection had already spread, and because, by too rigorous measures he might give rise to the very difficulty which it was his interest to shun most strenuously,—a general mutiny and open revolt.

The Swedish army, still suffering from the scarcity of provisions, remained inactive between *Salzwedel* and *Arendsee*, but so admirably posted that the enemy could accomplish nothing. Wherefore, the *Imperialists*, finding all their plans frustrated, passed the *Elbe*, and advanced to *Tangermünde*, pretending to have a design on some seaport in the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, and

that they might draw the Swedes into that country which was already laid waste, dispatched a portion of their forces thither. **TORSTENSON**, however, who saw through this stratagem, did not move from his positions ; so that the enemy, unless they desired to starve in *Mecklenburg*, had nothing left but to repossess the *Elbe*. Thereupon the *Bavarians* separated from the *Imperialists*, and marched into *Franconia*, the latter taking up their quarters in *Misia* and *Thuringia*. By this troublesome march, commenced in very bad weather, and over infamous roads, the **EMPEROR** sustained as great detriment as if he had lost a battle.

After the enemy's retreat, **TORSTENSON** determined, in the impending campaign, to make *Silesia* the seat of war, and after that, if possible, to clear the way through the **EMPEROR**'s hereditary states into the Austrian Archduchy itself, and carry the war even to the very gates of *Vienna*. In the mean while, to distract the enemy's attention, he manoeuvred as if he were about to invade *Westphalia*, whitherward he detached **KOENIGSMARK**, with 9 regiments, who worsted the *Croats* at *Quedlinburg*, on the *Bude*, and raised the siege of *Thal-Mansfeld*, both in *Prussian Saxony*, causing the enemy much loss.

TORSTENSON had two objects in view when he advanced towards *Silesia* ; the first, to relieve **STALHANSKE**, whose forces were too weak in those parts to enable him to maintain his ground against **FRANZ-ALBRECHT**, *Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg*, the same, who, serving under, was charged with having been the chief in the assassination of the great **GUSTAVUS**, and now, as **IMPERIAL FIELD-MARSHAL**, commanded the enemy in that circle ; the second, to make himself master of the course of the *Oder* and cover *Pomerania*.

To that end he made *Werben* the general rendezvous of his forces, crossed the *Elbe* 26-27th March, 1642, at that place, and, not without opposition, the *Havel*, near *Havelberg*, (*Werben* and *Havelberg* are two towns on the *Elbe* and *Havel*, situated in the province of *Brandenburg*, and near the frontier of this province and that of *Magdeburg*), on the 30th of the same month. *Juterboch* (on the *Rehrbach*, in the province of *Brandenburg*, south of *Potsdam*), was taken without resistance, and *Luckau* (in *Prussian Saxony*, not far from the river *Spree* and the town of *Lobben*), which had a small garrison of Saxons, after a short defence. Thence **TORSTENSON** penetrated into *Saxony*, and effected his union with **STALHANSKE**, near *Sorau* (in *Prussian Saxony*, near the frontier of *Silesia*), by which junction he found himself at the head of 12,000 [Giejer says 20,000] men, of whom 9,000 were horse, 7,000 foot, and 3,000 troopers without horses, with whom, like a flood, he inundated the *Electorate*, and displayed his banner toward *Gross-Glogau* (*Great Glogau*), *Guben* on the *Neisse* (*Prussian Saxony*) ; *Sorau* and *Sagan* on the *Bober* (*Silesia*), having opened their gates at his summons.

Gross-Glogau is built in the form of an egg, upon a high bank of the river *Oder*, in the most fertile part of *Silesia*. At that time,* it was surrounded by strong double walls with high towers, had three principal gates, the bridges leading to which were covered by good ravelin's and half-moons, deep ditches, chiefly dry, defended by counterscarps, while a strong wall with two bastions constituted the defences towards the side of the *Oder*. From the *Oder-Gate* (gate towards the river) a bridge connected the fortress with the *Dom* island, surrounded by the stream itself, and fortified with redoubts. The garrison, consisted of 1,500 musketeers and 200 horsemen, and was commanded by MORITZ AUGUST, *Baron of Rochau*, under whom Colonel SCHONEICK served as second in command.

As soon as the Swedish army had approached the city near enough to cannonade it with success, the artillery opened on the 28th April, 1642, and kept up a hot fire against the works, especially the defences of the *Dom* island. The same night, news having arrived that the Duke of SAXE-LAUBENBURG was collecting all his forces to succor the place, although a practicable breach had not yet been effected, TORSTENSON, nevertheless, resolved to attack the island early on the morrow morning, and in spite of the depth of the surrounding waters. He appears to have considered the city far less strong than it actually proved to be, and not to have expected such desperate valor in the enemy as that with which he afterwards found them to be inspired. There were two great inducements which led the Swedish general to undertake such a hazardous enterprise, the first, his army was in want of food; and the second, the enemy had accumulated great stores of provisions within. This last circumstance he so well knew how to take advantage of, in stimulating the ardor of his troops, that they were not a little allured by the prospect of the booty which their Commander gave them hopes of acquiring by pillaging the town.

In the night, every preparation was made for the attack, and at the dawn of day the assault, commenced. An horrible cry, "The Swedes have crossed the river! the Swedes are here!" awakened the garrison of the island. The surprise, however, did not dishearten them. Every one hastened to his post, and fought so valiantly that the island was only taken after a vehement resistance, and the city, captured, three hours afterwards.† The mistakes of the garrison were twofold—not destroying the bridge behind them when they evacuated the *Dom* island, and afterwards making a sortie, in the hope, no doubt, of dislodging

*Ziegler's *Labyrinth der Zeit*, S. 435.

† J. F. BECKER, in his "History of the World," states that *Glogau* was captured on the 4th May; GRUBER, on the 24th of April, 1642.

the Swedes from the works they had already won, which however, being repulsed, they, the besieged, fell into such disorder on their retreat, the Swedes at once entered the city together with them. Still, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the enemy fought desperately to the last, defending themselves as well as they could, even when deprived of all cover, with spears and swords, the butt-ends of their guns, and even with stones. Of the garrison, 800 men were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. In comparison with these losses, that of the Swedes, considering the eagerness of the battle and the strong fortifications of the place, was inconsiderable, for it did not exceed 200 men.

A general pillage of the place succeeded its capture, in the course of which a church and several blocks of buildings were burned down through the carelessness of a Swedish soldier. The booty was large and the wants of the army were thereby provided for, for a long time to come.

After the taking of this place, STALHANSKE was sent to lay *Upper and Lower Lusatia* under contribution. *Sprottau*, *Trachenberg*, *Jauer*, at the foot of the *Giant Mountains*, and *Strigau*, surrendered as soon as the Swedes appeared (May, 1642). From *Leignitz*, the Generalissimo, having concentrated all his forces, marched into *Upper Silesia*, carrying with him 130 pieces of artillery of different caliber. The next blow was aimed at *Schweidnitz*, a place situated between the *Zobten* and the foot of the *Eule (Owl)* mountains, which was then, as at the present time, very strongly protected by nature, but still more by the science of fortification, at this era rapidly developing its powers.* Of these two mountains, the one stands quite detached and has nearly a conical form, while the other belongs to a range which forms the *Silesian Sudetes*, of which the western part, with the name of *Riesengebirge* or *Giant Mountains*, lifts its peaks majestically in air several thousand feet above the level of the sea, visible throughout a great part of *Poland* and *Eastern Germany*.

TORSTENSON, believing that the capture of this city would put a stop to the enemy's sorties from the small adjacent mountain fortresses, ordered KOENIGSMARK's troopers to march at once to the assault, in order to make the garrison despair of succor, while he himself supported their attack with all his

* Engineering as a science was little understood prior to the XVIIth century, although ALBERT DÜRER and SPEKKEL, *Germans*, and CHATILLON and ERRARD DE BAR-LE-DUC, *French*, flourished in the XVIth. To the XVIIth, belong MAROLOIS and FREYTAG, *Hollanders*, who published, the 1st in 1613, the 2d in 1630; DEVILLE and PAGAN, *French*, the 1st in 1628, the 2d in 1645; RIMPLER, *German*, in 1671, &c. &c. But the great engineers of this era were COEHORN, *Hollander*, the first edition of whose work appeared in 1685, and that great *Frenchman*, VAUBAN, who fought 140 battles, conducted 58 sieges, and built or repaired 300 fortifications. The writer has, in his library, quite an interesting work on "*Modern Fortification*," by Sir JONAS MOORE, Master Surveyor of His MAJESTY's Ordnance, printed in London in 1689. DE P.

other forces. At that time FRANZ-ALBRECHT, Duke of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, who held the command-in-chief of the fortress, and district of *Schweidnitz*, was posted near *Breslau*, where he received news of the Swedish General's movements and intentions. Without waiting for PICCOLOMINI's arrival with fresh troops, he, with 7,000 men, hastened to relieve *Schweidnitz*, on whose fate that of the whole of *Upper Silesia* depended, for its loss would certainly lead to that of the whole of that province. Having learned the first intelligence of his adversary's advance from the admissions of several prisoners, TORSTENSON lost no time, but garrisoned all the passes around the city, at the same time sending forward KOENIGSMARK, to stop or delay the enemy. The Duke, who did not suppose that the Swedish Generalissimo had drawn together all his forces, advanced inconsiderately, deeming himself quite secure, and approached so near to *Schweidnitz* that it was no longer possible to retreat without giving battle. In fact, all that was left him was to choose between imprisonment or flight, or an honorable death. Nevertheless, the Duke displayed great intrepidity, and arranged his men as well as time and circumstances would permit, while his advanced guards were already in full fight with KOENIGSMARK. TORSTENSON had more than one good reason to induce him to attempt the total annihilation of his adversary. It is well known that rumor attributed to the Duke an active participation in the death, nay, rather assassination, of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.* This rumor cannot, however, any longer be considered in the light of a suspicion, since particular circumstances, subsequently developed, have invested it with every attribute of probability. The Duke had followed GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS all over the battle-field of *Lutzen*, and was alone with the great King when he received a shot in the back which deprived him of his little remaining strength. That shot was supposed to have been discharged by the Duke FRANZ-ALBRECHT, who, distinguished by a green scarf, immediately after left the field, and carried the first intelligence of the King's

* A Princess of the house of SAXE-LAUEBURG was married to the Count of BADEN-BADEN. The house of LAUEBURG having died out this lady became heiress of its possessions, whose legacy, when finally the house of BADEN-BADEN also became extinct, fell to the ORLEANS family, into which a Princess of BADEN-BADEN had married. A certain rich jewel formed part of the legacy, which jewel, afterwards sold in VIENNA, was so highly estimated by the house of BADEN-BADEN, that it had always been the subject of a special mention, and enumerated by itself, in the last wills and testaments of its possessors. It is known that GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, on the day of his death wore a gold chain, in which was set one of the Swedish-crown-jewels. This chain is still kept at PADERBORN, (in Westphalia, now subject to Prussia,) but without the jewel, which never, even to this day, has been recovered. Now, if the drawing which was made of this chain in Sweden, before the King's departure for the German War, could yet be obtained, and the above mentioned jewel found at Vienna, the just suspicion which has not yet been dispelled concerning the great Swedish King's death, might lead to the discovery of his actual murderer.

death into the camp of the enemy.* The irritable and vindictive character of FRANZ-ALBRECHT, who never forgave an offence, and deemed he had a wrong to avenge upon GUSTAVUS;† the presentiment his arrival in the camp at *Nuremberg* inspired in the minds of many, particularly OXENSTJERNA; together with the hereinbefore mentioned reasons, gave additional weight to the general suspicion.‡

TORSTENSON, whose devoted love to his martyred sovereign was that of a son rather than of a favorite scholar or friend, did not fail to inspire his army with the same feelings which had penetrated his own soul and avenging NEMESIS—"Adrastæa, i. e. she from whom no bad man can escape"—who forgets no one, stood at his side, keeping his wounds green with study of revenge. The first attack of the SWEDES was made by KÖNIGSMARK upon the Duke's left wing, which he had selected as his own post. It appeared as if the Duke did not desire to survive the day or afford the PUPIL of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS an opportunity of avenging his Master. Having put every thing in order, FRANZ-ALBRECHT threw himself forward where the battle raged the fiercest, and at the head of his Cavalry set an example of the most furious valor, until struck by two balls, one of which entered the right thigh towards the hip, the other the right arm, he fell from his horse, and into the hands of the SWEDES. This accident, the disgraceful flight of a regiment from the field of battle, and the superior force of the Swedish army, which began to develop itself more and more, decided the issue of the day: in the course of 3 hours the battle was ended and fugitives pursued as far as 5 [German, 20 English] miles from the field which was covered with the bodies of

* Likewise SCHILLER, in his "Thirty Years' War," Book III, Pages 338 and 339, and then further, 348 and 349, (STUTTGART and TUBINGEN Edition of 1847)—[in this connection, examine Pages 254 and 256, MORRISON'S Translation of SCHILLER, Harper & Brothers' Edition of 1846,]—mentions these circumstances exactly in the same way. BROCKE, in his "History of the World," differs in one point from this account, stating that GUSTAVUS and SAXE-LAUBENBURG were in the midst of the fight when this second shot was fired, and the circumstance of the King's body being found surrounded by a perfect hill of corpses on the battle field, (he was galloping furiously at the head of the STEINBOCK Regiment from the right wing toward the left when he received the wound,) rather favors its truthfulness. BROCKE'S statement is said to have been the common report of the times. It is the author's belief, founded on somewhat extensive reading and reflection, that he was basely murdered by that subsequent apostate from Protestantism, the Duke FRANZ-ALBRECHT, at the instance of WALLENSTEIN or his Imperial Master, influenced by the bigotry of their peculiar doctrines and the omnipresent Jesuits.

† While yet a youth, residing at the Court in STOCKHOLM, GUSTAVUS is said to have boxed his ears as a punishment for some fault. (SCHILLER says the trespass was against the King's mother.)

‡ When the rumor reached *Stockholm* that FRANZ-ALBRECHT had been taken prisoner, OXENSTJERNA immediately wrote to his son, with the army in *Germany*, "If it be true, as I am inclined to believe, that the Duke FRANZ-ALBRECHT is taken prisoner, keep him secure, my dear son."—OXENSTJERNA'S Brexforling, 1 Del. Sid. 13.

2,000 Imperialists. An equal number of horses, 40 standards, 4 field pieces, 1,100 prisoners, and the whole of the Duke's plate, became the prey of the Swedes, whose loss only amounted to a few hundred, amongst whom there was no officer of importance. This was on the 21st May, 1642.* The combat over, the Duke, suffering the most agonizing pains, was brought in his own carriage into the Swedish camp. While on the way he is reported to have been deadly pale, and continually groaning forth the ejaculation: "O Lord God! O Lord God!"† Whether conscience thus afflicted him for the bloody deed attributed to his hand, or whether his groans were wrung from him by those physical tortures which wrought such a total change in his otherwise manly demeanor, History does not relate. *But it does relate, to the eternal honor of TORSTENSON, that he, the battle having ended, did not make FRANZ-ALBRECHT feel their effect whatever may have been his own sentiments or those of the whole Swedish people towards him, now that he was powerless in his hands, but protected him from the resentment of the Swedish soldiery and committed him to the most delicate treatment—just the reverse of what he had experienced when a captive in Ingoldstadt.* FRANZ-ALBRECHT's wounds however, aggravated by remorse or vexation, proved incurable, and caused his death a few days subsequently, after SCHWEIDNITZ had surrendered, on the 10th of June, [PUFFENDORF says 31st May.‡] Thus, in the 44th year of his age, little missed by his followers, and without making any declaration on his death-bed to relieve the public mind as to the truth or groundlessness of the charge which rests with such damning weight on his memory,§ died the apostate FRANZ-ALBRECHT,

"Whom Vengeance tracked so long,
Feeding its torch with the thought of wrong,"

and his corpse was given up for burial to his wife, a princess of the house of MECHLENBERG-GUSTROW.

* Other authors say 31st May, 1642.

† Theatr. Europæum, IV Vol. Page 922.

‡ Schœidnitz, according to GELIER, surrendered 24th May, 1642.

§ This Duke FRANZ-ALBRECHT, of SAXE-LAUBENBURG, belonged to the unlucky line [family] of ASKANIA, which appears to have been persecuted by fate. Though endowed with great personal courage, and by no means deficient in merits as a military commander, he never was successful. Actuated by no fixed principles, and fickle in his attachments and operations, he sought in turn the favor of all parties; in 1619, appeared in the Bohemian camp, among the insurgents; 10 years afterwards became *Chamberlain*, to the EMPEROR of Austria, and *Colonel* in his Army; in 1632, a Volunteer under the Swedish banner, and immediately after the death of GUSTAVUS, which was accomplished by his own act or connivance, went over to the Imperialists; next, became an active abettor of WALLENSTEIN's meditated treason; and, while on the march to meet that unhappy commander, in order to raise the standard of revolt, was cunningly entrapped and made prisoner by the Imperialists, and only purchased his freedom by abjuring his religion, Protestantism. Four years subsequent to this apostacy we find him at the head of the Imperialists negotiating with BAXER; and after another lapse of 4 years he lost his life in the conflict with TORSTENSON. (See *Life and Actions of FRANZ-ALBRECHT, Duke of SAXE-LAUBENBURG, an Historical Essay* by S. FR. HEYNE, 1821, *Manuscript Folio* in the Grand Duke's Library at Ludwigslust.)

By his death, all the designs which ARNHEIM had suggested to him, of driving the Swedes out of Germany, "vanished to smoke." This ARNHEIM was a perfect politico-military chameleon, talented but unscrupulous, and had made himself so obnoxious to the High Chancellor, OXENSTJERNA, by the wicked plots to which he instigated the ELECTOR OF SAXONY for the ruin of Sweden, that that Great Minister ordered, coupling his commands with the promise of high reward, that he should be taken or slain whersoever he could be found. In pursuance of these commands, ARNHEIM was surprised by a party of Swedes on his estate of *Boitzenburg*, in, near the S. W. frontier of, *Uckermark*, a district of *Brandenburg*, between *Mecklinburg-Strelitz* and *Hither Pomerania*, on the 7th March, 1637; sent a captive to Sweden, where, after having been kept for some time prisoner in the Castle of *Oabro*, he escaped from his arrest in *Stockholm*, in the autumn of 1638, and having returned to *Germany*, offered, in imitation of WALLENSTEIN, to raise for the Emperor an army of his own for service against the Swedes. Having been appointed the EMPEROR'S and also the SAXON ELECTOR'S *Generalissimo* in *Silesia*, he died 18th April, 1641, after having confided his plans to the Duke FRANZ-ALBRECHT, of SAXE-LAUBENBURG, who, from being his Lieutenant, obtained the Chief Command, and with it an opportunity, as he supposed, of carrying out his predecessor's (that arch-plotter's) designs, equally congenial to his own bitter prejudices against his former co-religionists and fellow-soldiers. ARNHEIM was originally in the Imperial, which he quitted for the Saxon, service; commanded the troops of that Electorate in the battle of *Leipsic*, and after the peace of *Prague*, in 1635, which reconciled the Elector of Saxony with the Emperor, again exchanged masters. At heart he had always been a bitter foe to the Swedes, and when acting for them accomplished nothing of importance; so that it is but fair to suppose that in accordance with the general tenor of his life he was a traitor, as injurious in his alliance as in his enmity.

TORSTENSON, thus victorious, resumed his positions before *Schweidnitz*, whose garrison did not exceed 500 men under the command of one Colonel DE BARRY, who, although determined in the beginning to defend the place, was compelled by the citizens to open the gates as soon as a practicable breach and all other necessary preparations had been made for storming the works.

Among the prisoners made on the occasion were 7 Jesuits, who were forced to pay a ransom of 700 ducats* in order to obtain their liberty. These spiritual brigands, generally, it is true, and more in accordance with their principles, accomplished their desired ends at a cheaper rate by means of the dagger or poison,

* A Ducat is worth from \$1.98 to \$2.19.

and the extensive influence which they exerted in princely castles as well as the lowest hovels, procured them as great a reputation and respect in Roman Catholic countries as they were objects of dread and contempt in Protestant states. When these *Patres* were just about to leave the city, TORSTENSON had them brought before him, and enquired of them, "*If a man was bound to keep his word with heretics?*" Too cunning not to comprehend the drift of this question, they desired that it should be repeated several times before they vouchsafed an answer. True, however, to their doctrines, of which this was and is indeed one,* they answered in the negative—that he was not bound. To punish them in accordance with their own words, the Generalissimo had them taken back and cast again into prison; but, being a true Protestant gentleman, and not a false-hearted Roman Catholic bigot, he very soon ended their embarrassment by setting them free, and permitting them to depart in safety.

Having become actually master of *Silesia*, by the capture of *Schweidnitz* on the 24th [GEIJER,] [LUNDBLAD says 31st] May, 1642, TORSTENSON, with energy, but at the same time exercising his accustomed discretion, continued the pursuit of the enemy in order to complete his victory. As the country was mountainous, covered with forests and intersected by numerous rivers, his caution was obviously the more necessary, and in the end proved most advantageous; for, although a great number of the fugitives fell into his hands, still the flying-parties, which he sent forward into Bohemia, being ignorant of its topography and the positions of the enemy, were, in many instances, defeated and driven in, roughly-handled.

And now, to retrace our steps a little, for the better understanding of the Swedish general's movements subsequent to the battle of *Schweidnitz*, after the loss of which the remnant of the Imperial forces, which had remained at *Breslau*, broke up their camp there, and returned to *Brieg*, and the victorious Swede directed his march on, and arrived at, *Neisse* on the 24th May, the same day on which *Schweidnitz* surrendered, in order, at the same time, "to make trial of his fortune as well further on the enemy" as on that town before which LILJEHOK was left with the most part of the infantry, a few cavalry, and all the heavy artillery, while TORSTENSON, on the 27th, with the cavalry, 1500 foot, and some light guns, moved off on the road to *Olmütz* in *Moravia*. The only body of the enemy which actually crossed steel with the Swedes in their advance was a regiment of Imperial Foot, destroyed at *Sternberg*, on the 29th May, by the Swedish Colonel HELLMUTH WRANGEL, who afterward made an incursion to within 6 miles of *Vienna*; meanwhile the main body of the fugitives wheeled to the left, toward *Weisskirch*, *Meseritz*, and the *Wallachian Mountains*, whose difficult passes offered almost insurmountable obstacles to any

* See Appendix.

pursuit, but that of a strong force acting in accordance with a fixed plan.

On the 30th–31st June, 1642, **TORSTENSON** stood before *Olmütz*, the most strongly fortified town, with the exception of *Brunn*, on this side of the Danube. Besides the advantages, as a fortress, its capture would afford, the Swedish Generalissimo was very anxious for its acquisition on account of the rich store of provisions and treasures deposited therein by the aristocracy and monks of the surrounding country, who looked upon it as a perfectly secure place of refuge, believing that even if the war-tide broke against its walls it could not beat them down. The Provincial Estates, however, assembled within, did not feel the like confidence, but took to flight before the investment. Having sent out flying-parties, to harass and lay the rich country round about under contribution, one of which, under Colonel **HELLMUTH WRANGEL**, the same who behaved so gallantly a few days before at *Sternberg*, advanced within 6 miles of the Imperial capital, and inspired its population with a perfect frenzy of terror, **TORSTENSON** at once opened a fire of 20 guns against the walls, and then assaulted them twice without success. The Commandant was an Italian, one **MINIATI (MINIOLI)**, *General Commissary* of the *Margravite of Moravia*, who, with his garrison of 800 newly levied German and Polish soldiers, and the assistance of the burghers, defended his trust at first with great valor; but, preparations having been made for a third assault, he lost heart, and in his confusion sent a blank sheet of paper to **TORSTENSON** whereon to inscribe the articles of a capitulation. The Swedish Generalissimo lost no time in prescribing terms, and so this important place was given up on the fourth day after its investment, the garrison being permitted to march out on the 4th (5th) June, 1642. Its surrender cannot be attributed to treason, but still the resistance was but weak, which its Commandant **MINIATI** expiated with his life, being subsequently beheaded therefor at *Vienna*. The same day, 5th, *Prossnitz*, on the road to *Brunn*, and *Lüttau*, on the river March, capitulated at discretion, and on the 8th, *Neustadt* of *Moravia*, a place of considerable strength, to Major General **KÖNIGSMARK**. Having received intelligence that *Neisse* had surrendered to **LILJEHÖK** on the 5th, **TORSTENSON**, notwithstanding the advantages he had obtained in *Moravia*, and his intentions to penetrate to the Emperor's own castle, resolved, on account of the condition of the Imperial forces at this juncture, to make himself master of the other strong places in *Silesia*, to which quarter his attention was still more particularly directed by the movements of General-Field-Marshal-PICCOLOMINI, who succeeded **FRANZ-ALBRECHT**, Duke of *SAXE-LAUBENBURG*, in the command of the collective Imperial Forces, stationed as yet at

Brunn, in *Moravia*. Having accorded two days' rest to his army in *Olmütz*, and extended and strengthened its fortifications, he left therein a garrison of 3,000 men, under the command of Colonel PAYKUL, and, on the 7th June, commenced his return march by the way he had come, and effected a juncture with the bulk of his army at *Cosel* (Kosal or Kossel,) on the *Oder*, which was taken the next day, as soon as a breach was practicable, by storm; upon which the castle surrendered at discretion. On the 12th, the Swedes broke up their camp and appeared before *Oppeln*. On the 13th, a breach having been effected, the Commandant, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Count GALLAS, abandoned the town and retired into the castle, whose great strength enabled it to hold out 4 days, when, on the 17th, it was also yielded without terms. The same date, TORSTENSON sat down before *Brieg*, on the *Oder*, hoping to be able to take this fortress also, although it contained 1500 infantry and two Imperialist Colonels, before the enemy could arrive for its relief, and thereby, in consequence, became master of *Breslau* also. The Swedes had already mastered the counterscarp and established themselves in the ditch, and carried their mines under the walls of the fortress itself; and the powder of the besieged was likewise entirely spent, when the approach of PICCOLOMINI, who had been joined by the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, obliged TORSTENSON, whose forces were greatly inferior in numbers, to raise the siege, after having lost a considerable number of men and a still greater number of horses, swept away by a malignant epidemic.

The superiority of the *Imperialists* had now become so apparent, that they were willing to risk a battle in order to regain his lost provinces for the EMPEROR. But the more eager were they to bring TORSTENSON to an engagement, the more careful not to gratify them was the SWEDISH GENERALISSIMO, weakened as he was not only by leaving behind him garrisons in *Olmütz*, *Oppeln*, *Glogau*, and *Schweidnitz*, and by the detachments under Major General KÖNIGSMARK sent into *Saxony* to make head against the inimical movements there, which threatened his flank and communications with the Baltic, and by his losses before *Brieg*, where his best troops had found their graves. In accordance with this resolution he determined to wait for the reinforcements which were on the way from *Sweden* under CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, ere he ventured to trust the issue of the campaign to the hazard of a decisive battle.

Pursuing this line of conduct, he forded the *Oder* before it had risen, and pitched his camp near *Gurau* (20 English miles east of *Glogau*,) and when there was nothing more to be had in that part of the country for the maintenance of his army he encamped not far from *Guben*, on the bank of the *Oder*, where it receives

the foaming waters of the *Neisse*. No position could be more advantageous than that which the Swedes occupied: the *Neisse* covered their front, behind them they had mountains, woods, and best of all, morasses, and what rendered TORS-
TENSON'S selection doubly wise, was, while he at the same time secured the passes in the rear, by which his expected reinforcements had to arrive, on the side of *Lusatia* lay a district not yet pillaged, whither he could send his flying parties to forage and obtain supplies.

In this natural stronghold TORSTENSON was a quiet spectator of all the enemy's movements, resolved as soon as his reinforcements were in hand, to turn upon whatever side he thought advisable. The Imperial commanders, judging from their adversary's movements and position what were his intentions, did not dare to attack him, but marched toward *Great Glogau*, in the hope of being able to take that fortress by surprise; which place, however, being defended by a numerous garrison under the command of an experienced officer, and the enemy, being without boats, unable to cross the *Oder* and attack the weakest point, the danger of a *coup-de-main* passed.

Nevertheless, TORSTENSON learned with some apprehension what had been undertaken against *Great Glogau*—whose out-works were all captured, the besieged and besiegers being already engaged "hand to hand under the walls and throwing stones (out of mortars, to wit,) against each other," so that the former could make no sally, and were entirely cooped up—but felt as yet too weak to hasten to its succor. Part of the *Swedish* reinforcements, consisting of 4,000 infantry, had in the meanwhile landed on German soil, and stood under CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, near *Gartz*, in *Hither Pomerania*, on the *Oder*, and the confines of the *Mark, of Brandenburg*, whither the Commander-in-Chief sent message upon message to him, to hasten his arrival; and after WRANGEL'S junction on the 26th August, 1642, at once broke up his camp to relieve the distressed city, which was effected on the 7th September. It was now his wish that the Imperialists would stand their ground and accept the battle before *Glogau*, which they had offered to him near *Brieg*. The two armies were only separated by the *Oder*, and it appeared at first as if the Imperialists also were not disinclined to fight; but, during the night, PICCOLomini broke up his camp and raised the siege, after having experienced a loss of 1200 men. He at first directed his march upon *Luben*, directly south of *Glogau*, then moved through the *Giant Mountains*, and established his head-quarters at *Schmiedeberg*, 10 English miles from *Hirschfeld*, immediately upon the *Bohemian* frontier. Between this city and *Hohen-Elbe* (in *Bohemia*, about 22 English miles west of *Schmiedeberg*,) the aforesaid mountains attain their greatest elevation, and there form the

well known *Schneekuppe* or *Riesenkuppe* (Snow-top or Giant-top). By this manœuvre PICCOLOMINI hoped to mislead the Swedes as to whether his intended march would be directed into *Bohemia* or *Saxony*, and trusted that having induced TORSTENSON to venture into the mountains he would be enabled there to annihilate his forces ; but TORSTENSON, who, after the rescue of *Glogau*, passed the *Oder*, took *Bunzlau*, near the *Bober*, on the 13th, and *Lemberg*, on the 15th, both by storm, and thence marched upon *Lauban*, a Saxon town, on the 16th, and came to *Gorlitz*, in Upper *Lusatia*, on the 18th, observing his adversary's movements from afar.

Meanwhile intelligence was brought in that the Imperialists were on their march across the mountains (*Reisengebirge-Sudeten*) to *Friedland*, just south of *Gorlitz* in *Bohemia*, wherefore the Generalissimo resolved to take them in flank ; but, on his arrival at that point, not finding the enemy as he expected, he occupied the most convenient heights thereabouts, so as to have *Bohemia* in his rear. Upon this, the Imperialists, following him, established themselves the next day only a half (German, about 2 English) mile from the Swedes, who expected an immediate and general action, but as the enemy entrenched themselves too strongly to render an attack advisable, TORSTENSON, finding his army begin to suffer from want of necessaries in the hilly country, stooped, like a falcon, on *Zittau*, comparatively a very strong place, being surrounded by a double wall and farther protected by good half-moons, bastions and ditches ; and, although PICCOLOMINI hastened to its rescue, and the Commandant, confident of certain relief, made a stubborn resistance ; assaulted the place at broad noon, under the very noses of the Imperialists, only 1-2 a mile (German, about 2 English) distant ; whereupon the Governor, as soon as General CHARLES AUGUSTUS WRANGEL had obtained possession of an important outwork, surrendered with his 150 men, who, in accordance with the frequent custom of the times, at once entered the Swedish service. From the 28th September, the date of this glorious feat of arms until the 6th of October following, TORSTENSON permitted his troops to repose after their fatigues and privations, and during that time propositions were received for a *Cartel* for the exchange of prisoners, to which he the more willingly consented, because he hoped by this measure to defeat and render vain for the future all the attempts of the enemy to debauch his men and induce them to desert. As an evidence of the sufferings undergone by the Swedes, it would be sufficient to state that between the 18th July, when the first detachment of WRANGEL's reinforcements landed at *Wolgast*, and the 7th October, when the Swedes moved from *Zittau*, only 80 days, two-thirds of the forces brought out by that General from Sweden, had been rendered unfit for service. Newly levied and

unused to severe marches and scant provisions, which they had neither the merciless rapacity to seize nor the experienced shrewdness of their German auxiliaries to otherwise obtain from the wretched peasantry, every where in this section of the Empire friendly to the Imperialists, they had either fallen sick and died or been left in garrison, or had perished in the different and almost daily rencontres which had occurred.

From the close proximity of both armies, about equally strong in numbers, it seemed almost impossible but that a battle must speedily ensue, which result the Swedish soldiers certainly desired, as they again began to suffer from want of provisions. Neither of the contending armies, however, would assume the offensive; PICCOLOMINI's position was excellent, pitched upon inaccessible heights, covering the frontier of *Bohemia*; and although TORSTENSON, on several occasions, tried to lead him into an engagement, the Imperial commander remained immovable—just as several years before he had opposed BANNER in the camp upon the *Saale*. Taking into consideration, therefore, that he could neither penetrate into *Bohemia*, nor bring the enemy to action, as well as the suffering condition of his own army, TORSTENSON, resolving to transfer the war into *Saxony*, and, on the 7th October, marched northwestwards to *Lissa*, on the side of *Bautzen*, then to *Camentz*, and *Grossenhagen*, but left those places as PICCOLOMINI followed close upon him; and, finding that the enemy had no desire to fight but only harass him, he determined to indemnify his army for the hardships of his last bold and successful campaign by the capture of the rich and prosperous city of *Leipsic*, which for 10 years had been unvisited by the scourge of war.

On the 20th October, 1642, the Swedes passed the *Elbe* at *Torgau*, and invested *Leipsic*, before whose walls KÖNIGSMARK, who had ravaged all *Lower Saxony*, rejoined the main army, having been summoned to his aid by the GENERALISSIMO. TORSTENSON had already commenced the bombardment on a Thursday, from the side on which the *Paulinum* (University, on the east side of the city) now stands, when, from prisoners captured and brought in he learned that the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM and PICCOLOMINI, having followed by forced marches through *Wurzen* (half-way between *Leipsic* and *Dresden*) and *Grimma* (S. E. of *Leipsic*), and having been reinforced by several Saxon regiments, were marching straight upon him to give him battle. With a force of 60 squadrons of cavalry, 11 brigades of infantry, and 46 cannons, the Imperial Generals appeared in the neighborhood of the distressed city. TORSTENSON, upon receiving the news of the enemy's approach, raised the siege on the 22d October, and, as if retreating, moved northwards through a narrow pass to *Seehausen*. This movement, together with the report which he spread abroad that GUMBART was approaching

with the Weimarian army-corps to join the Swedes, induced the enemy's commanders to follow him at once. By the same pass through which **TORSTENSON** had lately marched, and in the evening of the same day, they hastened after him, under the delusion that the **SWEDISH FIELD MARSHAL** was desirous to shun, and would escape, them. The Swedes abandoned the defence of this pass, says **WRANGEL**, in a letter still preserved in the library of *Skö-Cloister, Sweden*, as well as a deep ditch, and fell back further in order to give the Imperialists more room, and see what they would attempt, which we* construe that **TORSTENSON** was fearful that if he made a stand at these strong points and checked or repulsed the enemy in their pursuit, their new-born ardor for a battle would subside, and, taking refuge in *Leipsic*, that which he desired most, a decisive combat, would be again deferred. Under these circumstances, it was the best policy to permit their passage of these defensible points, and then, having them in their rear, their rout, if the Swedes were victorious, would be more utter and irretrievable. When the day dawned on the 23d, **TORSTENSON** found that the Imperialists had advanced beyond both pass and ditch, and in the obscurity had come much nearer than he had supposed or his scouts reported, so that everything, if such was the reasoning of the great General, worked together to further his designs. The result proved the soundness of his views, and with such obstacles to an orderly retreat—one of which, the ditch, as at *Lutzen*, might have served as an extraordinary auxiliary to a successful defence of the Imperialists' position, if they had halted behind it—the enemy once beaten their whole array was, as it were, dissipated.

The Battle of Breitenfeld, sometimes styled 'The Second Battle of Leipsic.'†

One German (about 4 English) mile from *Leipsic*, upon the plains of *Breitenfeld* [Broadfield], where, 11 years before, [on the 7th September, 1631,] **GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS** had won his glorious victory over **TILLY**, the Imperialists formed their line on the morning of the 23d October, 1642.‡ The **DUKE OF GONZAGA**, the **COUNT OF BRUAY**, and **BORNEVAL**, commanded their right wing, the **COUNT OF BUCHHAIM** the left, and the **COUNT OF SOYE** the artillery—the whole, under the joint command of the *Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM* and **PICCOLOMINI**. **TORSTENSON**, who had retreated thus far, not out of fear, but after careful consideration, distributed on the night previous

* J. W. DE P.

† By some authors, Germans particularly, the Victory of **GUSTAVUS** is styled the "Battle of Breitenfeld"; that of **TORSTENSON**, the "Battle of Leipsic." **SPRUNG**, for instance, designates them thus in his plans.

‡ This must be Old Style; 2d November, New Style, which last date is furnished by the majority of modern authorities.

[22d—23d] his orders for the ensuing day. ARWID WITTENBERG took command of the right wing, which consisted of 12 squadrons and 300 musketeers, and for reserve received 8 squadrons under TORSTEN STALHANSKE [Steelglove]; ERICH-SLANGE, of the left wing, which, equal in strength, had also as powerful a reserve as that assigned to the right wing, under KÖNIGSMARK; while the centre, consisting of 5 brigades of infantry and 4 squadrons, with 4 brigades and 4 squadrons as reserves under CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL,* was confided to LILJEHOK and MORTAIGNE. Drawn up thus, TORSTENSON'S troops awaited the approaching dawn. IT SEEMED AS IF THEY WERE ABOUT TO CELEBRATE THE MEMORY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS BY A BLOODY FESTIVAL OF VICTORY. Their generals, who had sworn either to conquer or to die, asked TORSTENSON to designate the order in which they should succeed each other in case he fell, that a Commander-in-Chief might not be wanting at the crisis. In accordance with their desire, TORSTENSON appointed LILJEHOK as his successor, to whom again STALHANSKE should succeed, &c. &c.†

Strange as it may seem, no work to which we have referred furnishes the slightest indication whereby to arrive at the aggregate numerical force of either the *Swedish* or *Imperial* armies present at *Breitenfeld*. If the latter did actually suffer a loss of 20,000 men in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, it seems scarcely possible that they marshaled in line-of-battle less than 30,000; and as BERNHARD, BANER and TORSTENSON rarely could concentrate over 20,000 soldiers of all arms, even when freshly reinforced from *Sweden*, and we know that TORSTENSON had experienced great losses not only in his field and siege operations but from the effects of disease and want; the disastrous consequences of which last alone occasioned his recent retreat from *Moravia*. Thus, it seems but just to calculate that his army did not exceed 20,000 in number. WRANGEL asserts, as if it was an unquestioned fact, that the *Imperial* Infantry was far stronger than the *Swedish*; and why would the ARCHDUKE have looked upon his defeat as an almost indelible disgrace, had not vastly superior forces given him the best assurance of victory? nay, more, that TORSTENSON surpassed himself in this "the greatest battle fought in this the last period of the war," and exhibited a valor, marvelous at a time when courage to be remarked had to be extraordinary, the following is proof sufficient, for, after this victory of *Breitenfeld* or *Leipsic*, a medal was struck which bore this inscription: "It

*Histoire de CHARLES GUSTAVE, par SKJOLDEBRAND, page 34.

†SCHILLER'S historischer Almanach, 1792.

IS BELIEVED, LEIPSIK, THAT THOU KNOWEST NOW THE COURAGE OF TORSTENSON."*

Glorious Torstenson!

In the beginning, that is, before the ultimate distribution of the troops on either side, the front of the Imperialists faced towards the north, and that of the Swedes towards the south, having the towers of *Leipsic* in plain view; but the former, wheeling as if to attack the Swedes in flank, **TORSTENSON** at once re-formed the troops to counteract their manœuvre, so that he had the enemy in full front, and the village of *Breitenfeld* and a thicket in his rear, the former of his left wing, the latter of his center and right.

RUSSEL, following **PUFFENDORF** and **BARRE**, uses the following language respecting this movement: "Meanwhile they [the Imperialists] advanced in such a form, as the Swedes were between the Imperial army and the town; **TORSTENSON**, finding himself exposed to two fires, *filed* off his troops into the plain of *Breitenfeld*, about 3 (English) miles from *Leipsic*." That word "*filed*," if **RUSSEL** uses it in its proper [military] sense, would explain exactly how the Swedes and Imperialists came to occupy their respective positions, as laid down in the plan of the battle furnished by **SPUNER**.

And here, before entering into the details of this decisive conflict, let us pause a moment to indulge in a few remarks, and furnish a description of this ever memorable battle-field—which, twice within twelve years, served as the *lists* for a *combat à l'outrance* between the Swedes as the chosen *Champions* of the Reformed Faith, and the *Imperialists*, then, as now, and, doubtless ever, during their existence as a nation, the unscrupulous *Defenders* of the Papacy—which, in almost every German war has been literally soaked with the blood of its own people or its invaders. With the exception, that in this, the *Second Battle*, **TORSTENSON** eventually occupied a position but little different from that which **TILLY** held in the *First*, and the *Imperialists*, who, up to the very moment when the charge was sounded, may be looked upon as the assailants, were drawn up in about the same space, as that on which the *Saxons* and *Swedes* under the great **GUSTAVUS**, who in like manner assumed the aggressive, displayed their line-of-battle: all was the same now as then.

Any individual possessed of a manly soul can understand the emotions which fired the bosoms of the adverse leaders and their veteran troops. The place, and the occasion, with all the concurrent circumstances, excited the emulation and aroused all

*"On croit, *Leipsic*, que tu connais maintenant le courage de **TORSTENSON**."

BERNARD'S LIFE OF **TORSTENSON**,

the valor of the contending hosts. The *Imperialists*, flushed in some degree with the hopes created by partial success and the march, which they, self-deceived, imagined a pursuit* of that dreaded opponent, at no time more terrible than when apparently the least prepared to strike, panted to vindicate their fame amid the very scenes which had witnessed their former and disgraceful overthrow; whereas the *Swedes* were stimulated by every consideration of interest, perchance safety, and honor, the memories of their Great King—who, on this consecrated soil, set up an everlasting monument of his glory, and struck the fetters from the limbs of Lutheran Germany—to emulate the heroic deeds of those countrymen and predecessors, ancestors perchance, over whose graves they were contending. With all the fury, such motives and the bitterest religious rancor could inspire, the battle joined and RAGED FOR FOUR HOURS, but however bravely and vigorously the troops performed their duty, if ever a victory was due to the valor and genius of a General, this was a triumph which belonged to the Commander-in-Chief, so ably seconded by his immediate subordinates; for the Commanders on both sides were compelled more than once to plunge into the most furious melees to rally their flying soldiers, and, although defeated, no praise can be too great for the gallantry of the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, who, with his regiment, was the first in the attack, the most obstinate in the defence, and the last to abandon the field.

The exact battle-field, arena shaped, is comprised within a circuit the extreme points of which were occupied by the villages of *Lindelthal* and *Breitenfeld*; on the west by *Great* and *Little Podelwitz*, *Gumheritz* and *Zschellau* on the north, *Gobschelwitz* on the east, and *Seehausen*, *Great* and *Little Widderritzsch* on the south, which last twin villages are at the immediate junction of 2 small streams which fall into the *Parthe*,† near *Leipsic*, immediately south of them. Parallel with the rear of the Swedish lines ran the road from *Leipsic* to *Magdeburg*, in front that to *Dohnitzsch* and *Dessau*, branching off from which, midway between *Leipsic* and *Widderritzsch*, the road to *Wittenberg* passed diagonally the *Imperialists'* left, formed upon it, which road LUNDBLAD asserts divided the battle field. This must have been

*The Imperial General, imagining his design was to avoid an action, endeavored to harass his rear (while filing off towards *Breitenfeld*); but the Swedish commander, who wished for nothing more than such an opportunity, faced about immediately.—*RUMEL*.

† Of these two streams (now within the precincts (i. e. suburbs) of *Leipsic*) the most considerable (a *cheval* of which the Swedish right was formed), the *Rietzscha*,—the other is a nameless brook, and ran between (perpendicular to, running towards, the Swedish right) the opposing force, falls into the *Parthe*, about half an English mile N. W. of that city, which last stream again flows into the *Elster*, about 1 1-2 English miles WNW. of it.

prior to the change of front hereinbefore described, otherwise SPRUNER's plan and several descriptions of the battle-field itself conflict with each other.

A heavy cannonade on both sides opened the battle. At the very first discharge, TORSTENSON'S life was in danger. A cannon-ball (chain-shot) struck his horse, and carried off the animal's hind quarters and part of the rider's skin and dress; the same ball struck down two more horses, piercing the neck of one mounted by the *Palsgrave* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, afterwards CHARLES X, of Sweden, who rode at the side of his Instructor, and the belly of another, on which rode one RABINEAU, a *Captain of Cavalry*, so that all three cavaliers fell to the ground, but happily unhurt; passed through the belly of, killing the *Chancellor* LAES GRUBBE, and wounded, by carrying off the leg of, the Commander's Secretary.

As the Imperialists, notwithstanding the eagerness of their pursuit, did not appear, even yet, to have screwed their courage up to such a point as to evince any intention of making the first onset, the Swedes advanced in full battle array, although they suffered great loss from grape and the cartridge-shot of the enemy, who aimed with more precision, and thus did as much execution with their guns—disposed, the greater part in front of their centre, the lesser of the right wing, the wood, *Linkelwald*, intervening between the Imperial right and Swedish left, the latter, on that account, equally denuded of pieces—as the more numerous Swedish artillery until both armies were face to face and engaged in the deadly struggle throughout the whole extent of the lines.

That the fire of the Swedish artillery, which had the reputation of being, and actually was, far superior to that of any other nation at this date, should have been less effective than the enemy's at the commencement of the action, is satisfactorily explained when the fact is made known that the wind, which, at first, blew adverse to the Swedes, drifting their opponents' smoke and dust into their faces, thereby at once obscuring the gunners' aim, and concealing the foe, subsequently changed and favored them, towards the close of the action.

This shift of wind, however, could have been of but little advantage, after all, to the Swedes, for, after the first charge, in which they suffered most, the fight became a general *melee*, as the report of General WRANGEL plainly indicates: "It was a very hard action, and we fought long pike to pike."

And now, to return to and proceed with the details of the battle. The *Swedish* right, under its valiant leaders WITTENBERG and STALHANSKE, first, attacked the *Imperial* left, which had not yet completed its formation, and on this point, for a short space, the struggle was very fierce; but it was not long before the Imperial Cavalry was entirely dispersed and put to

flight.* In vain the ARCHDUKE himself hastened to attempt to stop them; his efforts could only delay the rout of this portion of his army.

Thereupon the (Swedish) left and the Brigades (centre) came also into the thick of the struggle, and although they fought with great resolution, the enemy's right wing gained so much ground that some of the Brigades, and especially the left,† its commander ERICH-SLANGE, having fallen on the first firing, were thrown into confusion, and even the Artillerymen (constables) in part abandoned their pieces. The truth is, the Swedes in this quarter would have been obliged to give way, the enemy having actually begun to plunder their captured baggage, had not KÖNIGSMARK—whose own Cavalry had been in danger, for a time, of being routed by the Imperial Cuirassiers, but eventually obliged their steel-clad assailants to give way—and DORFFLINGER, but more especially the young Prince CHARLES-AUGUSTUS—who, throughout the day, carried TORSTENSON'S orders to every part of the field, even where the danger was most imminent—averted such a calamity, and restored order.

This wing having been reformed, the Infantry on both sides, who had exhausted their powder, engaged man to man, with inexpressible rage and resolution, and fought on with pikes, swords and the butt-ends of their fire-arms. Meanwhile the Infantry of the enemy's left (and center, ‡) being uncovered in consequence of the flight of its Cavalry, had retreated upon

*SCHILLER says that the Swedish generals STALHANSKE and WITTENBERG fell upon the Austrian left wing with such impetuosity, before it was completely formed, that the whole Cavalry which covered it were dispersed and rendered incapable of rendering further service. One, (the MADLON) Regiment, acted in so cowardly a manner that when the wrecks of his array came together, at Rakonitz, in Bohemia, the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, in the presence of his whole force, declared it "infamous," caused its standards to be rent in pieces, its arms, equipments, insignia, and even its horses, to be taken away, its Colonel to be decapitated, and condemned several of the officers to death, and all the privates to be decimated.

†Left wing.

‡This would seem to include the whole infantry of the Imperial left and centre, for after the Swedish left had been thrown into confusion, WRANGEL (who is too concise in his letter written on the field and very day of the battle to be entirely clear), the General commanding the reserve of the Swedish centre, says: "We nevertheless rallied, and bringing up our right wing, strenuously seconded the left, so that we, by God's help, beat the enemy out of the field, and utterly routed (this appears to imply all) his Infantry, which was 11 Brigades, and far stronger than ours. RUSSEL, following PUFFENDORF and BARRÉ, uses the following language, altho' I (de P.) have translated LUNDBLAD'S words—"Infantry of the enemy's left." I feel satisfied it is a clerical error, and that he intended to express, "all the enemy's foot except that of the right wing.)"

"While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the center fought with inexpressible rage and resolution. At length the Swedish Foot, animated by the example of the Horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of action, obliged the Imperialists to quit the field and retreat into a wood with the loss of their cannon. TORSTENSON pursued the left wing as far as Leipsic; KÖNIGSMARK gave no quarter to the right; and the Austrian infantry, being driven from the wood, into which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces."

an adjacent hill, whereupon LILJEHOK, with some squadrons of his horse, made a circuit, in order to fall upon its rear; observing which the Archduke, LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, dispatched his body-regiment* to their assistance..

Behind a ditch, this regiment awaited LILJEHOK's attack, who, accompanied by but a few, led the charge, galloping in advance of his troopers, and fell mortally wounded at the first volley.† The *Palsgrave*, CHARLES-GUSTAVUS, fortunately also present at this point at the decisive moment, placed himself at once at the head of LILJEHOK's command, and led them to the attack successfully.

The ARCHDUKE's Regiment defeated, the Imperial Infantry—for whose assistance it had been detached, which had abandoned its artillery, and taken refuge on a wooded hill—where, in the time of GUSTAVUS and TILLY, a body of Foot had in like manner, been posted—taken in flank by CHARLES-AUGUSTUS-WRANGEL, were driven out on open ground, where, at once, the Swedish Cavalry charged in among them, and “so played with them,” that they were dispersed and destroyed almost to a man.

Having gained these advantages, the *Swedish* right wing was enabled to succor and sustain the left, where the contest, which had been already carried on with equal pertinacity, for more than two hours, was still undecided. After the flight of the enemy's Cavalry, and the retreat, or rather dispersion, of his Infantry, the right wing had halted upon the field, in order not to remove too far, and there await any new attack by the enemy; but none occurring or threatening, the cannonade upon the left wing still continuing and indicating that the decisive and most critical moment was at hand, WITTENBERG, with all his forces, fell upon the rear and flank of the Imperial right wing, where, such was their resolution, truly, all the forces of the Swedes united were required to gain the upper hand.

Not only all the superior‡ officers of the Imperialists, but even PICCOLOMINI and the ARCHDUKE himself, mingled in the contest, and fought more like privates than like Generals. PICCOLOMINI, who six times led his regiment against the Swedes, six times had been repulsed; and the ARCHDUKE, who seemed omnipresent, and did not spare either example, encouragement

*LEIB-REGIMENT—the Regiment of which the Archduke himself was Colonel, each Imperial Regiment having an INHAYER or Proprietor (an honorary title) who is exactly similar to an English Colonel.

† LILJEHOK died the same evening, commending his wife and children to the young *Palsgrave* CHARLES-GUSTAVUS, and consoling himself with the victory of his comrades.”—PUFFENDORF, XIV, 26.

‡HÖHERE—literally “higher,”—General and Field Officers.

or threats, was one of the last upon the field, and did not leave the ground till the general flight swept him off along with it*.

After 4 hours' combat, 5,000 of the enemy's dead covered the plain, besides whom a great number perished in the flight.† An equal number, among which were several generals, were captured. Besides their prisoners, the Swedes took great spoil, namely, all the baggage, artillery (46 pieces, great and small), 50 ammunition and more than 100 baggage wagons, 180 ensigus and standards, all the warlike stores‡ prepared for and Chancery, relating to the war. But this victory was dearly bought, for, among the 2,000 wounded were GUSTAVUS OTTO STEN-

* These words of VON LAUNBLAD, taken in connection with the fearful retribution worthy of DRACO, dispensed 'at Rakonitz, (See Note *, Page 45, and *, Page 49,) by LEOPOLD WILLIAM, his fiery yet stubborn valor in the conflict, and his subsequent inextinguishable thirst for vengeance on all who in any wise contributed to the disastrous result at Breitenfeld, recall the verse of FRAMORE'S (MOORE'S *Lalla Rookh*) description of MOKANNA'S forced retreat, and we doubt if the "Veiled Prophet," demon as he was, possessed a haughtier, fiercer, and more unforgiving heart than this or the majority of Imperial Archdukes of whom we have read:

"Yet now, the rush of fugitives, too strong
For human force, hurries e'en him along:
In vain he struggles mid the wedg'd array
Of flying thousands, he is borne away;
And the sole joy his baffled spirit knows
In this forced flight is—murdering as he goes!
As a grim tiger, whom the torrent's might
Surprises in some parch'd ravine at night,
Turns, e'en in drowning, on the wretched flocks
Swept with him in that snow-flood from the rocks,
And, to the last, devouring on his way,
Bloodies the stream he hath not power to stay!"

† BROCKE'S estimate of PROCOLOMINI'S loss on that occasion amounts to well nigh 20,000 men, 200 standards, ensigus, banners, 46 cannons, the whole War Chancery and Caisse (Military Chest).

SCHILLER puts it down at 5,000 dead, 5,000 prisoners, and about 5,000 perished (missing), 46 cannons, the whole Silver Plate and Chancery of the Archduke, and all the baggage. WRANGEL, himself acknowledges that he got the Archduke's gold service and carriage.

According to PUFFENDORF, "In this battle, 5,000 Imperialists lay dead on the spot, and more than 2,500 were made prisoners, with several officers of note. The Swedes on their side lost 2,000, of whom there were several officers, and particularly JOHN LILJENOR, Great Master of the Artillery."

COXZ, thoroughly Austrian in all his feelings and admissions, states that "after a long and bloody conflict, the Imperialists were totally routed with the loss of 10,000 killed and prisoners."

KOHLRAUSCH sets down the Imperial loss at 20,000 men, 46 pieces of artillery, and nearly 200 ensigus.

And RUSSEL (relying, as ever, on PUFFENDORF, already cited, and BARRE,) relates, "In this battle * * * the Imperialists lost 8,000 good soldiers; and 800 officers were found among the slain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not lose above 1,000 men. Besides the slaughter of the enemy, they took 3,000 prisoners, together with 46 pieces of cannon, 116 pair of colors, and 600 wagons."

‡ KRIEGSVORRATH or KRIEGSHEDARF—Munitions de Guerre—Warlike Stores, which, to reconcile VON SCHUBERT and other historians, must, in this case at all events, include the Military Chest.

BOCK and STALHANSKE;* and among the 2,000 killed were LILJEHOK and SLANGE,† the first a true imitator of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, in regard to courage, prudence and conduct,‡ the latter, one of the most intrepid officers who ever rode at the head of the Swedish Cavalry. At *Neuburg*, with a small party, he kept his ground against a whole army, and thus saved BANER's flying troops, on which occasion, when summoned to surrender, he returned the bold answer,§ "that he would not surrender as long as he had his other arm."

The hot pursuit of the enemy fatigued the Swedes to such a degree that for the first few days they could undertake nothing farther of importance, and TORSTENSON'S embarrassment can be easily comprehended when it is recorded that he had no means of rewarding, as was customary, those who presented the captured standards to their GENERALISSIMO.

TORSTENSON has been much reproached by some writers|| for the state of inactivity, in which the army remained after the battle, as well as the comparatively long time which it consumed in the siege of *Leipsic*, because thereby no small part of the consequences which might have been expected to result from such a victory were lost. But if, under circumstances like those above enumerated, their Commander, instead of farther testing the patience and endurance of his forces by a march into Bohemia, where they were very likely to meet with renewed resistance, invested *Leipsic*, which was in sight of the battle-field, in the hope of satisfying all the wants of his army by the capture of that rich city, it must be confessed that this course of action was nothing less than a fresh proof of his wonderful prudence, whose counsels, happily, as if by a natural instinct, he never neglected or misunderstood, and thus

*This General STALHANSKE, one of the most renowned Swedish Generals, who, after GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS' death, maintained the supremacy of his country in Germany, died at *Hadersleben* in the spring of 1644. He is said by the German Author of the "Thirty Years' War," to have been of low descent, because he is alleged to have been a servant man in his early days. This is not so; he belonged to a well known aristocratic family, which expired with him.

†He lies buried in the St. Nicolai Church of *Leipsic*, where the stone upon his grave is to be seen at the present day.

‡Examine SCHILLER.

§See VON LUODBLAD'S Biography of BANER, page 198.

|| The following, although gleaned from a novel, nevertheless a noble book, KINGSLY'S *AMIAS LEIGH*, are so apposite and replete with good sense, they are worthy to illustrate any history.

"*Battles (as soldiers know, and newspaper editors do not) are usually fought, not as they ought to be fought, but as they can be fought; and while the literary man is laying down the law at his desk as to how many troops should be moved here, and what rivers should be crossed there, and where the cavalry should have been brought up, and where the flank should have been turned, the wretched man who has to do the work finds the matter settled for him by pestilence, want of shoes, empty stomachs, bad roads, heavy rains, hot suns, and a thousand other stern warriors who never show on paper.*"

derived on all occasions from his successes the best, although not always the most brilliant, results.*

Leipsic, the valor of whose garrison excited their admiration, withstood the Swedes for a whole month, and only opened its gates on the 28th November.† During this time, the Swedish army suffered very severely, indeed, from the rainy weather, but it found therein ample indemnification for all that it had suffered.

According to BECKER, the city had to pay a very considerable contribution (SCHILLER talks of 3 TONS OF GOLD, and states that it purchased exemption from plunder by a ransom of 300,000 Rix-dollars), and furnished in addition 36,000 ells (24,000 English yards) of cloth for the clothing of the army. The citizens, either not having enough, or not being willing to give all they had, broke open the stores of the foreign merchants (of Cologne, Nuremburg, Hamburg, Bremen, etc. etc.) saying that as they had had to watch and fight for them and theirs, they were determined thus to repay themselves for the exposure, toil and peril.

On the other hand, while the Swedes were absorbed in this siege the first reports, immediately confirmed by the authentic bulletins, of a defeat so total, overwhelmed the Imperial Court with consternation. General ENKENFORD was ordered to make new levies with all possible expedition: HATZFELD and WAHL were sent for to *Vienna*; GOLTAKER and GALTZ (GALLAS?) exerted their utmost diligence to join the ARCHDUKE and PICCOLomini in *Bohemia*, whither they had fled to reassemble the wreck of their army. *All the troops in the Austrian service were collected to stop the progress of the victorious TORSTENSON.*

The ARCHDUKE, however, resolved, to profit by TORSTENSON'S relaxed pursuit and delay, to punish those who had abandoned the battle-field before *Leipsic*, and endeavored to assuage his own bitter chagrin and wipe out his sense of the disgrace by the terrible and exemplary punishment of those to whom he attributed this blot upon his own and his country's military honor. The Regiment "MADLON," which was the first to fly, was declared "infamous," its banners torn, and its Colonel, many other officers, and every tenth man, decapitated. Colonel MADLON, before the execution of his sentence was carried into effect at *Prague*, confessed that in the battle at *Breitenfeld* he was unable to overcome his dread of death, which he

* SCHILLER, however, no mean judge, and well acquainted with all the facts, applies these very words, "brilliant results," to the capture of the city; wherefore, let cavillers say what they will, no doubt but TORSTENSON judged most wisely, and obtained not only the "best" but "the most brilliant results."

† SCHILLER has 3 weeks; COXE asserts that the city "immediately surrendered." PUFFENDORF states that he "easily obliged it to surrender on composition."

had faced so valiantly on many previous occasions, because, during the night before the conflict he had committed a horrid deed, the memory of which pressed sore upon his conscience.*

Siege of Freiberg, and Second Invasion of the Imperial Hereditary States.

OPERATIONS FROM DECEMBER 1642 TO NOVEMBER 1643.

Meanwhile, before marching from *Leipsic*, TORSTENSON had a conference with the French Marshal GUEBRIANT, who, in concert with the *Hessians*, had made a campaign upon the *Lower Rhine*, and inaugurated the opening of the year 1642, by the victory of *Kempen*, (on the *Niers*, in the Electorate of *Cologne*,) whose close was rendered still more glorious by that of *Breitenfeld*, known to most military writers as the *Second Battle of Leipsic*, and the two Generals are said then and there to have concurred in a plan for the ensuing campaign of 1643, which plan, however, was not conjointly executed, the blame of whose non-fulfillment is charged by the French to the Swedes, and by the Swedes to the French, which last is the most likely, as in all times no Government has shown itself more faithless or susceptible, acting ever and only in accordance with the boundless ideas of its own national importance and inordinate ambition.

From the plains of the *Pleisse*, TORSTENSON, the Swedish army feeling somewhat refreshed, resolved to make an expedition into Bohemia, but on his march towards the mountains, sat down before *Freiberg*, on the *Freiberg-Mulda*, in *Saxony*, S. W. of *Dresden*, which resolution he adopted for three reasons, the first, his troops were suffering terribly from bad weather, which almost ruined the communications; the second, his position enabled him to command *Misnia*; the third, he heard the place was well stored with provisions, and could not hold out over 8 days; but the GENERALISSIMO met with the same determined opposition that BANER formerly experienced before those very walls. By the middle of February, 1643, however, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, they were reduced to the last extremity, when the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM and PICCOLOMINI, having collected the remnants of their beaten forces at *Rakyczan*, and punished the recreants, hastened with 15,000 men to the relief of the distressed city, and posted themselves so advantageously that TORSTENSON, although desirous of giving them battle, finding that the Imperialists would not quit their positions, and that no more forage was to be had in the vicinity, was forced to raise the siege, after sacrificing 1,500 men, and fell back to

**Bohmens Geschichte* von CORNOVA, 2 Th. (Part) 8. (Page) 225.

Streelen (Strehla ?) on the *Elbe*, and content himself with watching the enemy's movements.

This failure was no doubt occasioned by the sickness which afflicted the Swedish forces, the want not only of almost every kind of provisions, but even the necessaries of life, and the continued illness of the GENERALISSIMO, much more than by the approach of the enemy, who considered that they had achieved a great triumph in forcing the Swedes to abandon their undertaking, because, therein, the time had been consumed which might have been better employed in their opinion, in reaping the fruits of the victory of *Breitenfeld*. TORSTENSON, however, did not view the result by any means in the same light, for, by his operations, he had drawn the enemy from their quarters in the midst of a cold and stormy winter, whereby, in addition to their other sufferings, they lost in a little time 5,000 horses, not easily replaced in the exhausted state of their exchequer to buy, and country to furnish.

From *Freiberg*, the retreating Swedes were followed by the Imperialists ; but this time, with even more circumspection than in the previous like event, and, having crossed the *Elbe* at *Streelen*, they marched towards *Bautzen* in *Lusatia*, routing on the way, not far from *Senftenberg*,* the Count of BRUAY, who attempted to harass by charging them with 2,200 horse, whereby they acquired a large booty.

TORSTENSON next established his camp at *Reichenbach*, on a river of the same name, in the *Palatinat* of *Lusatia*, in order to afford his army an opportunity to recruit ; and, while there, endeavored, by means of pressing letters to *Sweden* and loans of money at *Hamburg*, to reorganize his army so as to enable him to resume the offensive. The Imperialists gave him plenty of time to effect this, for they returned into *Bohemia*, and remained there in perfect inaction, occasioned in no small degree by the dissensions which had arisen among their Generals. The Archduke, LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, had left the army in reality, through discontent, and hatred to TRAUTMANNSDORF, (one of the greatest diplomatists the Austrian Cabinet possessed, whose name occurs repeatedly in the history of the transactions connected with the Peace of Westphalia†), although the reason publicly assigned, was that his presence was necessary in the Netherlands, to supply the place of the CARDINAL-INFANTA. PICCOLOMINI and HATZFELD had entered the Spanish service, the former to combat on the same fields on which his countrymen FARNESE and SPINOLA had immortalized themselves ; and GALLAS was again placed at the head of the Imperial army. This warrior, the subject of such frequent mention in all the military biographies and annals of these times, was truly a son

*On the Schwarze-Elster.

†AUSTRIAN PLUTARCH, by HORMAYR, 1st Part, page 82.

of the war, and bred in the camp ; but, notwithstanding his martial nurture and experience, the only art he appeared to understand, when invested with supreme command, was that of destroying his own army. An unprecedented self-love, intemperance, and want of foresight, characterized all his actions ;* and, when the news of his appointment reached the Imperial camp, it caused a general dejection, whereas the Swedes rejoiced thereat as much as if they had gained a battle.†

According to TORSTENSON'S plan of the ensuing campaign, he endeavored to penetrate through *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and rescue *Olmütz*, which was hard beset by the Imperialists. His operations in this kingdom proved successful, without any great difficulties having been encountered ; for, although GALLAS proposed to hinder his march, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO deceived him, and, marching by him, accomplished all his designs, and encamped between *Tornau* [Turnau] and *Bunzlau*, both on the *Iser*, and *Lobkowitz*?‡ whence he sent his flying parties into *Saxony*. SCHILLER says that his movements in this campaign were made with lightning-like rapidity, and that he astonished his opponents, not only by his victories but likewise by his marches, in which he is worthy to be compared with the Great NAPOLEON, who triumphed as much by the use of his soldiers' legs as of their arms.

GALLAS followed in his rear, but without being able to prevent his movements, because the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, obliged to respect the Emperor FERDINAND III'd's order not to give a decisive battle, in pursuance thereof was compelled to give way on all occasions when TORSTENSON presented himself ready to engage. In sight of *Bohemia's* capital, only half a mile [German, about 2 English miles] distant, the Swedish army advanced on the road to *Vienna*. Lost in amazement at this unexpected march, none knew if TORSTENSON intended thereby to make an actual attack upon the capital, or manœuvre for the rescue of *Olmütz*. The former design, however, was considered so highly probable, and like the GENERALISSIMO's usual energetic hardihood, that the Imperial army always marched along on his flank, but at such a distance as to escape being surprised, and yet hold itself ever ready to hazard the last battle, as a parry, when the thrust, so to speak, was actually aimed at the very heart of the Empire. Scarcely had the Swedish Commander passed *Bohmishbrod* and *Kuttenberg*, two small towns in the mountains between *Prague* and *Czaslau*, when, all at once, he abandoned the road to the *Danube*, took the route for *Moravia*, and having gained quite unexpectedly the neighborhood

*See Biographical Sketch of GALLAS, in succeeding pages.

†HISTORY OF DENMARK, by MALLETT, III'd Part, page 238. (Greifswald, 1779.)

‡!LOMBOURTZ on the ELBE, S. W. of the two former places, or LIBOCHOWITZ, on the ELBE, 10 miles S. S. W. of LEITMERITZ ; all in BOHEMIA.

of *Olmütz*, compelled the Imperialists to raise, precipitately, the siege of that place. This was in July, 1643.* After which, having reduced *Cremsier* [Kromeziz or Kremsir] on the *March*, he again rendered the Swedish arms as victorious in this province as they had been triumphant the year before in *Silesia*, capturing one castle after another and laying all the open towns under contribution—all which operations were effected in the presence of the Imperial army, which lay encamped but 4 [German, 8 to 10 Eng.] miles distant, near *Austerlitz*, in the vicinity of *Brunn*, where GALLAS—who excelled in settling down quietly in positions strong by nature or strengthened by art, and, if he did not afford his troops exercise in fighting, kept them from rusting by throwing up field-works wherever he halted—had established himself over against TORSTENSON—occupying an entrenched camp at *Tobitschau*, 2 [German, 8 to 10 English] miles from *Olmütz*—so that the two armies continued for some time in sight of each other—and either from the dread of bringing on a general engagement or his usual inertness, remained an almost quiet spectator of the invaders spoiling his Master's patrimony.

In the meantime, it is true, that 3 Swedish regiments, quartered on the mountains, and keeping careless guard, were roughly handled by an inferior force of the enemy; but this mischance was promptly avenged by an able manoeuvre of TORSTENSON, who surprised the COUNT OF BACHHEIM [Bachhaim or Bouchain?], detached into *Silesia* with 1,500 horse, and utterly routed his command.

From his central stronghold, at *Dobitschau*, a selection worthy of his consummate ability, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, like a worthy scion of that Gothic blood, whose iron hand† was on the most opulent districts of the *Roman Empire*, controlled the entire resources of the *Moravian Marquisate*, on which, as well as the whole rich country, even to the banks of the *Danube*, renowned for its fertility before his first irruption a stranger to those miseries and losses which had fallen with such disastrous consequences on all the countries between the *Taya*‡ and the great *East Sea* (the Baltic), the *Rhine* and the *Vistula*, and extended his ravages to the bridge-head of *Vienna*; the Swedish Light Cavalry penetrating even into the villages immediately beneath the walls of that capital. Outraged at that devastation, now first brought home to his own threshold, which his fathers' bigoted intolerance had occasioned in the more distant circles subject to his sceptre, the EMPEROR endeavored to arouse the spirit of the Hungarian Magnates, and arm them for

*BECKER says that he was in Moravia, already, in June.

†Old HERRMANN WRANGEL applies this very term "STEEL GLOVE" to TORSTENSON, in a letter dated Stockholm, 10th August, 1641.

‡The TAYA forms part of the northern boundary of the Archduchy of Austria.

the rescue of his Moravian province, and the chastisement of that hardy soldier, who had dared to pluck by the beard the proudest of all feudal despots, the haughty *House of Hapsburg*, which, unscathed as yet by invasion, had beheld with selfish indifference the flames of war consume the richest properties of faithful allies or helpless dependants, sacrificed to its ambition and the Papal interests. With unavailing resentment, FERDINAND III. found the nobility deaf to his summons and exhortations; strong within the bulwarks of their ancient prerogatives, they refused to serve beyond the limits of their own country;* and thus the period which should have been spent in active resistance was wasted in useless negotiation, and the whole province was abandoned to the spoliations of the Swedes.

At this time TORSTENSON, indefatigable as he had proved in all his military operations, evinced no less untiring energy in his negotiations. RAGOCZY, *Prince of Transylvania*, a warlike and turbulent man, devoid of honor and truth, as is the case with the greater part of these Bojars, who had been long since striving to acquire the hereditary government of his country, believed the time had at length arrived to carry out his ambitious plans, and that all the auspices were favorable for success. The Emperor and Germany, divided, convulsed and desolated by an exhausting war, whose termination could not be as yet discerned, being unable to oppose an effectual resistance, RAGOCZY, at this juncture, sought an alliance with TORSTENSON, and proposed to join him in an invasion of Hungary, and with their united arms dictate terms of peace to FERDINAND III. Such an ally was welcome to TORSTENSON, for even, though unable to further the actual progress of the Swedes and their designs, still RAGOCZY could prove of great service in diverting the attention of the Imperialists. In accordance with these views, General DORFFLINGER was sent with secret instructions into *Transylvania*, whose mission thither occasioned great alarm to the Austrian Cabinet.† But just when the consternation caused by this new peril was at its height, the war which Sweden had determined to wage against Denmark called TORSTENSON'S attention towards that quarter, for, returning to his camp at T-[or D]-obitzschau, from an unsuccessful attempt upon *Brunn*, he received a secret dispatch from Sweden, with orders to strive and take up his winter quarters in the Danish possessions, and effect that object in such a way as should neither betray his intentions to the enemy nor afford the slightest clue to his movements, even to his own Generals.

*Examine SCHILLER'S "Thirty Years' War."

†The alarm in the capital was so great, says SCHILLER, that the Emperor endeavored to arm the aristocracy, but experienced their obstinate opposition, since their privileges exempted them from service abroad.—(SCHILLER'S "Thirty Years' War.")

Decamping thence, and marching, in September, 1643, upon *Eulenburg*, a strong castle upon a high mountain, which commands the pass between *Silesia* and *Moravia*, there, on the 23d of the same month, he received JACOB TORNSKOLD, who, dispatched from Sweden, after having long awaited him at *Oppeln*, on the *Oder*, in *Silesia*, now brought him information from the Swedish government, of the 25th May, 1643, that war had been resolved upon against Denmark, and that he was to march into *Holstein*. On passing his forces in review at this place TORSTENSON found them terribly diminished, many having fallen victims, partly to the climate and unhealthy weather, partly to the general animosity and hatred of the inhabitants, from which causes he estimated his losses at 4,000 men.

Under pretext of filling these chasms in his ranks, and expelling the Imperial General KROKAU (JOHN ERNEST CRACKAU) from *Pomerania*, (which he had invaded by a violation of the Polish territory, whither he eventually escaped after sustaining great loss at the hands of the indefatigable and omnipresent KOENIGSMARK.*) TORSTENSON marched into *Silesia*, where, in accordance with his instructions from OXENSTJERNA, he proposed an exchange of prisoners, and intimated to GALLAS, whether, now that negotiations for a treaty were actually pending,†‡ the armies might not conclude a truce, at least for three weeks, during which time he might ascertain the opinion of the French government through their minister as to a longer cessation.

The Imperial General was completely taken in by this wily suggestion of his astute opponent, as wise as he was brave, and forwarded his proposal to *Vienna*, and, in the meanwhile, instead of harassing the Swedes, as was his duty, contented himself with simply hanging on the flank of their army and covering Bohemia.

Having reinforced the garrisons of *Olmütz*, *Neustadt* in, and *Eulenburg* on the confines of, *Moravia*, and providing them with everything necessary, he followed the course of the *Oder*, as far as *Little Glogau* (Klein-[or Ober]-Glogau), where he halted, in hopes that the enemy intended to join battle, but finding GALLAS had no stomach for a fight, he continued his march, intending in reality to pass through *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, into

*This KOENIGSMARK had just before levied contributions throughout Thuringia and Franconia, and, although his dragon horses did not actually wet their muzzles in the waters of the Rhine, he swept over all the districts bordering on that river, and inspired with a perfect panic, all the adjacent populations.

†At Osnaburg.

‡The conferences for the settlement of peace had already been opened in the summer of the year 1643, with the Swedes in *Osnaburg*, and with the French in *Münster*. The Imperial envoys arrived even before the time fixed, but those from Sweden only appeared at the end of the autumn of that year, while those from France presented themselves as late as the month of April, in the following year, 1644.

KOHLRAUSCH'S *History of Germany*.

Holstein, but so admirably ordered his proceedings, frequently changing his route and filling the country with false reports, that, despairing of divining his intentions or misconceiving their object, after following him into *Lusatia*, the Imperialists gave up the vain pursuit, and having retaken *Zittau* in the southern extremity of that province, and *Luben* (Lauban) on the *Queiss*, and *Lemberg* (Lowenburg) on the *Bober*, in *Silesia*, returned to their winter quarters.

Torstenson's unparalleled March across Germany (from *Tobitschau* in *Silesia* to the frontier of *Holstein*).

On the 26th November, 1643, the GENERALISSIMO crossed the *Oder* at *Glogau*, whence he forwarded dispatches to the SWEDISH REGENCY, stating that in 4 or 5 weeks he expected to be in *Holstein*, which expectation he more than realized, for we shall see that within that space of time he was master of almost the whole of the Danish continental possessions.

The better to conceal his purpose from the Imperialists, instead of taking the direct route towards *Mecklenburg* he marched upon *Torgau*, where, under pretext of invading *Bavaria* by the way of *Misia* and the *Pfalz* [the *Upper Palatinate**], he threw a bridge across the *Elbe*. Thence he turned upon *Zerbst*, in the *Principality of Anhalt*, and *Barby*, in the county of that name, belonging to the Prince of *Saxe Weissenfels*,† and thus spread abroad the rumor at one time that he intended to take up his winter quarters in the *Bishopric of Hildesheim* [*Hanover*], and the *Principality of Halberstadt* [*Prussian Saxony*],‡ which were best calculated as winter quarters on account of their great productiveness in grain, at another in the *Bishopric of Magdeburg*. But again changing the direction of his march toward the north, after having thrown all *Bavaria* into consternation by these threatening movements, he caused another bridge to be constructed across the *Elbe* at *Tangermunde* [now *Prussian Saxony*], at the confluence of the *Tanger* and *Elbe*; yet, notwithstanding, pressed on in the same direction. His next appearance was on the banks of the *Havel*, where, at *Havelberg*, in the *Electorate of Brandenburg*, on the 6th of December, 1643, TORSTENSON at length let his officers and soldiers—who had followed him blindly thus far, without seeking to divine the ultimate conclusions of such precipitate, and, to them, inexplicable proceedings, and trials of their endurance, but, then and there, for the first time, such had been their unshaken confidence in their great leader, were beginning to murmur and complain of the fatigues, unprecedented even to them, ac-

* The *Markgraviate of Misnia* or *Meissen*, capital *Dresden*, and the *Upper Pfalz*, [*Palatinate* or *Paltzgraviate of Bavaria*] capital *Amberg*, lie in a direct line between *Torgau* and *Munich* the capital of *Bavaria*.

† *Upper Saxony*.

‡ Then *Lower Saxony*.

customed, as they were, to hardships and privations, of this unparalleled march—into the secret, so wonderfully kept, up to this moment, and disclosed to them that this blow was aimed at the perfidious Danes, comforting them at the same time with the grateful assurance that the manifold riches of the land, so long unvisited by war, would afford the amplest remuneration for all their toils and sufferings. Moreover, he assured them that, ignorant of their approach, and utterly defenceless, denudded, as the Danish Duchies were, of troops, and destitute of military preparations, great as was the prize before them, its acquisition would be bloodless ; and, while their enemies, the *Imperialists*, debarred pursuit by the vast, almost desert tract, which intervened, were exposed to the inclemencies of the season, the maladies consequent on their exposure, bad and scant provisions, evils aggravated by, if not altogether the result of, the late Swedish ravages, and every other want which could render the winter months more exquisite in their severity ; all these evils rendered more unbearable by the bitter consciousness of how completely they had been out-manœuvred and cajoled, and that the majority of their sufferings arose from those very foes, soon to enjoy the completest rest and reinstatement, they, the *Swedes*, would be reveling in all the comforts which constitute a soldier's luxuries, and safely housed, fed, paid, and clothed, at the expense of an hereditary, insidious and often successful foe, who [the *Dane*] would only learn the terrible extent of his disgrace and misfortune, when it was too late to indulge in the faintest hope of preventing or even mitigating in the slightest degree such a deadly wound to the national honor and prosperity.

It is not our intention to enter into a consideration of the outrages which induced the Swedish Regency to involve themselves in a conflict with Denmark, while they were still battling with the whole Imperial power, and while their best General and his veteran army were engaged in the very heart of the German Empire. In many of the histories of this era, the reasons are given at length, and in GÆIJER, the High Chancellor OXENSTJERNA in a communication dated May 25th, 1643, received, as we have seen at *Eulenburg*, on the 23d of September, lays open to TORSTENSON his whole heart without reserve, and, relying on the GENERALISSIMO's judgment and fidelity, while instructing him in what quarter his Government wished him to inflict the blow, left to his ability the decision how and when it should be struck.

One fact, however, is so remarkable, that to pass it over in silence would be an act of injustice to that gallant people and that wonderful Sovereign, who, in less than 20 years, had operated such changes in their position as a nation, as to raise it from a *third* to the rank of a *first* rate power in Europe.

When GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS succeeded to the throne his father's attachment to the reformed faith, sound judgment and good sword had won, Denmark was a worthy foe and equal match for the whole Swedish power, and from her *Trans-Kattegat* possessions menaced *Stockholm** with her armies, while her fleet, in whom so many Danish Admirals have won renown, threatened its coasts and harbors. Before he fell the bow of HOLGAR had been broken, the serpent's fangs torn forth, which "could bite Sweden in the heel," and lame her at their pleasure, and, with both arms, he could embrace the *Baltic*, even as now the Czar encircles the *Caspian*; in fact, if any farther glory was needed, it would be that with a prescience,† which might almost be considered inspiration, the first years of his reign was devoted to repulsing from the shore he coveted so so madly and so long, the Russian—waking to a consciousness of what he needed most, outlets for the rich productions of his vast and fertile fields—and the acquisition of all the countries bordering on the great EAST SEA [the *Baltic*], so that, when his arms had conquered *Pomerania*, it might be said with truth, that he, the Russians' GREATEST ADVERSARY, had made the *Baltic Sea* a *Scandinavian Lake*.

And marvelous as all this may seem, yet it is but another evidence of how the Almighty Ruler of the universe raises up men, superior to mankind, at whatever time the advancement of the human race demands an intellectual giant, to direct its energies, who, by their individual might, can alter not only the destinies of their own immediate people, but change, and that not merely during their own lifetime, but for centuries after, those of vast surrounding empires, and hasten the progress of events, as if by one mighty effort they had overleaped an age of common time.

At the commencement of the XVIIth Century, the Swedes themselves had felt all the miseries of foreign invasion: the foot of the barbarian Muscovite [strange, that with all the polish of 250 years, what is the Russian but a wild barbarian still!] the warlike Pole and the aggressive Dane, had trampled their soil.

Before one half of the century had elapsed, how stood things

*In August—September, 1612, CHRISTIAN IV. made a descent on the island of WAXHOLM, and cannonaded the fortress built for the immediate protection of STOCKHOLM; while his fleet of 36 war ships, having driven in the Swedish, which sought protection in the narrow channels connecting the BALTIC with the harbor of the capital, threatened the royal city, which narrowly escaped destruction.

†Wonderful genius! While the Allies find their best and only practicable policy, now, in 1854-5, to assail Russia where she alone is vulnerable, in her coasts and sea-ports, GUSTAVUS, near 250 years ago, determined to avert the necessity of such a struggle, which he foresaw would otherwise eventually be necessary, by occupying them himself.

then? How with the Danes? Although by the *Peace of Knaerød*, 19th January, 1613, CHRISTIAN IV. apparently won rather than lost, the result—thenceforward every year exhausted more and more *Denmark's* resources, until, after the peace of *Kiel*, 14th January, 1814, she remained a power no longer worthy to be feared or courted—demonstrated the foresight of GUSTAVUS, and what he left undone from policy, or because other wars, more beneficial to his country, claimed all his means and time, his Disciple, TORSTENSON, as we shall see forthwith, effected; whose Pupil, CHARLES X.* wrested from *Denmark* her most fruitful provinces, planted his standards on the Sound from *Falsterbo* to *Kullen*, and from that hill, *Sliperahog*, near *Lund*, whereon in olden times the Danish Kings were crowned, the Swedish colors waved defiance in sight of *Copenhagen*.

The Russian? Humbled, beaten, spoiled! *Ingria* and *Carelia*, important fortresses and lands thereto belonging, were yielded to the Swede, besides advantages in claims renounced, and money paid.

The brief campaign, which closed a ten years' war with Muscovy with honor and great gain to Sweden, gave GUSTAVUS his first practical lessons in the conduct of a foreign war, and advanced him in that Art which made him thenceforth more and more the admiration of all Europe.

The Pole? Let the answer be in *Riga's* siege and capture, the conquest of *Livonia* [ceded at the peace], *Courland*, *Semigallia*, and *Lithuania*, the battle won upon the *Dvina*, at *Wallhof*, *Mewe*, *Dirschau*, and *Marinenwerder*, the successful invasion of *Prussia* to the astonishment of Europe, and other triumphs worthy that race which "defended not its men by walls but its walls by men."

In Germany? In the plenitude of his power [1628], and the zenith of his renown, the Imperial Generalissimo had sworn to ravish from Sweden's arms, stretched forth to its assistance, the port of *Stralsund*, although it were slung and bound by adamantine chains to heaven.

*This Prince, having crossed the Little and Great Belt on the ice, pressed on through the deep snow-drifts to *Kiøge*, only 18 miles from *Copenhagen*. Of this wonderful military exploit, CARR relates the following, worthy of mention here, in his entertaining and instructive "*Northern Summer*": "As I passed over this mighty space of water—[the Great Belt, 20 English miles]—I could not help reflecting with astonishment, that in the month of February, 1658, it formed a bridge of ice for the hardy troops of the warlike and ambitious CHARLES X. who, contrary to the advice of his council of war, marched over it, to give battle to the Danes. During this tremendous passage, a part of the ice gave way, and a whole squadron of the Guards were immolated, not one of whom was saved—an order having been given that no one should attempt to assist his neighbor in such an emergency, upon pain of death. After passing the Little Belt in the same way, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS obliged the Danes to make the Peace of *Roschild*. This enterprise may be ranked among the most marvelous achievements, and a recurrence to it will furnish ample means of occupation to the mind of the traveler during his passage over these portions of the sea."

Vain and impious boast, scarce uttered, when the hand of Omnipotence, by the very Swede he had despised, hurled him from the eminence he had attained,* and that undertaking WALLENSTEIN hoped would make him master of the land and sea, attracted the thunderbolt of war, GUSTAVUS, which fell with shattering force upon the blood-cemented fabric of the Imperial dominion. And, "had fair scope been allowed them," the Generals whom GUSTAVUS bequeathed to mankind, SAXE-WEIMAR, AORN, KNIPHAUSEN, BANER, TORSTENSON, would have given the finishing stroke to that great monarchy, whose very foundations their Master had shaken in the operations of nine and twenty months."

These valiant chieftains, formed in the school of so excellent an instructor, gave signs, neither of distress or dismay, when their allies partly proved insincere to them, and partly forsook them, at the conclusion of the *Peace of Prague*, 2 years after GUSTAVUS' death. On the contrary, they retired, step by step, gloomily and unwillingly, from the heart of the Empire, and kept the war alive, with an obstinacy unspeakable, for the space of 16 consecutive years; and, far from being squeezed into the Baltic Ocean [as men formerly and at that time, prophesied,] completed their 18th campaign with making a fortunate *camisado* on one of the towns of *Prague*.†

Austrian courtiers, little dreaming of the mighty power which as yet slumbered beyond the boisterous Baltic, were wont to flatter their Imperial master, by styling Sweden's monarch the 'Snow-King,' whose power they averred the northern frosts alone consolidated and kept together, and would melt away when once within the influence of their comparatively southern Sun. Ignorant and vain! Neglecting nature's lessons—for daily in their sight the *Noric Alps*† [Norischen Alpen] wore winter's hoary livery, even under the hottest sun—they forgot that the avalanche was far more to be feared in the warm spring and summer's sultry days, than when the chains of winter held its terrors fast and sure.

Like the snow upon some lofty Alp, resplendent in the sun-

*STRALSUND placed itself under the protection of Sweden, 25th June, 1628, and the Danish garrison, worn out in the defence, were relieved by the Swedish auxiliary force, which compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege. Thus, although RICHELIEU accomplished his dismissal from command, his failure before STRALSUND was the turning point of WALLENSTEIN's career. Here his good fortune forsook him and his pride was first humiliated, and the Alliance between GUSTAVUS and that seaport first led the Swedes to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and its possession greatly facilitated their invasion of the Empire.

†HARTE'S GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, &c.

†11,800 feet in height, these mountains, known in the Austrian Archduchy as the *WINKER-WALD*, stretch to, and sink into the plains within a few miles of VIENNA.

light, until set free by accidental cause, or course of nature, GUSTAVUS, lustrous in his greatness far beyond their scale of judgment, in their belief lay equally inert and impotent for their chastisement ; but, just as that snow, when once in motion, falls an avalanche upon the vales below, gathering volume and increased powers of destruction with every moment of its swift descent, the Swedish hero seemed to adopt the title, they little recked how apposite, when they bestowed it ; and hour by hour, and league by league, acquiring might and magnitude, rolled like an avalanche on the Imperial circles, crushing beneath him all impediments.

To such a degree did this comparison hold good, so effectually was the Imperial power broken, its authority diminished, and its prestige vanished, that 2 years after the ELECTORS assembled at *Ratisbon*, insulted the Majesty of Sweden, and denied him even a kingly title, his sway extended from the *Lake of Constance* to the *Baltic Sea* ; and 12 years subsequent, one of his Generals with one hand thrust forth the Emperor from his metropolis, while with the other he had gathered in the riches which *Denmark*, recovered from the punishment inflicted by old TILLY and imperious WALLENSTEIN, within the barriers of her wooden walls, had been accumulating only to enrich and aggrandize her most detested enemy.

AS OXENSTJERNA foretold, and we have seen, the Imperial army did not dare to follow TORSTENSON beyond the southern confines of *Lusatia*.

* * * *

What scenes for the painter do the occurrences of this wild period present !

Reader, have you ever on the European stage witnessed one of those gorgeous pageants which the wealth and luxury of a highly refined people require for their amusement, when, to the resources of the manager, government lends its aid to insure a perfect representation of by-gone splendors, and employs the taxes, wrung from an overburdened population, to reproduce their vast magnificence, and gratify thereby a Sybaritic few ? If so, recall them for a moment, to do justice to a moving panorama, than which none more exciting, grand or marvelous has ever been enacted on the world's wide stage, whereon, at one time or another, the whole human race act out their parts for the amusement or instruction of the rest. Picture to yourself the Swedish army with all the gallantry of mediæval war, for the impress of chivalric taste and blazonry, still lingered in the armies of this period, not yet divested of all that magnificent apparel and display, which modern armies deem superfluous : with banners flaunting and music pealing, traversing, with a celerity greater than that of the Roman legion

ary.* The Margravates of *Lusatia* and of *Misia*, the latter diversified so beautifully as to rival in its attractiveness the north of Italy, the dark, evergreen forests on the frowning heights and slopes lending the charms of early autumn to the departing hours of November, while at morn and eve the frost glistened like silver fret-work on the verdure, or fringed the leafless oaks with argent bullion; and then, when noon bathed in its light the scene, the country seemed bejeweled, as if the soldiery trampled beneath their steady march the precious metals and most lustrous gems.†

The Roman soldiers were trained with great care to observe the military pace, and to follow the standards. For that purpose, when encamped, they were led out thrice a month, sometimes 10, sometimes 20 miles, less or more, as the General inclined. They usually marched at the rate of 20 miles in 5 hours, sometimes with a quickened pace 24 miles in that time. The load which a Roman soldier carried is almost incredible: victuals for 15 days, sometimes more, usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes dressed food, utensils, a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a hook, and a leather thong, a chain, a pot, &c.; stakes usually 3 or 4, sometimes 12, the whole amounting to 60 pounds weight, besides arms; for a Roman soldier considered these not as a burden, but as a part of himself. Under this load they commonly marched 20 miles a day, sometimes more. There were beasts of burden for carrying the tents, mills, baggage, &c. (*Jumenta sarcinaria*). The ancient Romans rarely used wagons, as being more cumbersome.

ADAMS' *Roman Antiquities*.

*The French, and in fact almost all the European, Troops are now subjected to severe PROMENADES MILITAIRES at short intervals, to prepare them for a forced march, or sudden expedition.

† The descriptions are historically, topographically and seasonally correct. As to the first, we would refer our readers to HARTZ, particularly, and might cite a host of other authorities; as to the second, to PINKERTON, and many old Gazetteers, Yours, and Geographies; as to the third, the writer lives in a forest, principally evergreens, and has made a forced march with mounted men and baggage train, by night and day, through woods, and over grounds covered with frost, and has traveled in Europe several winters in succession, where frost and snow exercised their empire.

In addition, the following extract from a Journal, kept in 1848, will prove that the language used above is neither fanciful nor exaggerated:

10th March. Still snowing—cleared off at noon, with a cold N. W. wind—the woods seemed like a vision of fairy-land, the boughs encrusted with ice some two inches thick, gleaming like polished steel or silver in the bright sunlight reflected from the frozen snow as from a mirror; the young trees were bent to the earth by the masses of ice clinging to them, while the boughs of the hemlocks, stooping to the ground, looked as if covered with silver frost—even the most matter of fact people were continually exclaiming, "Was there ever a more beautiful sight!" A great deal of floating ice in the river, more apparent from the snow on its surface, contrasting with the dark color of the water. Roads worse than yesterday, as the horses break through the crust on the snow, and plunge into mud 8 to 10 inches deep.

Deck'd with the magic of a dream,
Or fairy-realm's enchanting guise,
The woods appear;
The giant oaks, to poets' eyes,
In suits of polish'd iron gleam,
On which the sunlight glinting plays—
Earth rob'd in snow reflects its rays—
Rubies clear,
Sapphires and emeralds, gems of price,
Seem to encrust their garb of ice.

While pines and hemlocks, verdant e'er—
Summer in winter's liv'ly hear—

But amid this host of veterans, the flower of Sweden's armies, whose martial vigages betokened hearts as stalwart as their iron covering, for BANER long since had weeded from the Swedish regiments all the timorous and desponding men,* where shall we seek for their great leader? Not among the groups of gallant cavaliers, on steeds responding to the chiding touch and music of their jingling spurs,† the riders gay with golden chains of rarest workmanship, medals and decorations hanging from their necks; ruffles of richest lace falling upon their shoulders or tortured into shapes stiff and fantastic, and gorgeous scarfs of every hue, magnificent in their embroidery; some clad from head to foot in steel, the rest simply with back and breast plate,‡ like the modern Cuirassiers, and upper vests of perfumed leather, so prepared and stiffened as to be sword proof—tamboured throughout with gold and silver thread; the limbs thrust, half-thigh deep, in thick, wide and wrinkled boots—the tops cut slantwise, funnel-shaped—made strong enough to turn a common pistol-ball, unless it came direct; their weapons how incomparably perfect in workmanship and temper; the swords large, heavy, straight, and basket-hilted; the pistols long and straight-stocked, richly inlaid with nacre or flowered with steel and the more precious metals.§

Whose vivid green,
Smiling beneath their vesture frore
Recall the summer's balmy air,
As if 'twere velvet, thickly strown
With brilliants on wrought silver grown,
Whose brilliant sheen
Flashes on ice-fields, far and wide,
Bridging the river's darkling tide.
* * * *

*In 1636, BANER, before the battle of *Wittstock*, banished every known coward from the Swedish army, and gave the timorous and desponding full permission to quit the service.—*Continuot, Lower Austria*—fol. 41.

†“I [HARTE] have seen one of these jingling spurs, which was found in the *Star Park*, on the famous *White Mountain*, near *Prague*, where the battle was fought between the Imperialists and troops of the Union, by the event of which the ELECTOR PALATINE lost the crown of *Bohemia*. The spur was large and strong: it was made of brass, and had a short curved neck. The box (from whose center the rowels came) was as broad as an half-crown piece; hollow, and something more than a quarter of an inch thick. It was of bell-metal, gilt, and contained three or four metal balls, about the size of a small field-pea. The rowels, which were generally four or six, passed through the sides of the box, and measured near three inches from point to point.”

In the middle the curved neck is cut hollow, so as to permit the insertion of a small bell, or several pendant pieces of metal. These spurs resemble intimately the old Spanish spurs, even yet much used in Mexico and South America. A gentleman of *Leipsic* had within a few years, in his cabinet of curiosities, a pair exactly like those described above.

‡These were entirely confined to the Swedish service, the Imperialists leaders, in general, set too high a value on their lives to adventure themselves without armor.

§The German artisans at this period were famous for their patient and delicate execution of this kind of work, of which numerous and sufficient proofs exist in the *Musée de l'Artillerie* at Paris.

Neither, among the Infantry, sweating beneath their weighty arms and equipments, and weightier weapons, such as now preserved alone in national museums, but leading the column, or wherever danger presses, and the crisis demands his falcon eye and lion heart, upon a bier-shaped litter,* such, save the curtains, as transports the sick and wounded to and from the hospitals, is borne an invalid, writhing in anguish, but, like the fabled wolf, writhing without complaint. There lies TORSTENSON, he, who scarce eight weeks ago was thundering at *Vienna's* water-gate, and ruling, from his mountain camp, *Moravia*—now flying to the North, grasping the thunderbolts of Jove, his incomparable artillery; whose wondrous genius endows him with the strength to trample on disease, and substitute for those poor crippled limbs the pinions of the eagle; and while thus prostrate, his spirit soars above the earth, and like a subtle essence lends inspiration to the thousands who surround his couch and know no duty but to do his will.

* * * *

Imagine for a moment the haughty GALLAS on some lofty spur of the *Ore Mountains*, (*Erz-gebirg*) exulting in the self-deception that he had driven forth his mighty adversary, while his army, marveling at his unwonted fortune, salute him with their shouts as conqueror, and the trumpets peal a triumphant flourish, as the last files of the *Swedes* are swallowed up in some darksome wood-clad mountain pass! Then turn to TORS-
TENSON, witty and sarcastic, his pain-and-war-worn features lit up with such a smile of scorn, waving ironical adieu! "Return, LORD OF FRIEDLAND,† to the land I have swept with the besom of destruction. I leave worse enemies than *Swedes* behind, to fight for *Sweden*, and while I go to spend the winter days in comfort, you, elate in the idea of having thrust me forth, will keep up a continual conflict with want and sickness. But, with spring expect me back once more, renewed in strength, to recommence the struggle with you and yours, worn out with unremitted toil." And then the *Swedish* clarions answered the *Austrian* with as gallant notes; and thus their columns vanished from *Lusatia*.

Thence to his point of destination all Northern Germany had become a waste, traversing which, without protracted halt, one

*This litter, a drawing of which is before the writer, resembled a lounge, i. e. a kind of sofa, with stuffed back and one arm, with handles by which it could be carried by two or four men, as the case might be or occasion require.

†WALLENSTEIN was Duke of Friedland, and GALLAS, who betrayed and assisted in his Generalissimo's ruin, received as his reward that Duchy.—KORLMANSON.

army might subsist, but if *another* followed in pursuit, it certainly must starve. Such extremity had things already reached, that most of the military operations were undertaken with the sole view of obtaining food and quarters from, or rather at the expense of, the enemy, whose resources being thereby more and more exhausted, whichever suffered the greatest losses and had not within itself recuperative strength sufficient to recruit, or could not either borrow force from its allies or wrest it from its weaker neighbors, must in the end succumb. Thus in reality, although the distance Sweden had to transport reinforcements and supplies, seemed to be the greatest obstacle to her successful termination of the war, her very remoteness and home-impregnable-position constituted her greatest strength, and enabled her, at peace within herself, and free from all apprehension of invasion, to develop to the utmost the industry of her inhabitants, and economize in an equal degree the products of their toil and of the soil to meet the constant and excessive drain of men and stores and money requisite to carry on the war in Germany, without which subsidies and reinforcements she could not hope to derive therefrom any commensurate remuneration for her long and painful sacrifices.

Opposing generals no longer sought great victories in the field, unless they felt satisfied they could obtain thereby that which they wanted most—means of subsistence, and those military stores, without whose fuel the flames of war would soon expire, and those manœuvres which enabled an army to acquire good quarters during the severity of winter, were considered to have reflected far more honor on its commander than would the glory of having gained a decisive victory.

His perfect acquaintance with this branch of the military science constituted TORSTENSON'S great superiority. Other generals of his own era had won battles at different periods of the war* as great as that of *Breitenfeld*, but few, and these few at great intervals of time, have ever approached him in the magnitude and celerity of his marches, and the triumphant success, which rewarded his strategic plans of operation.

Four months (25th May to 23d September) had elapsed—for nothing, over and above the obstructions to a free passage offered by the enemy, could be more slow and less reliable than postal communication at that date—before the orders from his government came into his hands ; and yet, astounding as their purport would have been to any ordinary General, in little more than one quarter the time [estimating from the date of TORSTENSON'S acknowledgment of their receipt, and his conception of the required service—26th November to 12th December], their bearer occupied in the simple delivery of his dis-

* Perhaps.

patches, every thing had been fulfilled, beyond the Chancellor's most sanguine expectation, great as was his reliance in the instrument and agency employed.

Consider, for a moment, what the SWEDISH HERO accomplished by his march, in which in 15 days he traversed 100 German (450 to 497 English) miles,* from *Glogau* on the *Oder*—previous to which, fighting [if that term can be applied to exercising constant vigilance against an enemy, superior in strength and home-proximity, watching his every move to take advantage of a false manoeuvre, and daily skirmishes], he had won his way, defying let or hindrance, from the remotest confines of *Moravia*, capturing fortresses along the route, as if for pastime—to *Oldesloe*, upon the *Trave*, within the boundaries of *Holstein*—whence he penetrated to the extremest point of *Jutland*—from *Dobitzschau* to *Skagen*, near 900 English miles.

TORSTENSON'S biographer, VON LUNDBLAD, styles this great achievement A PHASE OF WAR UNIQUE IN ITSELF, WHICH MAY BE PRONOUNCED A PERFECT MILITARY EPOS, i. e. a remarkable history in a single word. As for ourself, a panegyrist, but a just one, we claim, that when the season, means at his command, and all concurrent circumstances are considered, TORSTENSON, by his march, achieved a greater wonder in the PERFORMANCE,† than NAPOLEON, when he, to the astonishment of Europe, in 20 days transported from their stations on the *English Channel* to the *Mayn*, the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*, that army, which on the field of *Austerlitz* conquered the forces of two empires, a march which THIERS asserts, for secrecy and speed, had been unequalled in all history;‡ in which *ad captandum*, claim the majority of readers, will acquiesce at once, admitting all he asks, without investigating whether or no another military leader had not accomplished just as much, with means inferior, a century and a half before.

And what is more, if we look at the CONCEPTION, and not alone to the results, NAPOLEON'S passage of the *Great St. Bernard* was not more remarkable, as a *surprisal* of the enemy, than TORSTENSON'S irruption into *Denmark*, for whereas the former came very near losing all the fruits of his great enterprise by the unexpected opposition of a petty fortress, and to secure them had to fight a battle, which he nearly lost;§ the latter by

*BECKER's History of the World. §§ 16 days would, perhaps, be more correct. DRP.

† A judicious and a well conducted campaign presents two great phases, 1st, the INTENTION, 2d, the EXECUTION, which united give the whole a prosperous cast.

Field Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN.

‡ THIERS's "Consulate and Empire;" examine throughout Book XXII. [For these Remarks, read Page 211, Vol. II. HARTZ's Philadelphia Edition, 1855.]

§ See APPENDIX : BATTLE OF MARENGO.

the consummate perfection of his plans accomplished what he sought, before the slightest opposition could be organized. In fact, the only exception, which can be taken to our views, is the magnitude of the forces moved in either case; but when a strict comparison is drawn, it seems to us as if that fact, the numbers, will not change the ultimate decision of those who will examine patiently every thing connected with the three campaigns.

In the first place, let us take up the march (as the PERFORMANCE) of the French army across France, in 1805. In the beginning of September the troops, 180,000 in number, simultaneously commenced their movements from their camps on the shores of the Channel, and from the 17th to the 23d of the same month, arrived upon the Rhine. They were all in the highest spirits, buoyant with health, and prepared to overcome with ease the labors to which they were subjected by the exercises—sufficient to harden but not at all fatigue—and discipline to which they had been habituated during the two preceding years. They moved through their own country over roads famous for their excellence, to whose improvements NAPOLEON had directed his earnest attention from the first moment he found himself at the head of the Government, at the very finest season of the year, when even the most neglected thoroughfares are in comparatively good order. Absolute master of a mighty empire, every means for facilitating transport, both of men and of material, which could be rendered available, were placed at the disposition of his Generals. All the lateral chains of communication poured into the channels traversed by the different divisions everything needful for their wants and comfort; while relays of horses were provided to convey by post those who were more remote, and 20,000 carriages collected to ensure their swift arrival at the seat of war. With all these vast accessories, appliances hitherto unheard of in a military operation, the French army were 20 days accomplishing about 300 miles, some 15 miles a day.*

Next let us examine (viewed as a CONCEPTION) the PASSAGE of the Great St. Bernard. According to MURRAY, a standard guide, the pedestrian can make the journey from Martigny, on the north side, to Aosta, on the south side of the mountain in, not to exceed, a period of 16 hours,† and THIERS admits that from Geneva to St. Pierre the road was good for carriages, thence 10 French leagues, say 25 miles, impracticable, to St. Remy, whence

*Examine ALISON's "History of Europe," Harper & Brothers' edition, 1848, Chapter XL, particularly pages 346-7.

† MURRAY's "Hand Book for Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont, Route 108, pages 292-301; Martigny to the Hospice, 8 or 9 hours walk: about 7 hours thence to Aosta. From Geneva to Martigny 80 miles; thence to Aosta about 45 miles; total 158 miles; of which 25 at most were impracticable for carriages, the rest were good. See THIERS' *Congulate and Empire*. Book IV. page 119.

to *Ivrea*, the outlet by which you enter the rich plains of Piedmont, good again ;* the whole a distance of 63 leagues, about 158 miles.

About, if not on the 9th May, the measures were completed for the passage, and the troops commenced their march, in number 35,000 Infantry and Artillery, and 5,000 Cavalry, accompanied by 100 pieces of Artillery. On the 19th, they were entirely arrested by the cannon of *St. Bard*, midway between *Aosta* and *Ivrea*, and great as was their vigor, skill and courage, had the commander of that fortress done his duty thoroughly, and not been over-confident in the assurance that the advance of the French Artillery was out of the question, no exertion could have enabled it to complete the transit. In this case, as in the preceding, every preparation had been made for the subsistence and transportation of the army and its material.

The passage of this mountain has been the subject of great exaggeration, and will bear no comparison with that effected by HANNIBAL over the *Little St. Bernard*, that of SUWARROW over the *St. Gothard*, *Schachental* and the *Engiberg*, or that of MACDONALD across the *Splugen*, *Monte Aprigal*, and the *Mont Tonal*.

NAPOLEON'S expedition was undertaken during a fine season, without any opposition from the enemy, with every aid from the peasantry of the district and the experience of his own officers, and by a road impracticable only a short distance for carriages and cannon. As it was, great want of foresight, or rather proper reconnoissances, nearly wrecked his army before the fortress of *St. Bard*, nor could all the genius and intrepidity displayed by the French engineers, have enabled the army to accomplish what they had undertaken, had not the Austrian garrison "slumbered above in unconscious security," while the French Artillery were defiling through the street below into which their loaded guns were directly pointed. Perhaps no military achievement has ever been so much over-estimated, as that to which we have just now referred. *Its ultimate success, as is the case invariably, has blinded every eye to the faults committed, and to the startling fact that it very nearly proved disastrous.*

THIERS, with pardonable vanity, would lead his readers to believe that nothing could have induced NAPOLEON to consent to a retreat, and that even had he been compelled to leave his artillery behind, he would have still advanced upon the Austrians, and wrenching from his opponents their own cannon, turned their guns upon themselves.

Such reasoning might be successful were the battle of *Marengo* an *ancient* and not a modern combat, whose details are familiar

*From *Aosta* to the Italian plains the road is excellent, between *St. Pierre* and that place a ~~good~~ *good* ~~road~~ *road* or middle path. *Aaron*.

to almost every reader, who, if he has ever perused a dispassionate and impartial relation of the facts, must be well satisfied that even with his artillery BUONAPARTE had the greatest difficulty in gaining the victory, which, after all, belongs as much to the generous and disinterested DESSAIX and the unrequited KELLERMANN, as he, who has been invested with all the glory and gathered all the fruits. As the experiment, however, was not actually made, we have NAPOLEON'S own words to show what were, in his opinion the chances of success, should Infantry, without Artillery, charge or attempt to capture a formidable field battery. The following are his words, as given by MONTHOLON, which prove that THIERS was simply theorizing when he wrote :

"To pretend to rush upon the guns, to carry them sword in hand, or to cause the gunners to be shot by the tirailleurs, are chimerical ideas ; that may be done sometimes, and there are examples of fortresses being taken by a *coup-de-main* ; but as a general system, let the Infantry be as brave as they may, it is impossible for them, without Artillery, to advance with impunity 500 or 600 toises (1250 to 1500 feet) against 16 pieces of cannon, well placed, and served by good gunners. Before having proceeded two-thirds of the way the men would be killed, wounded, and dispersed. Artillery has now arrived at such a precision of aim, that we cannot approve of what was said by MACHIAVEL, who, full of Greek and Roman ideas, expressed the wish that his Artillery should fire merely one discharge, and then retire behind the line."

"Good Infantry is, no doubt, the sinews of an army, but if they were obliged to contend for a long time against a very superior Artillery, they would soon become demoralized and destroyed."

But more than this : If we institute a close examination, it is very questionable, if even the credit of the idea of crossing the *St. Bernard*—thus assailing the Austrian army in its rear and cutting off all communications with its parks, reserves, supplies, and base of operations—one of the most daring examples of strategy on record—originated with BUONAPARTE ; and if, on the other hand, it does not, equally, if not more than equally, belong to CARNOT, styled "the Organiser of Victory," and MOREAU :

"Whether it was the genius of the First Consul, or the Minister of War, who planned the campaign, has been a matter of dispute among their respective friends ; but these are subjects of contention which the real advocates for their country would never enter into. The arrangement itself evinced such brilliancy of talent, and its execution so much military skill, that the competitors would lose no portion of credit, were they to admit that the united geniuses of CARNOT, MOREAU and BUONAPARTE

had all contributed in planning and executing such a colossal design.”*

As for the conception of the Danish Expedition, we admit that it is asserted—for we have no reason to question the testimony adduced to support the claim—that the simple idea originated with those wise grey-beards, with OXENSTJERNA at their head, who constituted the Swedish Regency, and, in accordance with their views, TORSTENSON lent the aid of his surpassing genius to the perfecting of the plan of operations, whose execution has given him a European reputation. Moreover, in all military treatises, the whole glory of the CONCEPTION, *idea*, and PERFORMANCE, *execution*, is accorded to that great General who borrowed the pinions of the eagle in this his tremendous flight across the German Empire to such transcendent triumph.

Having given our attention to NAPOLEON’S operations, that of TORSTENSON alone remains for our investigation. Now mark the parallel.

At a season when in *Moravia* and *Silesia* the autumn and early winter rains fall almost without cessation, his army, after a summer of harassing service, nay more, unremitting and excessive toil in a rough country, destitute of means and modes of transport; harassed by a bigoted and inimical population; his troops infected with those diseases from which no camp was at that time entirely free, partly the result of climate, partly of bad food, and partly of hardships and exposures; through a naturally difficult, ravaged, hostile country, studded with fortresses, filled with burghers accustomed to bear arms and inured to the fatigues and perils by a war of 20 years’ familiarity, and often garrisoned with veteran foes; without the power to command or collect supplies further than the swords of his light cavalry could enforce obedience and levy contributions, TORSTENSON threaded the Saxon mountains, and advanced into the sandy plains of Germany, where, at any hour, an enemy might be expected to appear and bar his passage; exposed to resistance every mile that he progressed; by roads miserable in comparison with the very worst of those to be found in continental *Europe* at this day, and almost ruined—if not actually more impracticable in some localities, than the fields they traversed—rendered so by the continual passage of previous armies and the deterioration occasioned by the seasons acting on the thoroughfares, long destitute of repairs, and deprived of all means of maintenance; dragging after him half, and the most difficult half of the distance, that artillery comprising 86 pieces, great and small, in which he placed, with reason, such reliance,†

**IRELAND’S Life of NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE*, II. 270-1.

†It must not be forgotten that TORSTENSON made his *debut*, and won a great name, as an Artillery officer, to which Arm he, subsequently, as *Grand Master of Ordnance*, gave for some time his whole attention.

—greatly disproportioned* in the number of the guns to the numerical force of his army—requiring an immense number of draught horses, always so difficult to procure, the country being almost destitute of cattle, but particularly so at this juncture—the heavier carriages of that era having to be almost doubly as strongly horsed as those of the present day.† Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, besides throwing military bridges across three of the largest German rivers,‡ without the aid of a pontoon train—which astonishing feats he must have accomplished by means of such river craft and material, as his soldiers, sufficiently tasked with the labors of the march, could, with the greatest difficulty, and at the hazard of their lives, procure—TORS-TENSON completed his march of not less than 450 miles in 16 days.

And now, to finish this comparison, a fact cannot be forgotten, which, if there is any truth in the old Scripture proverb, concerning “a merry heart,”§ must raise in the estimation of every thinking man, that General who could inspire his army with such implicit confidence, that the soldiers at the gloomiest season of the year, and subjected to every danger, hardship and privation which an army can experience or the peaceful citizen conceive, followed him blindly into the very jaws of starvation and the enemy, moving on blindly, we repeat, without a question|| as

*The usual proportion of Artillery, [in the United States the same is observed] is 2 guns to 1,000; Russia, however, employs 7, and France $3\frac{1}{2}$ to that number. NAPOLEON'S armies, 1812—'15, were composed in accordance with this rule; but the Allied armies, during the same period, had 4, the Russians, as at present, nearly 7, to every 1,000 men.—KINGSBURY'S *Artillery and Infantry*.

†See APPENDIX: Extracts from LINZ'S LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S “*Etudes sur l'Artillerie*.”

‡The Elbe and the Oder rank as the 2d and 3d, the Danube as the 1st, of the German rivers; the Havel is a tributary, and belongs to the 2d category; but as this passage was effected at or very near its mouth, it may be classed among the 1st for this occasion.

§“A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance, but by sorrow of the heart the spirit is broken.”

“All the days of the afflicted are evil, but he that is of a merry heart hath a continual feast.”—*Proverbs*, XV. 18, 15.

“A merry heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit drieth the bones.”—*Ibid.* XVII. 22.

“Jog on, jog on, on the foot-path way,
And merrily hent the stile—a;
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your sad tries in a mile—a.

Winter's Tale, IV. 2.

||GIERKE states that he revealed the object of his march to his army at Havelberg, because he had no longer any pretext for concealing his design; and such was the attachment of his officers and soldiers, attested by every authority examined, that it seems more than probable that VON LUNDEBLAD'S remark is a mere idea of his own, rather than an historical fact.

to their ultimate destination, or the duration of their labors, a distance almost equal to the whole extent of NAPOLEON'S marches in 1805, whose troops advanced joyously, as if assured of victory ; animated with the brightest hopes, and excited with anticipations of such glories and success, as may be said to intoxicate a Gallic army.

During our [United States] invasion of the Mexican Republic, on SCOTT'S lines of operations, it was deemed remarkable that the orders of the American Commander-in-Chief, issued prior to his battles, after the victory, served in every case as a report of what had actually transpired, all the alteration necessary being a simple change of tense. That such should actually have been the case with an army, the major part recently organized, recruited however from a people, who, by the very blending of the blood of almost every race, have attained the acme of physical and intellectual development, and, thus endowed, become, with ease and great rapidity, soldiers, as good as any in the world, uniting all the enthusiastic gallantry of the Frenchman with the intrepid solidity of the Anglo-Saxon, is not so very extraordinary, further than that it proves how completely his troops justified their General's confidence ; but it speaks volumes to the credit of that General who never was mistaken as to what his army could and would achieve.

These premises assumed, whatever honor accrues to Lieutenant-General SCOTT for his instinctive perception, weighed in the same balance, what must be our estimate of Field-Marshal TORSTENSON, who, notwithstanding all the difficulties he was well aware were multiplied to their fullest extent before him, with such ability and resolution took all the necessary measures, ordered all his movements, and regulated halts, supplies and transport service, with such nice certainty, that, throughout, his tortuous march was made with the same speed and regularity as if his troops had been advancing through their own possessions, ample provisions long before provided to satisfy the needs of every branch of the service, and, what is still more wonderful, all this was accomplished with such celerity and secrecy that, like a flood, he poured into the Duchy of *Holstein*, to the equal astonishment of the inhabitants, immediate sufferers, and of the Danish government, who, through their diplomatic agents, might have been expected to have in some degree become aware of the impending peril.

This *inroad* or *surprise*, COMISADO on a *gigantic scale*, this *leap across an empire*, will, we again assert, bear close comparison as such—first, in its *conception* or the *intention*—with BONA-PARTE'S passage of the *Great St. Bernard*, in 1800, and 2d, in its *performance* or the *execution*—his march from the shores of the Channel to the banks of the Rhine in 1805.

Nor was the campaign of *Marengo* or even that of *Austerlitz* productive of greater consequences in proportion to the times and

opportunities when they were severally undertaken, than this inundation of continental *Denmark*, throughout whose whole extent the surges of invasion poured with force, as irresistible, as if the dykes which guard the low western shore of *Holsten* against the billows of the wild *North Sea* had suddenly dissolved, giving free passage to the mighty ocean, urged by northwestern tempest.*

In the meanwhile, **TORSTENSON'S** train of artillery, which had accompanied his march as far as *Torgau*, separated from the main army at that place and, embarked upon the *Elbe*, was thence transported down that stream to *Domitz*, a fortified town in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, at the confluence of the *Elde* and the *Elbe*, protected by a strong citadel, [lately occupied and garrisoned by the Swedes] on an island in the former river; and thence across that Duchy—those charged with the direction of its transit availing themselves, no doubt, of all the great advantages afforded by the country, liberally supplied with natural water communications,† to *Wismar*, a strongly fortified seaport, possessing a very safe harbor, at the bottom of a deep commodious bay opening into the Gulf of Mecklenburg and the Baltic; formerly belonging to the Hanseatic League, but since 1630, either virtually or actually, in the possession of the Swedes—whose Governor, **ERIC HANSON ULFSPARRE**, [**ULFSPAIM**,] had taken, or rather recaptured *Domitz* a short time previous—whence it was shipped to *Kiel*, there to be reunited with the Swedish army: not, that *Kiel*, as yet, was in the **GENERALISSIMO'S** possession, but so satisfied was he of his prompt and ultimate success, that he thus marked out the destination of his most important Arm, relying on its safe arrival at that point, when its co-operation would be necessary, from which base of operation he felt certain that he could command, with the assistance of the Swedish fleet, the seas and shores of Denmark.‡

*The sea is the intimate friend of the Dane; the best evidence of this are the many thousand vessels which lie along the coast in the ports and inlets (*fjorde*) of its islands and Provinces of *Jutland*, going out and coming in, filled with the precious captives of the deep. But this intimate friend, like a man's bosom companion, often, suddenly and without motive, becomes a devouring enemy. For instance, in 1625, a whole marsh, in the district of **PRETZL**, was swallowed up by the floods. On the east coast of the peninsula the chalk and limestone rocks defend the land, but upon the west the sea is continually, in one locality, devouring vast tracts of land, and, in another, floating on sand and marine deposits, which form hills 20 to 60 feet high, called *Dunes*, covering the fruitful land and stifling all fertility.—*Notes of Travel and Sketches of Denmark*, pages 9-10.

†In the centre of the Duchy of Mecklenburg is the Lake of Schwerin, 14 miles in length, which receives the *Elde*, at its southern extremity, and at its northern, gives off to the *Stor*, which falls into the Baltic, at the city, and through the Gulf of *Wismar*.

‡It may be urged that **TORSTENSON** periled, unnecessarily and unmilitarily, his field artillery by this transit, when partisan-corps of the enemy had constantly penetrated into the countries and severed the communications between *Wismar* and the

Kiel, even at this date, was a wealthy, strong and handsome seaport, the capital of *Holstein*, beautifully situated at the bottom of the deep land-locked bay—presenting the appearance of a large lake—called *Killerwick*, and at the mouth of the river *Swenthin*. It possessed an excellent harbor, spacious enough to accommodate almost any number of vessels with abundant depth of water, and protected by its situation from the most violent gales which prevail in the *Baltic*. With such natural and strategical advantages, it constituted an invaluable *point d'appui* for all further operations.

On the 12th of December, 1634, **TORSTENSON** entered *Holstein* by the way of *Oldesloe*,* on the *Trave*,† which, passing *Lubeck*, falls into the *Baltic* at *Travemunde*, forming the lagoon called *Binnen-See*.

* * * *

Huzza! the Swedes at length were on the *Trave*. They stood upon the confines of the Lower Saxon Circle, behind the Empire, and before them Denmark. Their crippled leader, half rising from his litter and propped upon his elbow, as so often portrayed upon the canvas, gazed on the promised land before him, and heard already, in imagination, the gladsome shouts with which his countrymen saluted their hero's name, and this his crowning triumph over a hated rival! Well might he have thought of home, when every standard fluttered in the home breeze, and across the *Gulf of Mecklenburg*, crisped with that sharp northeastern wind, came borne, as it were upon its wings, the scent of Sweden, just across the sea, and soon to blaze on every Alp with heaped-up bonfires to celebrate this march and conquest. Around him his devoted soldiery clashed their arms in cadence with his military bands, and the sharp December air

interior. But the **GENERALISSIMO** had sufficiently guarded against any such perilous contingencies, having previously detached **KÖNIGSMARK** into Pomerania, while another flying corps kept Mecklenburg and the route free, co-operating with **ULFSPARR**, Governor of *Wismar*. In fact, the possession of *Domitz* and *Wismar* almost guaranteed that of all *Western Mecklenburg*, as well as a safe passage across the country without the co-operation of any field force.

Oldesloe* is a small and pretty town in the midst of an almost perfectly level country, exceedingly well cultivated, indeed so much so as to resemble one continuous garden, on the *Trave*, at and near the junction of three other small streams, 15 miles W.S.W. from *Lubeck*. It is noted as a bathing-place, and also for its salt-works, which were destroyed by **HENRY of BRUNSWICK, surnamed the *Lion*, but afterwards re-opened, and now yield 7,000 tons of salt annually.

†The *TRAVE* is a small and deep stream, which, rising in *HOLSTEIN*, runs first to the south, and then turns to the east, and finally to the northeast, and passing by the western side of *LUBECK*, falls into the expanded *Gulf of LUBECK*, which forms the southwestern portion of the *BALTIC SEA*. The width of the *TRAVE* at *LUBECK* does not exceed 300 feet, and its entire course is a very meandering one. Nevertheless, merchant ships of a large size wind their way quite up to the city. The *WACKENITZ*, which flows from the east, and, passing by the eastern part of the city, falls into the *TRAVE*, is a small stream.—*BAIRD'S Northern Europe*.

run again with their enthusiastic, grateful plaudits of that genius which had guided them thus far and safely.

Before them, in peace and plenty, stretched away the pleasant meads of *Holstein*, and the blue smoke rising in graceful curves from holts of noble trees or young plantations, everywhere denoted abodes of opulence and comfort. Like the date-bowered island in the desert, that Duchy, far from the seat of war, had year by year, repaid with teeming crops, the labor of its peasantry, who, witnessing no signs of warlike preparation, little dreamed that, swift as the hurricane succeeds the calm, the storm could burst upon them.

Uninterrupted peace had filled the land with riches, such as it never afterwards again enjoyed, and unacquainted, even in idea, with all those miseries that war brings in its train, the heavier was the fearful load when, all unconscious of its dread proximity* the population experienced the weight in all its terrible reality.

The town of *Oldesloe*, like a rustic at an apparition, started in terror at the shouts and echoing music and the panic; thence diffused, soon became universal in the land.

With the Duchies thus before him, open to his inroad, through the General's brain, perchance, swept on in stately, long procession, the memories of twelve hundred years, departed, but ever vivid in the distinctness of their mighty deeds. On the horizon of his mind may have risen up, resplendent, the glories of the Gothic race, with all the streaming radiance of the polar lights. He saw once more the Gothic swarms forth-pouring from the northern hive, his birth-place, to cull the sweets and riches of the south, not richer nor more welcome than the spoil before him.

Methinks, within his heart, he might have well exclaimed—

"Were not the GOTHES and VANDALS sires of the SWEDES?"

Does not the enmity of ages still burn within the Swedish bosom? The *Dane* drove forth the *Scandinavian Heruli*, whose king ODOACER destroyed the Western Empire, and founded on the ruins a new kingdom. I, TORSTENSON, of Scandinavian, kindred, blood, who have spoiled an Empire, will be the *Heruli's* avenger on the Dane, and to the Scandinavian (Swede) will give a broad, rich, continental realm.†

What ALARIC the *Visigoth* was to the Roman Empire, TOTILA the *Ostrogoth* to Rome herself, and GENSERIC the *Vandal*, crippled by accident, as I am by disease, to *Spain* and *Africa* and *Italy*, inspiring with the terror of his arms all lands between the *Nilic Delta* and *Herculean Pillars*, I, TORSTENSON, the Westro-

*VON LUNDLAD.

†At one time it was the intention of the Swedish Regency to abandon Pomerania, and look to Denmark for their indemnification. PUFFENDORF.

goth, will be to *Denmark*. Twice did ALARIC, the *Visigoth*, spoil *Italy* and menace *Rome*; the third time took it. Am not I a Westrogoth, no degenerate son, and may not his career present itself as ominous of mine? Twice have my Goths swept southward to the *Danube*, twice has the German Empire's capital beheld my camp-fires blaze beneath her walls, while the Hereditary States were ravaged even to those bulwarks? Why may not this army, real Gothic blood, rejuvenated with the plenteous stores of *Denmark*, at the third attempt, plant its victorious banners on St. Stephen's lofty towers? The BRUCE, despairing, learned a lesson of perseverance, from a spider, and freed his country, *Scotland*, from the English rule. Shall TORSTENSON be duller than the Scott, mine be the teaching of successful ALARIC!

What an auspicious omen! On! A gesture. On! At once, throughout the whole array transmitted, the word was "Forward!" And the columns, highly excited, but with wonted discipline, resumed the march, converging to the bridge, and across the *Trave*, by section front, the dreaded ranks of Sweden's war, poured like a torrent on the fertile fields, to leave them as that torrent when it shrinks into its bed, plenty before it, poverty behind.

* * * *

Few countries presented a more inviting prospect to a visitor than *Holstein's Duchy*, whose rich pastures, divided here and there by pleasant hedge-rows and ditches, lined with fragrant thorn and hazel, recalled the most attractive grazing districts of old England; while every field subjected to the plough evinced the same careful culture as that for which that country has been ever famous.* As in England, throughout the year, unless when

*The Duchy of Holstein is nearly 100 miles in extent, from east to west. * * * The general aspect of Denmark is that of a fertile and well-cultivated country. Its surface is flat, and covered in some places with sands and marshes. This is more especially true of the continental part. In fact, with the exception of Holland and the most western coast of Germany, on the North Sea, there is no part of the continent which is so low as are many portions of the kingdom of Denmark. Of mountains, there is absolutely nothing which deserves the name. The highest inequalities of Holstein and the two Jutlands do not exceed 600 or 1,000 feet: and the Islands, though diversified with roads, lakes, pastures, and cultivated fields, in many places scarcely rise above the level of the sea. The hills in Zealand and Funen are mostly very gentle eminences, clothed with soft verdure in the season of summer, and sloping gradually to the verge of the beautiful sheets of water in which they are embosomed. The soil is composed of sand and clay. The alluvial deposits, which abound in many parts of the kingdom, contain a chalky sediment, mixed with marine shells and the fossil remains of animals. There are, in some parts, strata of peat or turf, which is used as an article of fuel by the inhabitants. Rich meadows and pasture-lands are to be found in all parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the Duchies of Lauenburg, Holstein and Schleswic. The humidity of the atmosphere, occasioned by the near vicinity of so much water, is extremely favorable to vegetation. The dark forests which once covered Jutland, and included all parts of the kingdom, continental as well as insular, have almost all disappeared. Here and there a remnant is to be seen in straggling belts, and on the knobs of hills. * * * The destruction of the forests on the coasts is suppo-

temporarily clothed with snow, the land retained its glad some livery of green—varying, it is true, in the vividness of its colors, with the seasons—for Denmark's climate has been warmer always than its latitude would promise, owing to circumjacent seas. Each elevation or swell of land—in no locality worthy the name of "mountain," for even the *Himmel-berg* [Heaven's Mount] west of *Aarhus*, in *Jutland*, scarcely attains the height of 1,000 feet—the country appeared marbled with frequent lakes and silver streams and bedropped with farm-houses, like castles in appearance, and hamlets bowered in clumps of oak; while in some parts, particularly along the *Baltic*, plantations, comprising more varieties of trees than Northern Germany could boast, hills and vales, blue inlets of the sea, and grassy meads, lawns, villas, cottages, and gardens, diversified the scene in picturesque succession. Upon the western coast, the farms lay more dispersed, with cities few and far between; while here and there, usually on a hill, the church most central, houses or groups of dwellings straggled along the road, forming strange, attenuated villages, except where the ever-chafing sea would not permit the occupation of the bordering lands, desolate with the drifting sand or salt deposits of the encroaching waves. But wherever nature smiled, toward the west the meadows spread abroad rich and luxuriant; in the low, moist districts the cattle fed all day knee-deep in clover, the pasturages so fertile naturally as to render all culture superfluous, the constant humidity of the atmosphere favoring vegetation. And even if the darksome forests, which as late as the Xth and XIth cen-

sed to have exerted an injurious influence, having removed the shelter which formerly protected the country from the invasion of the sand. The beech may be said to be the national tree of Denmark; the oak, the elm, the pine, the maple, the ash, are also found. From the proximity of the sea to all parts of the kingdom, the seasons are milder than in most countries of the same parallels of latitude. There are more rain and snow in the winter than severe frosts. The springs are late, and very gradual, in consequence of the cold fogs which abound in that season. The summers are cool, the warm weather lasting only from the beginning of June until the middle or end of August. The mean temperature of the year, at Copenhagen, is 45 deg. 68 min.; that of the warmest month being 65 deg. 66 min. and that of the coldest 27 deg. 14 min. The winter commences in the latter part of November, and is usually preceded by some weeks of cloudy, gloomy weather, which announces the great change which the climate is undergoing, in its transition from summer to winter. * * *

In the latter part of our journey, (from *Hamburg* to *Kiel*,) the country lost very much of the level, monotonous character, which that had through which we had passed on the western side of Holstein. By degrees, as we advanced, it became undulating, and even hilly, as we approached the city of Kiel. But all was admirably well cultivated. The sloping sides of the hills, up to their summits, were covered with fields of grain, or with pasture grounds. The fields were far more frequently separated from each other by hedges than they were in the western and southern parts of the Duchy. They reminded us of England; though they were far from being as well kept as the English hedge. *It was really like traveling through a succession of large gardens*,—so finely cultivated is the country, far and wide, for miles before we reached that city (Kiel). In its immediate vicinity, one sees what is rarely seen in the western parts of Holstein, very pretty forests, of limited extent, which crown the hill-tops, and constitute a feature of great beauty in the scene.

BAIRD'S *Northern Europe*. I. 183, '4, &c. &c.

turies covered the peninsula of *Jutland* existed no longer save in a few straggling belts of wood along the eastern shores, the *Duchies* of *Holstein* and *Lauenburg*, but particularly the districts around *Oldesloe*, still preserved a few relics of their solemn grandeur, as if to lend additional attractions to a picture already beautiful, almost bewitching in its contrast to the sad spectacle displayed in neighboring circles of the Empire.

For several hundred years the customs of the country have experienced little change, especially as regards the condition of the farms (*Gaards*), then as now extremely numerous, the land remaining in the possession of its cultivators instead of being concentrated in the hands of large proprietors.*

Every spacious farm-house—including beneath its lofty-pointed, thatched roof, often overgrown with short grass so as to resemble live turf, the dwelling, barn and stable†—and its court, comprising within its area commodious out-buildings and a well-filled rick-yard, betokening the abode of agricultural affluence and comfort; then, as now, were encircled with a belt of verdant sward, again surrounded by a broad, deep moat, the inner side planted with stately trees—the entrance-way, across, thereto, protected by a barrier—environing the whole prolific fields, the owner's wealth and heritage. Within the homestead, all was as clean as water, soap and sand could make it, where the stranger would likewise often meet with costly oak or nutwood furniture, and vessels rare and beautiful, of china or of silver; nay, to quote the testimony of a traveller (*PETERSEN*), the grandest, richest, most aristocratic hall could not demonstrate more forcibly the owners' wealth and taste than this, the dwelling of the *Holstein* farmer, the fortune, happiness, thrift and cleanliness of its possessor.

If the traveller acknowledged that Denmark welcomed him with such displays of picturesqueness and fertility‡—what must

*The land is owned by rich proprietors, nobles and others, who rent it out to tenants in parcels, either for a fixed sum, or for a certain share of the grain and other productions. Some proprietors, however, cultivate for themselves, and on a large scale.—The peasants or farmers have the right in these Duchies, as they have now in all parts of the Kingdom, to purchase land and cultivate it for themselves: and many of them have done so. In this way the number of small farmers is increasing gradually; and thus, too, the landed property is undergoing that subdivision which so greatly prevails with us [in England], and which is so essential an element of equal freedom in any country.—*BAIRD'S Northern Europe*, I. 183.

†We passed some neat farm-houses, having the barn with two large folding doors in the centre, the offices belonging to the farm on one side, and the farm house on the other; the whole upon a ground floor, and under one roof.—*CARR'S Northern Summer*, page 14.

‡These descriptions, compiled from many authorities, among others, *Travelling Pictures and Sketches of Denmark, Sweden and Norway*, collated according to *THEODOR VON WEDDERKOP*, *VICTOR DE NOUVION*, *FERDINAND VON GALL*, *SAMUEL LAING*, *FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON SCHUBERT*, *HEINRICH LAUBE*, *THEODOR MÜGGE*, *A. O. LEIPZIG*, 1847, published by *AUGUST WEICHAERT*; *PINKERTON'S Geographical Descriptions*: *MURRAY'S Hand Book of Northern Europe*: *COKE'S Northern Summer*; *BAIRD'S Visit to Northern Europe*, &c. &c.

have been the Swedish soldier's grateful gladness when its rich champignons and rolling surface, the verdure cherished and the climate tempered by adjacent seas, covered with countless flocks and herds—almost rare beasts in Middle Germany—even in December,* presented a joyous contrast to the desolated regions which he had traversed, day by day, for weeks, not only witnessing, but experiencing, the dreadful want which reigned throughout; and what an exhilarating effect must the hopeful promise of its hamlets, towns, and farm-houses, each extensive as an hostelry, have produced on men whose two preceding winters had been passed in mountain districts, far ruder in their climate, wherein not only cots and villages, but even towns and cities, roofless, half-consumed, or ruined,† presented the sole

* While these pages were in the press, the writer was fortunate enough to meet with a gentleman from Hamburg, who had travelled often and extensively through the Duchy of Holstein. He informed me that the foregoing description was correct, and that the climate was not colder than that of the city of New York. But little rain falls during the winter, but much snow—which, however, in most parts, Holstein particularly, as is the case on Long Island, in like manner surrounded by salt water, does not remain long upon the land. He added that the temperature, however, was much more equable throughout the winter there than here, and that, after some weeks of cloudy, gloomy weather, in the latter part of November, which ushers in the winter, for the most part, until the cold spring fogs prevail, unclouded skies and bright suns enliven the winter days. Any one who has passed the month of December in the country (S. N. Y.) has, no doubt, remarked how green the fields appear when a thaw lays bare the surface of the ground; and, although the grass assumes a russet tinge, the meadows, especially in warm and sheltered situations, and winter crops, look green and cheerful. Moreover, during several visits to England, at the worst seasons of the year, the writer found the lawns and pastures luxuriantly green. All this goes to prove that the picture of the Holstein Duchy, herein furnished, is not overdrawn, nor the contrast between it and the devastated Chlores of the Empire, which the Swedes had lately traversed, exaggerated.

†The opposing armies—

“With steel to the bosom and flame to the roof,”—

left terrible mementoes of each visit. The words of a Russian officer, speaking of the treatment *Bulgaria* experienced in 1828-'9, at the hands of his countrymen, victim and victor co-religionists, is strictly applicable here. “The Turks [*Swedes*] did some damage, but we [*Imperialists*] leveled all,” for the Swedes, despite the most exasperating provocations, were more merciful on German soil to Germans than the Imperialists and Germans, allies of the Swedes, were to their brethren in blood and language. In evidence that this biography seeks neither to conceal or varnish anything, we quote the following from KOHLERUSCH:

“BAKER died in the year 1641, at *Halberstadt*, after he had committed dreadful devastation in Bohemia and other lands. He sent to Stockholm more than 600 standards he had captured from the Imperialists; but, although he possessed talents as a leader, his heart was cruel and without the least mercy, and his campaigns were attended with more bloodshed and oppression than all the others during this war. While he was quartered in Bohemia, there were often more than 100 villages, small towns, and castles, burnt during the night; and one of his principal officers, ADAM PFUEL, (PFUL,) boasted that he had, with his own hands, set on fire about 800 different places in that unhappy country. And, when soon afterwards, on an expedition he made against *Thuringia*, this same officer felt his end approaching, and desired the last services of a minister of religion, such was the wasted and forlorn condition of the country that none could be found within the distance of many leagues.”

And yet, incredible as it may appear, the atrocities of the Imperialists far, far ex-

refuge from severest cold or bitterest storms of sleet and rain or snow, so common and so long.

While before them hope—nay more, possession, for they felt the land was all their own for the mere asking—invested early winter with every glorious attribute of genial spring and fruitful autumn; behind them, war had heaped up horrors, desolating desolation, as far as such extremity was possible, as if dread winter was not stern enough to make his freezing presence felt, without the aid of man.

But food and quarters, however ample and restorative, were not the only advantages which TORSTENSON expected to derive from his enterprise.* In the Duchies, in 1643, as at the present day, the chief occupation of the peasantry was the breeding of cattle; and Holstein cheese, Holstein cattle and Holstein horses, were everywhere renowned, for whose production and raising nothing could be more appropriate than their country. The Holstein horses, likewise those of Lauenburg and Mecklenburg, large and powerful animals, adapted to heavy service by their severe training and those labors which a deep, sandy soil exact, have for centuries been sought to mount the Cavalry of the Line—Cuirassiers, Carabiniers, Dragoons, and sometimes Lancers—of *France, Austria*, and other military nations, thousands being annually exported for that purpose. Therefrom, without disbursement or any draught upon the Swedish Exchequer, the GENERALISSIMO intended not only to remount his Cavalry and Dragoons, but also rehorse his Artillery and Train, besides carrying off with him large droves to supply the losses which epidemics, long and forced marches, so

ceeded these; but perhaps they must be excused in somewhat, for from Emperor to private, were they not priest-incited savages!

Let us see if the words of the great German Historian of this war do not bear me out in my assertion.

"But if he (GUSTAVUS, in May, 1632,) met with no regular force to oppose his progress, he had to contend against a still more powerful enemy in the heart of every Bavarian—religious fanaticism. *Soldiers, who did not believe in the Pope, were, in this country, a new and unheard-of phenomenon; the blind zeal of the priest represented them to the peasantry as monsters, the children of hell, and their leader an Anti-Christ. No wonder, then, if they thought themselves released from all the ties of nature and humanity towards this brood of Satan and, justified in committing the most savage atrocities upon them. Woe to the Swedish soldiers who fell into their hands! All the torments which inventive malice could devise were exercised upon these unhappy victims; and the sight of their mangled bodies exasperated the (Swedish) army to a fearful retaliation.* ~~§~~ GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, alone, nullified the lustre of his heroic character by no act of revenge; and the aversion which the Bavarians felt towards his religion, far from making him depart from the obligations of humanity towards that unfortunate people, seemed to impose upon him the stricter duty to honor his (Protestant) religion by a more constant clemency. ~~§~~—(SCHILLER'S Thirty Years' War, p. 204, '5.)"

*"But now the provinces of Germany were almost all exhausted and laid waste. They were wholly destitute of provisions, horses and men, which in Holstein were to be found in profusion. If by this movement—the invasion of Holstein—TORSTENSON should succeed merely in recruiting his army, providing subsistence for his horses and soldiers, and remounting his Cavalry, all the danger and difficulty would be well repaid."—(SCHILLER'S Thirty Years' War, page 354.)

frequent from his style of warfare, and the even less destructive casualties of the battle-field, might render necessary. And lastly—how often have our writers indulged in bitter condemnation of the European laws relating to conscription, without considering how vastly superior in every respect and more merciful are their provisions, when impartially administered, than the old English press-gang and Prussian system, and those indiscriminate levies, whose terrible severities preceded them—according to the instructions of the Swedish Regency—from the Danes, the population of an enemy's country, strangers to the quarrel in which they were to fight, except that they were Protestants and their opponents Roman Catholics, TORSTENSON expected to recruit his army and fill up the

"Terrible vistas through which victory breaks,"

with forced levies made in *Schleswig-Holstein*.

No race of men was better calculated for soldiers than the athletic peasantry of *Holstein* and *Denmark*, possessing generally a fine looking population; middle-sized, or rather somewhat above it, well-formed, and not too heavy for easy and graceful movement. Moreover—in the same manner that the *Norwegian Bonder* [farmers], rendered supple by the use of the axe in wood-cutting, which brings into full play all the muscles of the trunk and limbs, although comparatively unaccustomed to the management of horses, soon became expert and daring Cavalry*—the Holsteiners were eminently adapted to shoulder pike and musket, or buckle on the spur, practised, as they were, in manly exercises, such as the labors of the farm and cattle-yard; their very leisure hours being devoted to invigorating pursuits, fishing and shooting the sea-fowls and wild ducks, which at every season abound along the coast, in their fenny districts and numerous lakes and streams.

Few conquerors had a better opportunity to unite the *utile dulci* (the useful with the agreeable), than TORSTENSON, by his

Invasion and Occupation of Continental Denmark;

for while at the same time he recuperated his veteran army, obtained ample supplies of all things necessary for the decisive blow, he intended, in the spring of 1645, to strike at *Austria*, horses, active, strong and brave recruits, all which constitute the military *utile*, he gratified the Swedish enmity, and punished the Dane for his perfidious policy, filled up the measure of his own and his country's glory, and rewarded his faithful troops by needed yet healthful rest, which, while it afforded perfect relaxation, could not effeminate—the very bracing north-

**LAIN'S Journal of a Residence in Norway, in the Years 1834, '35, '36.*

ern climate and proximity of the enemy forbidding a *Capuan* repose*—such as enervated the troops, and thus,—as ever, has been and will be the case,—destroyed the *morale* of that army, with which the greatest military leader of antiquity, (HANNIBAL,) subsisting his forces in the heart of the foemen's territory, threatened the very existence of Rome for 16 years.†

Thanks to the passing thought, a parallel at once suggests itself between the operations of the *Scandinavian* and the *Carthaginian*, but with happier results for the former, and for *Sweden*, than for the latter and devoted *Carthage*. Reader, examine ancient history, and you must fain concede the truth of what is herein urged; nor will that great General (HANNIBAL), who, animated by ancestral hate, struck home upon the *Ticino*, the *Trebbia*, *Lake Thrasymane*, and at *Cannæ*, suffer by the comparison with one—him to whom these pages and the author's admiration are alike devoted—one, of whom it has been remarked,‡ speaking of the Swedish Generals who figured in the Thirty Years' War, "*that they were all his* [GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS] *scholars, but TORSTENSON and BANER [?] excelled him [their Master], for to their illustrious Monarch and Preceptor, Fate had denied such victories as WITTSTOCK*"—in which TORSTENSON, under BANER, commanded the right wing, which did all the hard fighting—"BREITENFELD and JANIKAU"—in which TORS- TENSON, BANER being dead, commanded in chief. "*Yea, even single moments of their lives*" (in masterly conception and execution,) "*surpassed all the successes, however great, achieved by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.*"

All the towns and castles in the two Duchies of *Holstein* and *Schleswig*, except *Gluckstadt*, near the mouth of the *Elbe* and *Krempe*, 4 miles inland to the N. E., surrendered to the advancing Swedes; *Christianspris* (now *Friedrichsört*), a fortified place on the northern side of the bay of *Kiel*, was taken by storm, and *Rendsburg*, on the *Eider*, since one of the strongest Danish fortresses, opened its gates at the first shot. After the overthrow, which BUCHWALT, who made a stand with 1500 horsemen, scarce 100 of whom escaped, at *Colding* (*Colding-uen*),—on a fjord or bay, forming the western boundary between *South* and *North Jutland*, famous for its bridge, connecting *North Jutland*, or *Jutland Proper*, with the *Duchy of Schleswig*, (claimed

*At *Capua*, the victorious Carthaginians soon forgot to conquer, in the pleasures and rest of that luxurious city: whence, with propriety arose the proverb, that *Capua* was a *Cannæ*—alluding to the utter rout of the Romans (at *Cannæ*) by HANNIBAL.

†When *Carthage* saw the enemy's army (under *SCIPIO*) on her coasts, she recalled HANNIBAL from *Italy*, and that great General is said to have left with tears in his eyes, a country which, during 16 years, he had kept under continual alarms, and which he could almost call his own.

‡*Handbibliothek für Offiziere oder Populäre Kreislehrer für Eingeweihte und Laien, oder Geschichte des Kriegswesens. Berlin, 1828. Vol. IV. Page 386.*

§JOHNSTON and others write it *Frederickshorn*.

as an integral part of *Germany*, whose peculiar privileges led to its invasion by the *Prussians* and *Bundestruppen*—Diet's Troops—and *Freischaaren*—German Republican Volunteers, in 1848 '9, had sustained at the hands of General DOUGLAS, a Scotch officer in the Swedish service; likewise the defeat of the Danish Infantry, 4500 strong, who were attacked in their entrenched camp, and forced to surrender to TORSTENSON, of whom the Germans, to the number of 1000, entered the Swedish service, while the rest were sent home with bitter railery and scorn; and the flight of Marshal ANDERS BILDE, who had collected a small body of peasants and militia; all opposition was abandoned, and on the 14th January, 1644, TORSTENSON stood on the *Middlefarissund*,* on a point of the island of *Funen*, projecting like a tongue, reversed, into the *Colding Fjord*, where the *Little Belt* is the narrowest, having possessed himself of all the strong places in the Duchy.

The enemy's forces, thus beaten and dispersed, TORSTENSON established his head-quarters in *Hadersleben*—a much frequented seaport town on, with a strong citadel built on a small island in a deep bay or fjord, putting in from the *Little Belt*, where, in the heart of the country he could direct his attention every where, and give it also to the administration of this province. At this place he called together the Assembly of the Province, and, as the frost which had set in afforded the desired opportunity, thence sent Colonel HELMOLD (HELLMUTH) WRANGEL,† a daring officer, into the *Marchland* and *Vendsyssel*—the latter constituting the extremity of the present Province of *Aalborg*, which forms the farthest northern portion of the Danish possessions [Cimbrian Chersonese]—on the other side of the *Ljymfjord*, to subdue the land and disperse the peasantry, who had assembled there in arms. WRANGEL did his duty thoroughly; cut to pieces in one place 700 boors, who ventured to resist him, and so subdued the land that in two months [COXE says 6 weeks] from his entrance thereinto, TORSTENSON was master of the Danish home-peninsular-possession, except *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe*, S.W. angle of *Holstein*, which, as they could not influence his enterprise materially, if at all, were not worthy at this time the exertion their immediate reduction would require. Just as in *Schonen* (Scania), then a Danish province at the southern extremity of the Scandinavian peninsula, a kind of *Schnapphahne* war (somewhat like the guerilla warfare in *Spain*) broke out in *Holstein*, whose peasantry were handy and practised in the management of arms, which was carried on with equal ani-

*Middle-passage-strait.

†This HELMOLD WRANGEL having committed a murder in Germany, was for that cause expelled from the Swedish army; but later, he was pardoned, and even reinstated. He was a bold and daring fellow, and therefrom had the nickname, "*Der tolle WRANGEL*"—"Der tolle WRANGEL"—i. e. "The mad WRANGEL."

mosity, but with unequal success, for TORSTENSON was ever on the alert for the security of his army, and in the conquered country as well as among his own men, maintained the strictest order. Nevertheless, great abuses occurred, which are inseparable from a long war, in which the soldier had silenced the voice of his conscience, and steeled it against not only the conception, but also the execution of crimes and cruelties. How TORSTENSON cared for the subsistence of his soldiers may be seen by a letter of his to CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, wherein he writes: "General, you have to take all possible precautions that the soldiers do not suffer from any cause, and also to keep good order among the horsemen, that the grain which comes in very opportunely, may not be damaged."*

But although the whole Danish Peninsula had, thus, even as speedily as they could have hoped or expected, fallen into their hands, the Swedish troops were disappointed in one particular, and that one, unimportant in a national point of view, and only of consequence to the officers and soldiers, individually. They expected to acquire a rich booty by the irruption; but the aristocracy and rich citizens had fled upon the first alarm, and—prompt and unheralded as had been TORSTENSON'S advance, fear had lent yet swifter wings—taken refuge partly in *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, partly in the Danish Islands, where the generality found safe asylums, the insecure state of the ice preventing the pursuit of the land forces, while the activity of the Danish fleet prevented, except in one or two instances, the disembarkation of troops from the Swedish Squadrons hovering on the coasts. Thus while the neutral *Hanse-towns* and sea-girt islands saved the most opulent, as is usually the case, the less able had to support the whole burthen of the misfortune. However, the Danish farmers were so rich a class, the Swedes, notwithstanding, had quite a satisfactory reward for their fatigues and dangers.*

On the other side of the *Kattegat*, in the Swedish peninsula, Field Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN†—who, captured at the battle of

* See SKANDINAVISKA HANDLINGAR, 5th Part.

† GUSTAVUS, COUNT HORN, Senator and Constable of Sweden, one of those Swedish heroes who played the most distinguished part in connection with the exploits of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and after the death of that great Prince sustained the glory of their country's arms, was born in 1592, and, at the age of sixteen, was sent into Germany to complete his studies. Subsequent to his return therefrom, after having taken part in a campaign against the Russians, he made a tour in Holland, France, and Italy, in order to make himself acquainted with the relative bearings of the political and military administrations of those countries. In 1619, he was sent to Berlin to negotiate the marriage between GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS and MARIA ELEONORA, daughter of the Elector, JOHN SIGISMUND, of Brandenburg. Shortly after, he had an opportunity to develop his military abilities in Poland, Livonia, and on the frontiers of Denmark. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was so satisfied with his conduct that he created him a Knight in the presence of the Estates of the Kingdom (House of Representatives, composed of Delegates from the Nobility, Clergy, and Burghers,) and at the same time made him a Member of the Senate. In the German war he fought with distinction by the side of his Sovereign. At the Battle of Leipzig, in command of the Swedish left

Nordlingen, 6th September, 1634, having expiated the rashness of Duke BERNHARD with 8 years' captivity, had been recently exchanged for JOHANN VON WERTH, likewise made prisoner by the Swedes at the battle of *Rheinfelden*, 28th February, 1638—and Major General LARS KAGGE, with an army of 14,000 horse and foot force, as strong as the Regency had been able

wing, his courage contributed in a great degree to that glorious victory. After the battle he accompanied the King into Franconia, and captured a great number of towns and fortified places. Subsequent to the death of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, at the Battle of Lutzen, HORN marched into Suabia, with a portion of the army, and united his forces with the troops commanded by the Duke BERNHARD of SAXE-WEIMAR, and had already obtained many advantages, when the combined forces advanced to relieve Nordlingen, in 1634, besieged by a far superior army of the Imperialists; and this fatal combat placed the Swedish army in the most critical position to which they were reduced throughout the whole Thirty Years' War. A detailed account of the conflict will prove both interesting and instructive. [See APPENDIX B.]

On the 6th of September, 1634, [N. S., or 27th of August, O. S.] the Swedes and their Allies, under HORN and Duke BERNHARD of SAXE-WEIMAR, numbering from 24,000 to 33,000 men, advanced to relieve Nordlingen, and give battle to the Imperialists, estimated according to different authorities at from 33,000 to 60,000, and even 80,000, men. Had HORN's advice been taken—to occupy a strong position, cover the besieged place, and await reinforcements advancing to join them—the result of this conflict would, doubtless, have been favorable to the Reformed interests, such was the courage of these troops and the abilities of their Generals. Unfortunately, the councils of Duke BERNHARD, in favor of immediate action, prevailed; and the result was most disastrous. With a loss to themselves of not over 1200 men, the Imperialists gained a complete victory, capturing or slaying almost the whole of the Swedish Allied Infantry; 12,000 dead and wounded covered the field. The Imperialists captured 170 standards, 80 cannon, all their opponents' baggage, 3 Generals, and last and chiefest loss of all, Field-Marshal HORN. The next day, Nordlingen, one of the strongest bulwarks of the Protestant Faith, surrendered to its implacable enemies, the combined forces of the Emperor.

Captured, as we have seen, after exhibiting heroic devotion and consummate generalship, worthy his exalted character, HORN was imprisoned for the eight subsequent years at Ingoldstadt, in Bavaria, where TORSTENSON had experienced such disgraceful treatment while a captive, and at Burghausen, on the Salzach. In fact, such was the Imperialists' estimation of his value as a General, that they regarded his capture as of equal importance with the victory itself, and would not listen to any propositions for his release until 1642, when he was exchanged for three of their most distinguished Generals, prisoners in the hands of the Swedes, one of whom was the celebrated JOHANN VON WERTH; which last is sufficient evidence of his standing as a military leader. At liberty once more, he returned to Sweden by the way of Switzerland, France and Holland, receiving, throughout his journey, the most flattering demonstrations of esteem, respect, and admiration. When the war with Denmark was resolved upon, in 1644, Queen CHRISTINA gave him the command-in-chief of the army which invaded the Danish-Trans-Kattegat Provinces, wherein HORN displayed such skill and valor as contributed in a great degree towards the peace of Bromsebro, concluded 13th August, 1645, whose glorious termination was due, however, more particularly to the terrible chastisement inflicted upon the Danish-Peninsula-Propriety by TORSTENSON, and the energetic and masterly co-operation of Admiral (General) WRANGEL, with the Swedish fleet.—On his return to Sweden, HORN was invested by CHRISTINA with the dignity of Constable of the Kingdom, with the title of Count. He died in 1657, after having administered for several years the Government General of Livonia and Scania. A work in Latin, entitled "*Ducis Perfecti Munus*," (The Duty of the Perfect General,) is attributed to his pen, supposed to have been written during his captivity in Bavaria.

[The above Biographical Sketch, (with much additional information,) has been translated from the French of CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE, in the *Biographie Universelle*; the Description of the *Battle of Nordlingen*, here and in APPENDIX, is compiled from Colonel FR. VON KAUSLER'S Atlas and Details of Memorable Battles, and other Authorities.—See Note †, Page VI. INTRODUCTION.]

to collect during the winter from the adjacent provinces, made an irruption into *Scania*, in the beginning of the year 1644. As many of our readers may not be aware of the immense territorial changes which have taken place since this date, in all the countries bordering on the *Baltic*, the following explanation seems to become necessary, to enable them to understand these operations, and why the Swedes should be said to invade the Danish possessions when they carried the war into what has been for 200 years an integral part of Sweden.

Previous to the treaty of *Roeskilde*—1658—the whole southern extremity of the Scandinavian peninsula known as the Danish Provinces beyond the Sound, *Halland* on the west, *Scania* on the south, and *Blekinge* on the east, extending from near the mouth of the *Gota* [*Gotha*] to, about, opposite the southern extremity of the isle of *Oland*, belonged to *Denmark*, which also possessed the whole west shore, or the Province of *West* [*Westro*] *Gothia*, with the exception of a small strip of sea-coast, south of and between the *Gota* and north line of *Halland*. These alterations are still less recognizable on the present maps, on account of the entire change which has taken place in the names and boundaries of the districts ; in the same manner that in *France* the provincial limits and designations were entirely lost in the new Departmental nomenclature. Thus, *Blekinge*, capital *Christianople*, on the east ; *Scania*, *Schonen* or *South Gothland* on the south ; and *Halland*, capital *Helmstadt*, on the west, *Danish*, are now represented, nearly, the 1st, by *Carlskrona*, the 2d by *Christianstad* and *Malmö*, and the 3d, by *Halmstadt* ; *West Gothland*, capital *Gottenburg*, comprising *West Gothland Proper*, part of *Walia* and *Wermerland*, is represented at this date by the whole of *Gottenburg* and parts of *Karlstadt*, *Mariestadt*, *Wenersborg*, etc.

On the 17th of February, 1644, *HORN* occupied *Helsingborg*, in *East Gothland*, situated on the *Sound*, about 7 miles, across, from *Elsinore*, at the foot of a high mountain, whose means of defence had been slighted by the Danes ; after which, having so beaten the enemy's troops, who ventured into the field, in several encounters, that they durst not appear abroad any more, and put to the sword some corps of boors, who had placed themselves in a position of defence, he took *Landskrona*, a seaport, farther southwards, in *South Gothland*, whence he advanced to the siege of *Malmö*, a very strong seaport, still farther down, likewise on the coast of *Gothland*, defended on the land side with walls, ditches and bastions, and on the sea side by a strong fortress and a castle, whither had repaired the brave old Danish king with numerous forces, which enabled the garrison to defy the utmost efforts of the Swedes.

In the meantime, a fleet of 30 ships, of a middle rate, arrived in May, from *Holland*, which LOUIS DE GEER, a princely merchant, converted, as he himself expressed it, into a military leader, had obtained in his own name from private merchants; the States General refusing to dispatch any naval reinforcements, although they might appear, in strict honor, to have been called upon to render such assistance, in accordance with the treaty stipulations between the United Provinces and Sweden, excusing themselves on the plea, which seems but reasonable, that they were not called upon to take part in a war which had been commenced without their consent or even knowledge. The historian PUFFENDORF, a Swede, however, states that the true reason was: "They desired to fish in muddy waters, and to keep an equal balance between both parties under the appearance of a mediation." DE GEER's fleet, at the first, obliged the Danes to raise the blockade of *Gottenborg*, with whose investment King CHRISTIAN, on his side, had commenced the war, but the Danish fleet encountered it off the coast of *Jutland*, and having prevented it from transporting Swedish troops into the island of *Funen*, after a short engagement, compelled the Hollanders to take refuge under the island of *Syltøe*, on the west coast of *Schleswig*, where they were cannonaded by CHRISTIAN. Their small draught of water, however, enabled them to lie beyond the reach of his guns, and at last DE GEER, with his vessels, made his escape to *North Holland*, where a mutiny of the crews threatened to frustrate the whole undertaking. This want of success however, did not in the slightest degree damp the energy and courage of DE GEER, who, with the assistance of his admiral, MARTIN THYSEN, afterwards enobled in Sweden under the name of ANKARHJELM, and of the merchants of Holland, accomplished the equipment of a new squadron, which again sailed for *Gottenborg*. Meanwhile the Swedish fleet, numbering 40 ships, put to sea in June under the command of CLAS FLEMMING, a faithful and tried naval officer, *Counsellor of State* and *Admiral*, and having arrived on the coasts of *Holstein* on the 29th of that month, took and ravaged the island of *Femern*, putting to the sword every inhabitant who offered to make the least resistance. Despite his advanced age, King CHRISTIAN, now almost 70 years old, at once sailed to attack them, and on the 6th of July the two fleets engaged four times without decisive result. In this combat the Danish king, who commanded in person, standing at the foot of the mast of his flag-ship, was wounded in the eye with a splinter; the same broadside having killed 12 men immediately around him. This incident gave rise to the magnificent war-song, now one of Denmark's great national lays, of which the following is a translation :*

*From BARR's *Northern Europe*, I. 272,-'3.

KONG CHRISTIAN STOD VED HOIEN MAST, &c.

King CHRISTIAN stood by the high mast,
Mid smoke and spray ;
His fierce artillery flashed so fast,
That Swedish wrecks were round him cast,
And lost each hostile stern and mast,
Mid smoke and spray.
Fly, *Swedes*, fly ! nor hope to win
Where CHRISTIAN, dauntless, mingles in
The Fray !

NILS YULE beheld the tempest grow,
"The day is right !"
Aloft he bade the red flag glow,
And shot for shot he dealt the foe.
They shout whilst fiercest perils grow,
"The day is right !"
Fly, *Swedes*, in safest refuge hide !
What arm shall stand 'gainst Denmark's pride
In fight !

O North Sea ! VESSELS' * thunders light
Thy murky sky !
His foemen shrunk with strange affright,
For Death and Terror round him fight ;
Sad *Gothland* hears the bolts that light
Thy murky sky !
He gleams, proud Denmark's shaft of war,
The foe must own his brightest star ;
They fly !

Thou road for Danes to power and praise,
Dark heaving wave !
Receive my friend, by Valor's rays
Led through thy wild and boisterous ways !
Guide the bold youth to power and praise,
Dark heaving wave.
And free through storm and tempest, through
Dangers and glory, waft him to
His grave !

Both sides claimed the victory, but it is unquestionable that the Swedes would have enjoyed a great triumph had all their captains done their duty, or rather, had Admiral ACO ULFS-PARRE executed with the right wing of the fleet, that which he had been ordered.

*PETER VESSELS. The family name of TORDENSHJOLD, one of Denmark's bravest Admirals.

After this first* battle of *Femern*, the *High Admiral FLEMMING* put into *Christianspris* to refit, where he—in the Bay of *Kiel*—was immediately blockaded by the Danish fleet, whence the Swedes could not drive it or escape themselves, in consequence of adverse winds. Moreover, 1,500 men were landed from the enemy's ships, who took possession of a hill over against *Christianspris*, upon which they threw up a redoubt, whence they opened a fierce cannonade upon the Swedish squadron, in the harbor. On the 26th of July, at 6 o'clock in the morning, a spent ball from this battery, having ricoched from the water, passed through the cabin of the flag-ship, and carried away the leg of *Admiral FLEMMING*, who was washing his hands there at the moment. The same shot cut off both the legs of his servant, standing by, but did no farther damage. The valiant *FLEMMING* lived but an hour and a half afterwards,† and turned over the command, before he expired, into the hands of *CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL*, the distinguished *General of Infantry*, who had been sent on board by *TORSTENSON* to concert with him such measures as appeared most advantageous at this juncture. *WRANGEL*, who had acquitted himself of his commission in the most satisfactory manner under the liveliest fire of the enemy, at once assumed the command, and to the laurels which he had won on shore added still brighter wreaths for triumphs on this new element to him, the sea.

CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, before his death Swedish *GENERALISSIMO* and *LORD HIGH ADMIRAL*, son of *Field-Marshal HERRMANN WRANGEL*, was born 13th December, 1613, at *Skokloster†* in *Upland*, on Lake *Maelar*, a short distance from *Upsala*. Even from his earliest youth he was permitted to accompany his father, appointed Governor of *Elbing*, in Polish Prussia, and frequently followed to the field, without his father's knowledge, detachments sent against the enemy. After the conclusion of the armistice of *Stumsdorf*, he made a tour through foreign countries, to acquire their different languages, during which period he sojourned a whole year in Holland, where he applied himself to the study of the science of naval architecture, and made himself theoretically acquainted with navigation and practically with the construction of vessels. In 1629, he had just reached *Paris*, when *GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS* recalled home to Sweden, him, as well as other young men, whom he wished to employ in his intended German war. That monarch appointed him *Gentleman of his Chamber*, and

*The second battle of *Femern*, in which *WRANGEL* obtained a complete victory for Sweden, was fought on the 18th October, 1644.

†*GELJER*. *PUFFENDORF* says, he lived a few days.

†*Skokloster* ?

shortly afterwards *Officer of his Guards*, the duties of which offices afforded WRANGEL frequent opportunities of approaching the person of his Sovereign. At the battle of *Lutzen* he had been sent by GUSTAVUS to carry his orders to the left wing, when, on his return, he found his Master extended lifeless on the ground, and, after having given way to the liveliest grief at so terrible a loss, he hastened with as much talent as valor to assist in securing a triumph for the Swedish arms. After this, he served with great distinction under BANER; was dispatched to Sweden in 1636, and led back thence considerable reinforcements, and inflicted great loss upon the enemy near *Memmingen*, on a tributary of the *Iller*, in *Suabia*, 1637. Having attained the rank of *Colonel*, at *Torgau*, he received a gunshot wound in his head, fell from his horse, had his arm fractured by another ball, and barely escaped being made prisoner. Again sent back into Sweden, he returned with fresh troops, received as recompense the rank of *Major-General of Infantry*, and with the command appropriate to that grade, had a great share in the victory of *Chemnitz*, in the Saxon Ore Mountains. By a stratagem, he made himself master, without loss, of the Castle of *Tetschen*—in Bohemia, on the right bank of the Elbe, 18 miles N. N. E. of *Leitmeritz*—took by assault *Heldrungen*, in Prussian Saxony, W. by S. of *Merseburg*, near the river *Unstruth*—and *Resdingen* (*Heringen*?)—N. W. of *Heldrungen*—in which places he captured a number of prisoners. After the death of BANER (1641), WRANGEL was one of the Military Triumvirate or Commission, according to some authors, of four Generals, which administered the chief command of the Swedish forces in Germany, while awaiting the arrival of a new General-in-Chief. At *Wolfenbuttle*, on the *Ocker*, in the Duchy of *Lauenburg*, 29th June, 1641, he, with his Infantry, for 5 hours, was obliged to sustain, almost without support, all the attacks of the Austrian and Bavarian Infantry, and repulsed them in the same manner that KOENIGSMARK, with the Swedish horse, resisted and cut up the Imperial Cavalry. In this affair,—whose glory the French military writers claim for Marshal GUEBRIANT, who took no part in the actual conflict,—the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM left 3,000 dead upon the field, and from 500 to 2,000 prisoners in the hands of the Confederates; likewise 7 pieces of artillery and 60 standards, and was forced to abandon the field of battle. After this, although WRANGEL, who aspired to the chief command, when TORSTENSON should relinquish it, saw himself superseded by LILJEHOK, a new man, as it were, and STALHANSKE, he accompanied the GENERALISSIMO throughout his victorious career, and discharged his duty nobly, rendering important service on several occasions. After his return from a third mission to Sweden, in quest of new reinforcements and supplies, he contributed in the greatest degree to the glorious victory of *Breiten-*

feld, (*Second Battle of Leipsic*,) as we have seen in the appropriate place. In the subsequent campaign and invasion of *Denmark*, his active co-operation materially aided in obtaining the great advantages acquired in that kingdom, for he distinguished himself in as great a degree upon the sea as he had previously upon the land, having been prepared for the administration of marine-command—at a time when naval commanders were little else than sea-soldiers, the management of the ships devolving on a subordinate and different class of men—by his application to naval studies and practical acquaintance with marine affairs, which he had acquired during his residence in Holland, which country he had visited with that object. At the period of which we treat, *Holland* was still [Sir *WALTER RALEIGH* had long since admitted her superiority, and stated that the Dutch navy in his day numbered ten ships for every one of England] the first naval power of the world, so that *WRANGEL*, endowed with great judgment and ability, so profited by his advantages that he was enabled, eventually, to dispute successfully the sovereignty of the Danish seas with her own navy, led by her admiral-king *CHRISTIAN IV.*, while *TORSTENSON* wrested from that gallant monarch, *at once*, his sceptre on the land.*

*After the escape of the Swedish fleet, *WRANGEL*, conscious of his abilities, did not deem it sufficient for his credit, to have saved, when every one regarded it as lost, that fleet on which his country's success, in so great a measure, depended; for, having obtained permission from the Regency to put to sea again, in the month of September, and having united the naval forces under his command with the Dutch Squadron of *LOUIS DE GEER*, the combined fleet of 42 vessels in all, met that of Denmark, numbering 17 ships of war, between the islands of Zealand and Fehmarn, and obtained over it, on 13th of October, so complete a victory that 10 ships were taken, 2 burned, 3 driven ashore, and only 2 escaped. In this action the Swedes lost only 1 ship, sunk, 1 of those which had been hired in Holland, and captured a very considerable number of prisoners. The combined fleet then sailed for Kielerhaven, to refit, but the water was so low that the greater number got on shore, so that for 15 days they were not afloat—which delay deprived the Swedes of this, so favorable, opportunity of making themselves masters of some of the Danish islands, which they had hoped to do. When they did get ready for sea, winter came on, provisions ran short, and the crews became sick, which obliged the Swedish squadron to put into the harbor of Wismar, to winter there; and the Hollanders returned home. In the spring of 1645, as soon as the season would permit, *WRANGEL* took the island of Bornholm, and would, in like manner, have captured all the other Danish islands, had not peace been made at Bromsebro, on the 13th August, 1645. About this time, *TORSTENSON*, compelled thereto by his infirmities, had determined to relinquish the command in Germany, and *WRANGEL*, dispatched to succeed him therein, arrived in Silesia with large reinforcements. Acting in pursuance of the plan of operations drawn up by, and in accordance with the advice of, *TORSTENSON*, *WRANGEL* penetrated into Bohemia, and captured Friedland, a town, north of the Lausnitz mountains, which gave his title, of Duke, to *WALLENSTEIN*, whose castle was in the immediate vicinity, and Leitmeritz, on the Elbe. The advance of the combined Austro-Bavarian army, much superior to his in number, decided him to fall back on the Weser, in order to draw nearer to *TURENNE*. He then took several places, advanced into Hesse, and entrenched himself near Hamelberg, whither the enemy pursued him closely, and likewise entrenched themselves. Many bloody combats ensued, each army seeking to cut off the other's supplies; but in these *WRANGEL* had the advantage, for the Austro-Bavarians, after having lost over 4,000 of their number, by hunger alone, were forced to retreat near Frankfort on-the-Main (*Maine* or *Mein*).—Soon after, elevated to the rank of Field-Marshal and Senator, thenceforward *WRANGEL* exercised supreme command over the Swedish armies in Germany. Reunited with

The Swedish fleet would have been irretrievably lost had the Danish Commander acted with due vigor. Before, however, the neglect, of which he had been guilty, could be retrieved, TORSTENSON hastened to avenge the death of FLEMMING, carried and destroyed the enemy's redoubt, captured 6 cannons, and cut to pieces, to a man, the 1,500 Danes who defended it. After this lesson to the enemy, who supposed that they had the

TURENNE, he pursued the enemy, who had halted beyond the Nidda, forced the passage of that river, defeated the opposing forces, captured their magazines, and compelled the Austrians to a precipitate retreat. After this, having, conjointly with TURENNE, passed the Danube and the Lech, WRANGEL entered Bavaria, and levied heavy contributions—then besieged, in vain however, Augsburg, and, being unable to constrain the enemy to accept battle, led his troops into their winter quarters in Suabia. Nevertheless, as soon as he learned that the Allies had commenced operations in Bavaria, he fell upon them and routed one division of their army at Rain, then gained possession of the important pass of Klausen, near Bergentz, which opened to him the entry into Switzerland and Italy, and took the Castle of Meinau, on the Lake of Constance. This success decided the Elector of Bavaria to separate his cause from that of Austria, and consent to an armistice. After having suffered his troops to enjoy some little repose, WRANGEL advanced into Silesia, to join the Swedes, whom he found there, after which, in 1647, he fell upon Bohemia, where he made several captures, among others that of Egra. The Emperor, FERDINAND III. having advanced against him at the head of his army, was surprised in his camp. WRANGEL penetrated even to the Imperial quarters, and came within an ace of making him prisoner. The Austrians, having experienced other reverses at Triebel and Töpel, returned; when, all at once, the Elector of Bavaria, who had denounced the armistice into which he had entered, so short a period previous, once more united his troops with those of the Emperor. Thereupon WRANGEL threatened with being entirely surrounded, fell back into Thuringia, and retired upon the Weser. Seeking to combine his operations with those of the French, he kept the field with great success, and contributed to the triumphs of TURENNE, in Hesse and Franconia. But, above all, he distinguished himself at Sumarshusen, in 1648. The whole of Bavaria then fell into the power of the Swedes and French, the Elector himself being forced to take refuge in the Bishopric of Salzburg. When the Prince Palatine (Palgrave), CHARLES GUSTAVUS, afterwards CHARLES X. King of Sweden, came to assume the chief command of the main Swedish army, WRANGEL preserved the direction of that in the north of Germany during the rest of the Thirty Years' War. At length, the *Peace of Westphalia* put an end to his military exploits, on these fields, and having returned to Sweden, Queen CHRISTINA recompensed him with the title of Count and large grants of land in Sweden, Germany and Finland. When CHARLES GUSTAVUS, who ascended the throne after the abdication of CHRISTINA, undertook an expedition against Poland, he confided the command of his fleet to WRANGEL, who, after having disembarked the army, blockaded the port of Dantzic. Subsequently, the King ordered him to repair to him at Thorn, and sent him with 10,000 men into Pomerania to drive out the Polish General CZARNESKI, who had 15,000 men. WRANGEL overtook him near Guesne, and put him to flight. At the battle of Warsaw, in 1656, he shared with the Elector of Brandenburg, the command of the Swedish left wing, and displayed equal valor and talent. The Danes, at this juncture, having manifested hostile intentions, he repaired to Pomerania, and then into the Duchy of Bremen, from which he soon drove out the enemy. Thence he marched into Jutland, and carried by assault the strong fort of Fredericksudde, (Frederic's Odde or Fredericia,) in 1657, the consequences of which were very important, although it cost the Swedes but little. The King was so highly satisfied with WRANGEL's services, that he made him *Admiral of the Kingdom*, (Lord High Admiral,) and when his Sovereign entered the island of Fionia (Funen), the newly created Lord High Admiral commanded his vanguard, with which he attacked the Danish forces drawn up on the shore, and entirely routed them. In 1658, CHARLES GUSTAVUS being encamped before Copenhagen, WRANGEL was sent to besiege the Castle of Cronenburg,* which he took in less than three weeks of siege

*Cronen, Cronborg, or Cronenburg, is a strong Danish fortress, built upon piles, in the island of Zealand, at the entrance of the Sound, where the Danes take toll of such ships as are bound for the Baltic. It was very richly furnished, but was pillaged by the Swedes, under Wrangel, in 1658, who took away the furniture, among which were statues of massive silver.—(Guthrie's Gazetteer.)

fate of the Swedish fleet in their hands, occupying previous thereto, the heights surrounding the bay of *Kiel*, the GENERALISSIMO returned to *Schleswig*, to avoid being placed in a dangerous position by the Imperial army, of whose intended approach he had been notified. In a letter to *General*, now *Admiral WRANGEL*, he expresses his opinion, as to the course which he should pursue with the Swedish fleet, in the following words: "*Herr General*, I beseech you, as a friend, in concert with the other Admirals, to adopt such resolutions as shall be most advantageous for our native country, and honorable for us Swedes; also to put to sea, in the name of *JESUS*, as soon as God sends favorable winds, for if you do not take advantage of them you cannot excuse yourself for the neglect, neither to God nor man.*

On the 28th of July, WRANGEL weighed anchor, and left this dangerous bay and went to sea on the 1st August following.

* * * *

While these things were transpiring, the Danish garrisons of *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe* made a sally, beat some Swedish troops, and surprised *Iitzehoe* on the *Stor*, just north of the latter place, on the main road midway between *Hamburg* and *Rendsburg*, and on the other side, the Danish fleet made a demonstration near *Coldingen* [Colding?] and disembarked a force which defeated 4 companies of Infantry, but in a short time after the Swedes

operations, acquiring thereby enormous booty. In 1658, in the naval combat in the Sound, against the Hollanders, who had come to the assistance of the Danes, he fought Admiral *ORDAM*, until his own vessel was covered with dead, and so entirely disabled that he was obliged to run her ashore. In the following year, the assault upon Copenhagen having failed, WRANGEL determined to make himself master of the other Danish islands, and notwithstanding the many difficulties which he encountered, took *Langeland*, *Aleen* and *Funen*, whence the Allied-Imperial-Polish and Brandenburger troops, commanded by the Great Elector, *FREDERIC WILLIAM*, in vain endeavored to dislodge him. Subsequently, the enemy having returned into Pomerania, WRANGEL forced them to raise the siege of *Wolgast*. After the Peace of *Oliva*, April, 1660, and Treaty of Copenhagen, 10th June, 1660, WRANGEL was created *Marshal of the Kingdom*, Commander-in-Chief (Commandant-General) of the Troops, and President of the College of War. *CHARLES GUSTAVUS* had previously selected him as one of the Regents and Trustees to his son *CHARLES XI* yet a minor. Troubles having arisen in 1665, in the Duchy of Bremen, WRANGEL was sent to re-establish order in that country. In 1674, although old and infirm, he was again charged with the command of the army in Pomerania; but, as his extreme debility obliged him to keep his bed almost the whole time, he cannot be held responsible for the defeats which the Swedes sustained at *Havelberg* and *Fehrbellin*, in Brandenburg, the 12th and 18th June, 1675, since he was at a great distance from the scene of combat. His infirmities increasing every day, he resigned the command and retired to his domain of *Spiker*, situated in the island of *Rugen*. While residing there in quiet, having learned that several of the enemy's vessels had shown themselves upon the coast, his military ardor was at once re-kindled, and he determined to go and reconnoitre them. This effort cost him his life, and he died in July 1676, with the reputation of having been one of the greatest of Swedish Generals. His body was transported home to Sweden, and interred in the Church of *Skokloster*, (*Sko-Oloister* ? in whose library very many of his letters and bulletins are preserved,) where he had caused a castle to be erected.—(Translated for this work, with much valuable additional information, from *EYRIE*, in the *Biographie Universelle*.)

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revenged it with a witness, for although the **GENERALISSIMO** had marched from *Holstein* with the main body of his army, yet he had still left there some troops under the command of **HELLMUTH WRANGEL**, who defeated the enemy in divers encounters.

* * * *

Thus far we have investigated the military and naval operations undertaken by the Swedish Regency, through Marshal **HORN**, and Admirals **DE GEER** and **FLEMMING**, in order to clearly demonstrate how it was that **TORSTENSON** was enabled, without a battle or important siege, to make himself master of a whole kingdom, an enterprise so wonderful as to seem impossible without this explanation of concurrent circumstances, even to his surpassing valor and ability. His success, although due entirely to himself, would no doubt have cost a long and terrible struggle, had he not been seconded in these operations in other quarters, which distracted the attention of the Danish monarch and government, and called forth their exertions for the protection of their capital and other provinces, nearer and dearer to the heart of the nation, than the Duchies—German in their instincts, affections, customs and language—provinces as fertile, and, as then considered, more important to the national existence. We now return to the consideration alone of those operations, with which **TORSTENSON** and the forces under his command were intimately connected.

When **TORSTENSON** disappeared from Germany, and left his adversaries in utter uncertainty whither he had flown, they remained inactive on the frontier of Bohemia, or in their winter quarters in the Imperial Hereditary States. When, soon afterwards, reports were brought in, that he had invaded Denmark, notwithstanding they were coupled with the astounding announcement of his rapid progress therein, the **EMPEROR**, instead of making arrangements to assist his distressed ally, only thought of his own interests and recapturing those places in which the Swedes had garrisons, until he was, as it were, compelled to listen to the earnest entreaties of the Danish king, who represented that he would be placed in the extremity of danger, if speedy assistance was not afforded without farther delay.

Thereupon, to preserve the king, **CHRISTIAN IV.** from impending ruin, the Emperor **FERDINAND III.** at length, in mid-winter, ordered **GALLAS** to collect all his available forces in *Bo-*

* *Biographical Sketch of Field-Marshal MATTHIAS GALLAS*, translated for this work from *EYRIES*, in the *Biographie Universelle*, with additional information.

MATTHIAS GALLAS was born in 1589, in the county of *Trent*, of an ancient and illustrious family of that country. He was early attached as page, and then as equerry, to a *Seigneur de BAUFFREMONT*, who, in the war made by Spain against *Savoy*, 1616, made him ensign, **GALLAS** next obtained the Command of *Riva*, a strong place in the mountains bordering on the Lake of *Garda*, but quitted it soon afterwards in consequence of a quarrel with an Austrian Commissioner, and went to seek his fortune in

havia, and move with the flower of his army, towards *Holstein*, enjoining upon that General to imitate the rapid movements of the Swedes, without regard to the inclemency of the season and

Germany. The services which he rendered in the army, under TILLY, to FERDINAND II, and the Catholic League in Bohemia, on the Rhine, and elsewhere, procured him rapid promotion. He contributed to the success which the Imperialists obtained over the Danes near Bremen, and in the victory which they won, in 1625, near Steinfort, in Westphalia. He was, in 1629, Major General of the Army which, under the orders of COLALTO, marched against the DUKE OF MANTUA, and soon after, when the infirmities of that General forced him to relinquish the command, GALLAS shared it with ALDRINGER.* Several brilliant advantages, and the capture of different places, preceded that of Mantua, which was sacked, and afforded an immense booty. Subsequent to this, as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Emperor, GALLAS superintended the execution of the Peace of Cherasco, concluded in 1630, at the head of the Imperial troops, with the title of General of Cavalry. For this service, the Emperor raised him to the rank of Count of the Empire, and after the battle of Leipsic, won by the Swedes, gave him, subordinate to WALLENSTEIN, the command of the troops destined to aid Bohemia, GALLAS justified this mark of confidence by driving the enemy from Dessau, and assisting in the recapture of Prague. He likewise evinced the extreme of bravery in the contest at Altenberg, near Nuremberg, and that of Lutzen, in 1632; after which he was charged by WALLENSTEIN with the duty of menacing Dresden, with a corps of 10,000 men—which operation facilitated the recapture of the places the Swedes had won on the line of the Oder—whence he marched to the assistance of the DUKE OF BAVARIA, and city of Ratisbon; but WALLENSTEIN, who had already conceived and nourished ambitious designs, ordered him to remain upon the defensive. Nevertheless, the capture of Ratisbon forced the Imperial Generalissimo to advance his troops to cover Passau, whose defence was entrusted to GALLAS, who subsequently aided in the conquest of the Upper Palatinate. When WALLENSTEIN, in 1632, wrote to his absent Generals, detached on different duties, to repair to him, in order, either, to obtain their acquiescence in his projects, or, else, to assure himself of their persons in case of refusal, GALLAS, informed in advance of his intentions, hastened to seek him out, not to embrace his views, but to see for himself the state of affairs, and send to the Emperor the most reliable information of what was passing. The revelations which he conjointly with PICCOLOMINI made to the Imperial government, discovered the whole extent of the danger, of whose magnitude it had hitherto only entertained a faint suspicion. Immediately thereupon FERDINAND II. sent him a patent, which conferred upon him the command in chief, enjoined upon the Generals to obey him in all things, and promised oblivion of all that had already passed, in case they would at once abandon the cause of WALLENSTEIN. Nothing could have been more re-assuring for GALLAS than this gracious mark of confidence, although his own person was, at no period of his life, in greater peril. He was at Pilsen, under the eyes and in the power of that astonishing man, who, even while GALLAS had his superior's fate in his hands, had surrounded him, the Emperor's agent, with an infinite number of spies, to watch his movements and discover the secrets of his commission, nor would WALLENSTEIN have hesitated for a single moment to sacrifice him on the first suspicion of treachery or inimical designs. Besides this danger, the sentiments of the military leaders were still undecided; it was doubtful if they were

*NOTE.—TO BE READ IN CONNECTION WITH ALDRINGER, 5TH LINE. TEXT, PAGE 8, SUPRA.—Field-Marshal JOHN ALDRINGER (ALTRINGER), a distinguished officer in the reign of FERDINAND III. and relative of Field-Marshal GALLAS, was descended from an obscure and poor family of Luxemburg. After having lived for some time as a servant at Paris, he found his way into Italy, and became the Secretary of Count JOHN GUARENTIUS of MADRUZ, who commanded a regiment at Milan. Shortly afterwards, he became attached to the establishment of CHARLES of MADRUZ, Bishop of Trent, whence, dismissed, he repaired to Innsbruck, and determined to become a soldier. Having been enrolled, his bravery and talents led to his promotion, grade by grade, until he attained the rank of Colonel; and afterwards the Emperor employed him in many important matters; made him, in 1625, Lord of ROSCHITZ, and attached him as Commissary-General to the army of WALLENSTEIN in Lower Saxony. In 1629, as Imperial Ambassador, he participated in the negotiations at Lubek; thence, was sent into Italy to take part in the war against the DUKE OF MANTUA, and enriched himself with the booty which he made in 1630, at the capture of that city. Upon his return to Germany, he served in the army of Count TILLY, and that of WALLENSTEIN; soon after, separated from the latter, and made an irruption into Bavaria, where he captured by assault Landsberg, on the Lech, and Guntzburg, at the confluence of the Genu with the Danube. After the assassination of WALLENSTEIN—in whose downfall he played a conspicuous part, and, unlike his brother commanders, remained faithful to the Emperor, without staining his character with the sin of ingratitude to his GENERALISSIMO—FERDINAND himself having assumed the command of the army, ALDRINGER wished to defend the passage of the Isar, near Landshut, against the Swedes, who, nevertheless, succeeded, in spite of his efforts, captured Landshut, and put to flight the Imperial army. In this affair ALDRINGER was drowned in the Isar, and it is unknown to this day whether he committed suicide or was killed and thrown into the river, from the battlements of the bridge, by the victorious Swedes.—(Translated for this work with slight alterations, &c. from the BIOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE.)

the length of the march; as if the orders even of an Austrian Emperor could transmute mediocrity into genius, and substitute wings for limbs clogged with intemperance and habitual inertia.

willing to rely upon the promises of the Emperor, and renounce at once all those brilliant hopes which they had based on WALLENSTEIN's. GALLAS was well aware of the extreme danger of attempting to arrest the Generalissimo as a traitor, surrounded as that Commander was by faithful guards, and in the midst of a city entirely devoted to his will. Satisfied, after consideration, of the impossibility of executing the duty with which he was entrusted under the eyes of WALLENSTEIN, GALLAS was desirous of conferring with ALTRINGER, before he made the last attempt therewith connected, whose long absence had already begun to awaken WALLENSTEIN's suspicions. Thereupon GALLAS offered to go and seek out ALTRINGER, which proposition was eagerly accepted. Profiting at once by the unaided success of this stratagem, GALLAS charged PICCOLOMINI with the supervision of WALLENSTEIN's conduct, and hastened to depart from Pilsen. Wherever he went thence, he exhibited the patent of the Emperor, without experiencing the slightest resistance, the troops evincing feelings far more favorable to his purpose than he had even dared to hope. Then having dispatched ALTRINGER to the defence of the Emperor, menaced with an attack, and assured himself of the principal places in Bohemia, and made every necessary disposition to frustrate the enterprises of the rebel Generalissimo, he marched towards upper Austria, whither the approach of Duke BERNHARD of Saxe-Weimar had created an excitement throughout the whole country. After the death of WALLENSTEIN, FERDINAND II. appointed his own son FERDINAND, Viceroy of Hungary, afterwards the Emperor FERDINAND III. Generalissimo over all his troops, under whom GALLAS—who, as a part of his reward, had received the Duchy of Friedland, formerly enjoyed by that great man, his benefactor, whom he had betrayed—exercised subordinate command, although in reality he was invested with, and discharged all the functions of General-in-Chief. The Imperial army first undertook the siege of Ratisbon, which WALLENSTEIN had always avoided attempting, with unalterable obstinacy. Thanks to the activity of GALLAS, this city was obliged to open its gates, the Swedes were gradually driven back from the banks of the Danube, and finally experienced a complete overthrow under the walls of Nordlingen, on the 6th of September, 1634. This victory, which occasioned the Swedish Chancellor OXENSTJERNA, the second bad night's rest—for such stern stuff was he that all the anxious nights which he experienced in Germany were only two—which he admitted that he had passed administering the Swedish interests in the Empire, replaced the Imperialists in the possession of Suabia, Franconia, and the course of the Rhine. After this, GALLAS had to encounter a French army, commanded by Cardinal LA-VALLETTE. Yet, nevertheless, he succeeded in surprising Philipsburg, by reason of the ice, and invested Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken), which siege, however, the French having been joined by the German Confederates, forced him to raise, and remained masters of the field. The Allies then advanced as far as Frankfort-on-the-Main, when GALLAS, by constantly harassing them and intercepting their provisions, obliged them to retreat in turn, pursued them beyond the Rhine, and posted himself, always, so advantageously, that he at once prevented them from advancing in the direction they desired, and attacking him to advantage. Having subsequently succeeded in escaping him, GALLAS pursued the Gallo-German Allies across the Hunderuck,* but their vigorous resistance and some checks which he had experienced, caused the failure of the chief object which he expected to achieve—that of taking up his winter quarters in the French territory. Thus compelled to lead back his forces through Lorraine, Alsace, and Suabia, provinces already exhausted, GALLAS experienced great losses from that cause; but the retreat of the French, although they had acquired such glory by their operations, afforded him an opportunity in the ensuing year, 1636, to retake Mayence and other places on the Rhine. Having passed that river at Brielach, he then relieved Dole, besieged Conde, and falling upon Burgundy, manœuvred as if he intended to besiege Dijon, but turned aside to invest in reality Saint-Jean-de-Loene—(also called Belle-Defence, from two famous sieges which its inhabitants successfully sustained in 1278 and 1636.)—a town in France, Department of Cote d'Or, on the right bank of the Saône, at its junction with the Canal of Burgundy, 19 miles E. N. E. of Beaune—before which place his army, united with that of the Duke of Lorraine, who

*HUNSRUCK (HUNDSRUCK), a mountainous region of Germany, (South Rhenish Prussia,) between the rivers Moselle and Nahe, extending into Rhenish Bavaria, where it is connected with the Vosges chain.

In fact, the Emperor had become satisfied that the best method to cripple Sweden for the future, and thus preserve the Empire, was to crush TORSTENSON before the Danes had lost all pow-

er commanded it in person, and that of the King of Spain, amounted at this juncture to 80,000 men. The courageous defence of this little town, badly fortified and weakly garrisoned, saved Paris, where already the greatest consternation prevailed, for the enemy had also made incursions into Picardy. The bravery of the inhabitants of Saint-Jean-de-Losne succeeded in repelling all the assaults, which were attempted, and the Imperial army, utterly exhausted by the fatigues of the siege and the severity of the season, diminished every day, and GALLAS, after having seen the flower of his forces perish, was compelled, on the 2d November, 1636, to make a precipitate retreat, and abandon not only the whole of his artillery but even a great portion of his baggage. In 1637, he again appeared upon the scene with more success, forced BANNER and TORSTENSON to raise the siege of Lûpsic, and abandon the entrenched camp near Torgau. GALLAS thereupon gave himself up to the pleasing anticipation that BANNER and TORSTENSON were at his mercy, as we have hereinbefore related [See pages 14 to 17, supra,] just as he afterwards deluded himself in the same manner with the belief that TORSTENSON was caught in his toils, as we shall see, in Jutland. In fact, GALLAS felt assured that the escape of the Swedes was an utter impossibility—but BANNER and his great subordinate eluded him by a retreat, whose audacity and triumphant issue seemed equally incredible. GALLAS, nevertheless, enjoyed some little solace for this ill-success, for through an important pass, carelessly guarded, pointed out to him near Triebes (Triebsee), a town of Hither Pomerania, 20 miles SSW. of Stralsund—he penetrated into Pomerania, reduced the majority of the places situated to the left of the Oder, drove back the Swedes to the banks of the Pene, and so managed that for nearly a year Pomerania remained the theatre of war between the Swedes and the Imperialists. Having left garrisons in all the places he had conquered, as well as in the islands at the mouth of the Oder, GALLAS cantoned his troops in Saxony, but the famine which soon reigned throughout this ravaged and impoverished country, destroyed a great number of the Imperial soldiers, while others, driven to desperation by their sufferings, deserted to the enemy, until BANNER, who by this time had been reinforced from Sweden, advanced, recapturing, one after another, all the towns in Pomerania, drove GALLAS before him, even as far as the frontiers of Silesia and Bohemia, and entirely destroyed and demoralized his forces.—This was the second noble army, capable, from its numbers alone, of accomplishing so much, which GALLAS had entirely ruined by such inexplicable neglect, or worse, incapability, as to require for the investigation more time and pains than we deem advantageous to devote to him, or necessary to this history. We are yet, however, to see him ruin a third array, the elite of the Imperial troops. The Emperor, who hitherto had trusted so implicitly in his General, who ever evinced the most devoted fidelity to him and his interests, but now beheld his Imperial Hereditary States menaced with invasion, removed GALLAS from the command, and permitted him to remain unemployed until the year 1643, of which we are now treating.

As the operations of GALLAS against TORSTENSON constitute an interesting portion of this history, they will appear in their appropriate place; consequently, all that remains to be narrated here, are the closing scenes of his career.

At the conclusion of his Danish campaign, GALLAS made his way back into Bohemia, leading a few thousand wornout soldiers, the relics of that magnificent array, with which he had marched thence, having disappointed all the hopes which FERDINAND III. had indulged in, of annihilating the Swedish army, and relieving the Empire henceforward and forever of their hated presence. This terrible catastrophe, which destroyed whatever credit GALLAS had hitherto acquired, resulted, as SCHILLER remarks, in giving him "the reputation of being a consummate master in the art of ruining an army!" and terminated his career. Broken down by the infirmities occasioned by the fatigues which he had undergone throughout his numerous campaigns, GALLAS died at Vienna, on the 25th April, 1647, and his body was transported to Trent, and interred in the Church of the Jesuits, in that city. He was always extremely beloved by his soldiers, because he ever evinced the greatest kindness towards, and consideration for, them(!)—but this quality, carried in him to excess, prevented him from maintaining that exactitude of discipline to which it is asserted must be attributed the great majority of those reverses which eventually overwhelmed him. Nevertheless, they cannot obliterate the recollection of his brilliant exploits during the Thirty Years' War, throughout which

er of assisting in the work of destruction, and that as SCIPIO argued, in the 2d Punic War, to conquer HANNIBAL, thundering at the gates of Rome, it was necessary to transfer the war into Africa, his home and source of power, so, in like manner, to conquer TORSTENSON, the best policy was to leave for the present unassailed the fortresses which the Swedes had garrisoned in the heart of Germany, and attack him where he had hoped to restore his army to its pristine strength, amid the bounteous stores and on the fertile plains of Denmark. While the Emperor was thus preparing to interpose in the north, TORSTENSON, throughout his operations in *Holstein*, had kept his eye fixed steadily upon the affairs of Germany, and, at the same time that the greater part of his troops were employed in subjugating the Cimbric Peninsula—*Holstein* and *Jutland*, upon the whole of which—at this time, already won—his hand lay heavy—still operated through his lieutenants wherever the Austrians or their allies threatened his own army or those territories which the Swedes looked upon as unalienably their own.

After TORSTENSON had provided the principal places in the peninsula with all things necessary, he sent DOUGLAS into *Pomerania*, and GUSTAVUS OTTEN into *Westphalia*, to observe those countries; and ordered KÖNIGSMARK* to pay particular at-

he held a distinguished rank among the great number of able Generals.*—*Translated, with Additional Remarks, from EYRIES, in the Biographie Universelle.*)

*As able Generals are rare, to be ranked among the great number argues mediocrity at best.—The writer places but a low estimate on the military talents of Field-Marshal GALLAS. DE F.

*JOHN CHRISTOPHER (Count of) KÖNIGSMARK was one of the Generals of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, who, after the death of that Prince, sustained the glory of the Swedish arms with the greatest success. He was born in 1600, and made several campaigns in the Austrian army. In 1630, he entered the service of the King of Sweden, who highly appreciated his military talents, and employed him in many important enterprises. GUSTAVUS, having terminated his career at Lützen, KÖNIGSMARK was detached against the Imperialists in Westphalia, and in that Circle fought several bloody combats against them, in which he displayed equal courage and ability. In 1641, he was sent by BANNER as an Envoy to the French army, to urge the junction of that force with the troops of Sweden. But, having about the same time learned that BANNER had expired at Halberstadt, he rejoined, as soon as possible, the Swedish forces, beat the Austrians at Wolfenbüttele, on the Ocker, in the Duchy of Brunswick, and assumed an advantageous position in regard to them. Nevertheless, the death of BANNER caused a great excitement among the troops which that hero had commanded for so many years; they gave themselves up to pillage, and refused to recognise the restraints of military discipline, being upheld in all their outrages and mutiny by disaffected and discontented officers. KÖNIGSMARK succeeded, however, in bringing them back to a sense of their duty, and succeeded in restraining them until the arrival of TORSTENSON, whom the Government of Sweden had appointed GENERALISSIMO. TORSTENSON, having brought with him a reinforcement of 8,000 men, operations were resumed with vigor. KÖNIGSMARK shared in the glory of the succeeding campaigns, took many important places, and displayed in every battle the most active zeal and brilliant valor. Having been detached from the principal army, he pursued the enemy into Westphalia and Saxony, and finally undertook an expedition into Bohemia, which terminated with the capture of Prague in 1648, by which a rich booty fell into the hands of the Swedes, whose Generals transmitted to Sweden many precious articles, among which were to be found the manuscripts ULPHILAS, called the *Codex Argenteus*, which are yet preserved in the Library of Upsala. After the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, KÖNIGSMARK

attention to what passed in *Upper and Lower Saxony*; who, as soon as he discovered that the ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN concerned himself in the wars of the KING OF DENMARK, his father-in-law,* took from him the town of *Verden*, on the *Aller*, near the *Weeser*, and when he farther learned that the Imperialists were making some movements in *Münster*, marched thither with all speed to frustrate the designs they had formed of besieging the town of *Leipnic*, in which TORSTENSON had left a garrison. Having thrown therein sufficient reinforcements and ample provisions, the Imperial Generals, who had threatened an attack, satisfied of the hopelessness of any such attempt, separated, HATZFELD marching to join the *Bremen* troops, while COLLOREDO and BRUAY retraced their steps towards *Zwickau*—capital of the District of that name, on the *Muldau*, in the *Ore Mountains*, in the Circle of *Upper Saxony*, and on the frontiers of *Voigtland*,†—to unite with GALLAS, advancing from *Bohemia*. KÖNIGSMARK—worthy Lieutenant of so glorious Captain—having thus frustrated HATZFELD, before *Leipnic*, hastened back through the *HALBERSTADT* principality, to foil the plans of the ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN.

Nevertheless, the Imperialists hoped to be able to take advantage of this opportunity, first, to shut up and ruin TORS- TENSON in *Jutland*; second, by the junction of HATZFELD's army-corps with the ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN's forces, to overwhelm the troops of KÖNIGSMARK and HESSE; thirdly and lastly, to occupy the whole attention of the *French* by opposing to their army the entire *Bavarian* contingent: after which the Austrian Cabinet concluded that all the places garrisoned by the Swedes would speedily be forced to yield, and thus the Emperor, successful everywhere, remain the undisputed Master of the Empire.

was appointed Governor of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, ceded thereby to Sweden. In 1650, he returned to Stockholm, to assist at the coronation of CHRISTINA, who raised him to the rank of Count, and conferred upon him the title of Field Marshal. He next returned to the theatre of combat with CHARLES GUSTAVUS, when that Prince made war against Poland; but, a victim to a treasonable operation, fell into the hands of the enemy and was detained, several years, as a prisoner of war, at Dantzic. Restored to liberty at the Peace of Oliva, in 1660, he resumed his functions as Governor of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden. In 1662, he made a journey to Stockholm, where he died the year following. His military talent became the heritage of his son OTTO-WILLIAM, Count of KÖNIGSMARK, who died 25th September, 1688, in the service of the Republic of Venice, whose authorities erected a monument to his honor, bearing the inscription, "To OTTO-WILLIAM of KÖNIGSMARK, the ever-victorious Generalissimo of the Venetian Land-Forces acting against the Turks.—(Translated for this work, from the French of CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE, in the *Biographie Universelle*.)

*SPORSHIL says he was the son of CHRISTIAN IV.

†There is an amusing circumstance connected with *Zwickau*; the burial place of its inhabitants is in *Voigtland*, so close does the town stand to that Circle; wherefore it is commonly said that the citizens are *MISNIANS* while alive, but *VOIGTLANDERS* when they are dead.

"However," as the quaint translator of PUFFENDORF expresses it, "a great part" [he ought to have said, all in which TORSTENSON was concerned] "of these fine prospects vanished into air."

When, in April, 1644, GALLAS broke up from his quarters in *Bohemia*, and finally left that kingdom in the early part of May* the plan of operations in accordance with which HATZFELD was to unite his corps with the ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN, had already miscarried. Retarded in (the commencement of) his march by deep snow† which, at times, rendered the routes almost impassable, and, throughout, by the desolation which reigned in the circles traversed in his advance, GALLAS, at length, at the head of a numerous army, appeared before and captured *Zeitz*—a walled town in *Misnia*, on the *White Elster*, 25 miles S. W. of *Leipsic*—passed by *Leipsic*, occupied by the Swedes, crossed the *Saale* near *Bernburg*—built *a-cheval* that river in the *Principality of Anhalt*, and the *Elbe*, near *Werben*, in the *Old March of Brandenburg*, on the west bank of the *Elbe*, opposite the mouth of the *Havel*, flowing into the former—where, in 1631, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS constructed his extraordinary entrenched camp, whose ruins still attest the gigantic character of the works which laughed to scorn the efforts of Count TILLY; entered *Holstein*, was reinforced at *Oldesloe* by a corps of 2,000 Danes, and advanced upon *Kiel*, where TORSTENSON lay sick. This was in June, 1644; on the 23d of which month TORSTENSON, satisfied that now the Imperialists were at hand, all chance of a successful descent into the Danish Isles was hopeless, and that his preparation for co-operating therein must be discontinued, wrote from his sick bed at *Kiel* to Admiral (General) WRANGEL:

"GALLAS approaches with his whole force, and we must desist from the plan concerted."

"I wish the devil would take GALLAS," WRANGEL replied, in his vehement manner; "he hinders me from a great piece of fortune; I am the most unlucky of men."

*Coxe says, "in the depth of winter." RUSSEL, following PUFFENDORF and BARRE, uses the same words. EYRIES has, "in the month of December." Neither, however, furnish any dates. SPOROCHIL is more particular—"April," "May," which last alone seems reasonable; for, ordered to emulate the celerity of TORSTENSON, how did GALLAS, making only ordinary haste, consume the period of 7 to 8 months, between December and August 6th, when he reached *Kiel*. As it is, giving him the benefit of every doubt, the Imperialist took 3 months to accomplish that which the Swede had performed in from 15 to 16 days.

†This statement, with regard to the snow, so late in the spring, may seem to need corroboration; the following is sufficient: In April, 1843, so much snow fell in the West-Ore-Mountains in Saxony, that the post-road between *Zwickau* and *Schneeberg* was covered 8 German ells deep, about 5 yards English. Although all the inhabitants of the neighboring village were ordered out by the Government, it took 2 weeks to shovel a roadway. In some places the walls of the drifts were some 8 yards high on either side the carriage way.

After WRANGEL sailed—1st August, 1644—TORSTENSON fell back on *Schleswig*, and GALLAS entered *Kiel*, and obtained some few other unimportant advantages.

Meanwhile the army destined for the Danish campaign had rendezvoused in the Hereditary States, and comprised all the disposable forces of the Emperor; what others were withheld, were indispensable for operations nearer home. Of these, one corps under LADISLAUS VON WALDSTEIN was to besiege *Olmutz*, while another more powerful body, commanded by Field-Marshal GOETZ was destined to act against RAGOCZY, *Waiwode of Transylvania*.

The plan of operations which GALLAS had in contemplation, was to occupy, with his numerous army, reinforced on his march, in *Misia*, by COLLEREDO and BRUAYS' divisions, and near *Oldesloe* by the Danes, all the defiles and passages between *Schleswig* on the *Sley*, and *Stapelholm*,* [the town of *Stapel*, in the centre of the district or island of that name, was about fourteen miles east of Frederickstadt, on the *Eyder*,] where, taking advantage of the natural line of defence, presented by the formation of the country, only 22 miles from the *Sley Fjord*, putting in from the Baltic, to the mouth of the *Eyder*, opening into the German Ocean, intersected by the tributaries of the latter river, intervening marshes, ranges of hills and woods, which, once fortified, would have rendered egress impossible to the Swedish regiments in *Jutland*. Nothing but the vigilance, activity and masterly ability of TORSTENSON, posted near *Schleswig*, could have extricated his army from such an embarrassing position, and, as it was, the event would have been questionable had the Imperialists acted with greater promptness. The fact was, the Swedes were in a critical position, for the main body was very much weakened by the different corps, detached in diverse quarters, and KÖNIGSMARK, stationed on the other side of the *Elbe*, did not dare to pass that river in order to harass the flank and rear of the Imperialists or distract their attention, because the Danes had taken up an advantageous position on the opposite side, under cover of the cannons of *Gluckstadt*. How any Cabinet, so alive to its interest, as the

* DEFINITION OF DANISH WORDS, OF FREQUENT OCCURRENCE IN THIS WORK.

BURG, BORG—Borough, or Castle; as AALBORG—Eeltown. STAD, STED—Town; as CHRISTIANSTAD—Town of Christian; EIDERSTEDT—Town on the Eider (River). WIG, WIOT, VIC—Town; as SCHLESWIG—Town on the Schley (River). KJØBING—Market Place; as NYKJØBING—New Market; KJØBENHAVN—Merchants' Haven. HAUS, HAVENN—House, Houses. GAARD—Castle, Borough. BYE—Village. BRO, BRØ—Bridge. FJORD, FIORD—Frith; as RANDERSFJORD—Frith of Randers. SUND—Strait; as FEMERSUND—Strait of Femern, (between Femern and Holstein). HAVN, HAVEN—a Harbor. BELT—a Strait. FART, FAHRT—a Passage; as MIDDLEFART—Middle Passage. HOLM—an Island in a River, or in the Sea. Ø—an Island surrounded by the Sea. AÆ—River. MARK—a Region or Province; as DENMARK—Region of the Danes. FYEN—Fine Country. LALAND—Low Country. JUTLAND—Country of the Jutes. STAAEL—Province or Canton.

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Austrian could have confided another noble army to a General, who had already ruined two, without anything like commensurate results, or an expedition, demanding unusual energy and activity, to one who had been noted throughout his life for the very opposite qualifications, seems utterly incomprehensible, except we attribute it to an overruling Providence, which had determined that at the proper time the Roman Catholic Imperial power should be humiliated and deprived of its excessive and mischievous influence. "Like the swine to the mire," GALLAS returned to his old system of tactics, sitting down in fortified camps and avoiding battles in the field; and he who had been sent, if possible, to enclose the Swedes in *Jutland*, so that, as he himself expressed it, "he might catch them in a bag," was himself actually shorn, and utterly disgraced.

History records that GALLAS was puffed up with vast conceit, but it seems almost impossible that any individual could be so blind to the inconsistency of his words and actions, and go on repeating the same braggart promises, none of which he ever had made good, and—after having filled Germany, in 1637, with his boasts that "he had caught BANER in a sack," whose wonderful escape from fourfold numbers covered GALLAS and his subordinates with shame, as if the world could have already forgotten the affair, so disgraceful to himself—again reiterate the boast, publishing that he had TORSTENSON, the same whose genius aided BANER's evasion on the *Oder*,* "caught in a bag," in *Jutland*. Disgraceful as was BANER's escape in 1637, to the Imperialists, TORSTENSON'S, in 1644, was yet to prove still more humiliating.

"Verily, the man or nation whom God determines to destroy, He previously deprives of common judgment."

If military readers will reflect a moment upon the course marked out for himself by *Field-Marshal GALLAS*, they will find it somewhat analogous to MACK's, at *Ulm*. Both these Austrian Generals intended to surprise their opponents, but neither understood nor set sufficient value upon the genius which they had to combat. Theoretically strong, but practically weak, they moved according to the rules of obsolete tactics, and were met by recent and more able evolutions, and, so, intending to surprise, were themselves surprised, and suffered complete over-

*BANER's retreat, when thus environed by the enemy, the rivers Oder, Warta, and Horia, marshes, fortresses, and desolation—(see pages 14a17, text, [supra.] particularly ¶2d, page 17)—at a time when all Germany gave him over for lost, and by which he preserved a very fine army with little or no loss, has ever been considered as a masterly performance in the military art; and an *emblematical print* was published thereof, from whence came the well known expression of *cui de-sac*—[*Memorab. Succ. Gent.* 46]. The emblem took its rise from BANER's own words on the occasion: "The Imperialists," said he, "enclosed me in a bag, and though they tied the mouth of it with great strength and diligence, yet they forgot to darn up a trifling hole which lay at the bottom."

throw. The approach of GALLAS was apparently fraught with imminent danger, which, however, was divested of its greatest peril, by his want of promptness ; and, although commanded to accomplish his object without regard to cost or obstacle, he neither preserved his army nor yet achieved success, but destroyed it without inflicting any loss upon the enemy. Thus, he arrived at *Kiel* 5 days too late to do anything towards the destruction of the Swedish fleet in that bay, which would, no doubt, have given an immediate turn to the war in favor of *Denmark* ; and although the escape of WRANGEL was due, in a great measure, to the inactivity of the Imperial Field-Marshal, the punishment fell upon the Danish Admiral, GALT, who had been left by his king, CHRISTIAN IV. to watch their movements and blockade the mouth of the harbor. This officer, on his return to *Copenhagen*, was tried for his negligence and condemned to death, a fate much more richly deserved by the Imperial Commander, who had no such insuperable obstacles to encounter as the untoward and tempestuous winds and waves, but had only to overcome his own sloth to insure, if not entire still important, success. Had GALLAS used due diligence, TORSTENSON could not, in face of the Imperial army, so superior to his own, have captured the battery which slew *Admiral FLEMMING*, and would have sunk the Swedish squadron at anchor in the roads below, without escape, blockaded as it was by a more powerful naval force. All that the Imperialist actually did accomplish was to frustrate TORSTENSON'S great plan of invading the Danish islands, and, perhaps, the capture of the capital, which the GENERALISSIMO would have attempted when he had mastered *Holstein*, in mid winter, had the ice been strong enough to justify such enterprise.

Only 14 years afterwards, CHARLES X.* of Sweden, TORS-

*CHARLES X. (or CHARLES GUSTAVUS), King of Sweden, the son of JOHN CASIMIR, PRINCE PALATINE OF DEUX PONTS, (ZWEIBRUCKEN,) and CATHARINE, daughter of CHARLES IX., of Sweden, and sister of the GREAT GUSTAVUS, was born in 1622, at Nikoeping, capital of Sudermanland, in Sweden Proper, 50 miles south of Stockholm. His education was that of a son of a private gentleman ; and, having spent his earlier years in his birth place, he was sent to the University of Upsala, where he remained two years. He then made a tour through Germany, France and Switzerland, and resided for some time at Paris and Geneva. Having completed his travels, the young prince joined the Swedish army, fighting in Germany, under the illustrious TORSTENSON, and learned the art of war under that great Captain, whose example and teaching endowed him with that warlike energy and activity which afterwards rendered his reign so memorable.

In 1648, CHRISTINA appointed him Generalissimo of all the Swedish forces in Germany ; but he had scarcely assumed the command when the Peace of Westphalia terminated hostilities, and he returned to Sweden. Allied to the Swedish Queen by closest ties of blood, the youthful Generalissimo was received at the Swedish Court in the most flattering manner. This and other inducements led him to aspire to the hand of the Queen, his first cousin ; but all was frustrated by her resolution not to marry. The Senate having resolved to select a successor for CHRISTINA, in 1649, the Estates of the

TENSON'S aid-de-camp at *Breitenfeld*, and pupil, known to us as the young *Palsgrave* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, in February, 1658, invaded *Holstein*, while his Lieutenant, CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, now, in 1644, appointed *Admiral*, subdued the *Bremen* Duchy in the space of two weeks, stormed *Fredricia*, or Fred-

Kingdom, upon her recommendation, chose CHARLES GUSTAVUS, who thenceforward, in stead of remaining in the capital and appearing at Court, retired into the island of Oeland, which he had obtained as an appanage.

Here he devoted himself to study, and indulged in the manly excitements of the chase and the pleasurable occupation of embellishing the chateau in which he resided. Whoever visits this island, will find, still existing, the wall which he built across, from shore to shore, to enclose his park, which he stocked with roebucks (*CHERVREUILS*) and fallow deer (*DAIMS*). When the Queen determined to abdicate, in 1650, he publicly opposed, with great determination, the execution of her intentions, which, however, he secretly fostered as much as possible. This prudent, and, apparently, disinterested course, won him at once the esteem of CHRISTINA, as well as that of the whole Swedish nation. Refraining thus from mingling in public affairs, he was nevertheless kept accurately and instantly informed, by devoted adherents, with regard to every thing which affected his interest: so that when, in 1654, the Queen did actually abdicate, notwithstanding all the representations and opposition of her counsellors, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, at once seized the reins of government with a bold and determined grasp, and was crowned at Stockholm, 16th June, 1654, by the Archbishop LENÆUS, who had directed his studies while at Upsala. Sweden had now attained a degree of actual power and influence which it was difficult to maintain; but CHARLES GUSTAVUS possessed all the qualities and talents requisite to follow in the footsteps of the GREAT GUSTAVUS, and those illustrious men who directed and controlled the State affairs under CHRISTINA—and his reign was one succession of hardy enterprises, remarkable exploits, and extraordinary events.

JOHN CASIMIR, King of Poland, descended through SIGISMUND, his father, from the race of VASA, revived, at this juncture, his pretensions to the throne of Sweden, and protested against the nomination of the successor of CHRISTINA. The negotiations entered into on this subject were incapable of re-establishing harmony between the two Courts, and continued only to embitter the feelings of both, and, as was, and is almost invariably the case, arms in the end became the ultimate arguments.* In 1655, CHARLES X. invaded Poland, and after having defeated the Poles in various encounters, marched upon Warsaw, which surrendered without resistance. From this capital he advanced upon Cracow, which, in like manner, fell into his hands, the fruit of two victories won over JOHN CASIMIR, who was obliged to fly into Silesia. In less than 3 months CHARLES GUSTAVUS had made himself master of all Poland, and the majority of its inhabitants had paid him homage and taken the most solemn oaths of allegiance. Remitting the command in that country to his Generals, the King, himself, entered Prussia, and, in 1656, compelled FREDERIC WILLIAM, Duke of that country, and at the same time Elector (known as the Great Elector) of Brandenburg, to acknowledge himself the vassal of Sweden. Meanwhile, JOHN CASIMIR, having returned to his kingdom (Poland) the people rushed to arms, and the country was on the point of being reconquered from the Swedes, when, in mid winter, CHARLES X. led back an army to the assistance of his troops, was successful on all occasions, and gained a signal victory over the Polish General OZARNEKI, near Colomba. Subsequently, while the Swedish monarch was absent on an expedition against Dantzic, the Poles again appeared in the field, and even made themselves masters of Warsaw; but once more CHARLES X. marched against them, accompanied by the Elector of Brandenburg, and, near that capital, in the month of July, 1656, fought a battle with the insurgents, which, having lasted three days, was ultimately decided in favor of the Swedes. Poland again submitted; and the Elector FREDERIC WILLIAM was acknowledged as independent Sovereign of Prussia, in reward for services which he had rendered to Sweden. At this same time, also, RAGOCZI, Prince of Transylvania, entered into an alliance with the victorious CHARLES X. While

*Readers will not forget that a motto, constantly inscribed on the cannon of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries, was "ULTIMA RATIO REGUM," indicating that the employment of Artillery was "The last argument of Kings."

erickude—a seaport and regular fortress with 9 bastions and 3 ravelins on the land side and 2 bastions towards the sea, on a tongue of land at the northern entrance of the *Little Belt*—in *North Jutland*, whence he passed the *Little Belt* upon the ice, conquered *Funen*, and then traversed the *Great Belt*, sufficiently

these events were transpiring, however, the Czar, ALEXIS MICHAËLOVITCH, had made incursions in the Swedish Provinces bordering on his dominions, and, to relieve himself from such an embarrassing attack, in rear, CHARLES X. ceded to him several places; upon which ALEXIS consented to an Armistice, in 1658.

But this was not the only storm which menaced CHARLES X. His success in Poland had already excited the apprehensions of France, England and Austria, and rekindled the jealousy of Denmark. Recourse was had, at once, to negotiations, some of which terminated to the advantage of the Swedes, but not in the case of Denmark, desirous of profiting by the complicated embarrassments of her ancient enemy, which had few troops and means of defence along the Danish Trans-Kattegat frontier. CHARLES X. however, soon convinced FREDERICK III. that, notwithstanding the multitude of his enterprises, he was still able to chastise his temerity. Leaving several of his Generals in Poland with part of his army, CHARLES X. hastened his march with the remainder, against the Danes. As soon as the Swedish hero, their subjugator, was beyond their frontier, the Poles resolved to take advantage of his absence to recover their liberty, and, backed by the Emperor of Germany, JOHN CASIMIR flattered himself that now he would be enabled to recover his crown. But, even while thus early the Polish Monarch's prospects began to brighten, those of the Danish King had become dark as midnight. CHARLES X. with astonishing rapidity, made himself undisputed master of *Holstein*, *Schleswig*, and *Jutland*. In the month of January, 1658, his victorious forces were drawn up on the shore of the *Little Belt*, whose narrow waters, from 2½ to 3 miles in width, were completely bridged with ice. The extremely rigorous cold, which had thus fettered the Strait, still continuing, and giving no signs of relaxing its intensity, CHARLES, having tested the strength of the ice, and measured its thickness, weighed the matter carefully for a short time in his mind, and determined to pass over it with his army. With the King at their head, the Swedish forces, numbering 20,000 men, advanced, in separate columns, accompanied by all their horses, baggage, trains, and artillery; combatting, even upon the ice, detachments of the Danish troops, which endeavored to arrest their advance; and, at once, victorious over the enemy and the elements, CHARLES GUSTAVUS entered the *Island of Funen*.—At the eastern extremity of *Funen*, separated from the *Island of Zealand* by the *Great Belt*, the Swedes discovered this broad expanse of water, from 15 to 18 [20 ?] miles wide, likewise entirely frozen. CHARLES, at once, determined to attempt the passage; taking, nevertheless, those precautions which prudence demanded. In place of crossing direct from *Funen* into *Zealand*, where the currents rush to and fro with the greatest force and rapidity, he marched his army by a circuitous route between the islands of *Laland*, *Langeland*, and *Falster*, from time to time engaged in combat with the enemy; in all which encounters the King displayed the greatest intrepidity. On one occasion, a cannon ball struck the ice immediately before him, whose fragments, splintered by the concussion, wounded CHARLES GUSTAVUS in the face. At length, arrived in the island of *Zealand*,* the Swedes, to whom the ice and deep snows presented no obstacles, advanced upon Copenhagen, a prey to the greatest terror. In fact, so general was the consternation, that, within 10 days after the landing of the invaders in *Zealand*, FREDERICK III. had not only sent Commissioners to negotiate, but by them the preliminaries of a peace had been arranged and signed at the small village of *Hage-Testrup*, afterwards affirmed by the definitive treaty subsequently concluded at *Roskilde*. So humiliating were the conditions for Denmark, and so glorious for Sweden, that one of the Danish Envoys exclaimed, as he affixed his signature: "Would that I had never learned to write!"—(Translated for this work, with additional facts, from the French of CATTEAU-CALLEVILLE, in the *Biographie-Universelle*.)

*In commemoration of this remarkable expedition, CHARLES caused a medal to be struck, with the legend on one side: "TRANSITUS GLORIOSUS MARIS BALTICI, d. 1. Feb., 1658," and on the other, "NATURA, NOC DUBITUM." [Le Nature le devait lui seul—Nature owed this to him alone,] in allusion to the rare occurrence of the sea being frozen at the passage of the *Great Belt*.

frozen, a rare occurrence, even in the severest seasons, not only with his Infantry and Horse, but even all his Artillery, pressing forward through the deep snowdrifts to *Kiøge*, but 18 miles from *Copenhagen*, and then and there, compelled the Danish monarch FREDERIC III., in order to save his capital, to sign the treaty of *Roskilde*, which, in addition to other great advantages, gave to *Sweden* all those fertile provinces upon the *Sound* and *Kattegat*, which its people had long and fondly coveted, and, hitherto lavished, in vain, such blood and treasure to acquire.

Whose spirit prompted such an enterprise? TORSTEN-SON'S! The seed that warrior Chief, sleeping beside his Royal Preceptor and brother heroes, in the vaults of *Riddarholm*, planted and fostered in his pupil's bosom, flourished and bore extraordinary fruit. Doubtless, had the ice been strong enough in 1643-'4, History would have had to substitute the name of TORSTENSON for that of CHARLES X.

But to return to GALLAS. It seems inexplicable what reasons could have induced the EMPEROR to entrust such great commands to a General, who, with the exception of the victory of *Nordlingen*—whose glorious results were due as much to the rashness of Duke BERNHARD of Saxe Weimar as to the abilities of the Imperial Generals, GALLAS, PICCOLOMINI, and JOHANN VON WERTH—had been pre-eminent for his misfortunes rather than his successes. Perhaps since WALLENSTEIN'S treason—if treason he was guilty of, for facts recently developed must make us, *Protestants*, suspicious of the charges brought against the greatest leader the Austrians possessed throughout this war, who owed his downfall to the Jesuits,* whose depth of wickedness he had fathomed, and abhorred.

Perhaps the present Emperor was suspicious of those Generals who had heard his father's envoys

"Supplicate our Duke"

*His [WALLENSTEIN'S] liberality and clearness of understanding raised him above the religious prejudices of his age; and the Jesuits never forgave him for having seen through their system, and for regarding the Pope as nothing more than a Bishop of Rome. But as no one ever yet came to a fortunate end who quarreled with the [Roman Catholic] Church, WALLENSTEIN also must augment the number of its victims.—Through the intrigues of monks, he lost at *Ratisbon* the command of the army, and at *Egra*, his life; by the same arts, perhaps, he lost what was of more consequence, his honorable name and good repute with posterity. * * * No documents have yet been brought to light which disclose with historical certainty the secret motives of his conduct; and among all public and well attested actions, there is, perhaps, not one which could not have had an innocent end. Many of his most obnoxious measures proved nothing but the earnest wish he entertained for peace; most of the others are explained and justified by the well founded distrust he entertained of the Emperor, and the excusable wish of maintaining his own importance. * * * If necessity and despair at last forced him to deserve the sentence which had been pronounced against him while innocent, still this, if true, will not justify that sentence.—Thus, WALLENSTEIN fell, not because he was a rebel, but he became a rebel because he fell. Unfortunate in life that he made a victorious party his enemy; and still more unfortunate in death, that the same party survived him and wrote his history.

SCHILLER'S *Thirty Years' War*, pages 212-14.

that he would straight assume the chief command, and when the Great GUSTAVUS was pressing onwards to the heart of the Empire,

"Stormlog him with prayers,"
 "And menacing the Emperor's displeasure,
 "Unless he took compassion on this wretchedness."

They had seen WALLENSTEIN raise Austria, prostrate before the Swedish monarch, and knew the Austrian EMPEROR had had that WALLENSTEIN assassinated.

GALLAS, however, was the Emperor's own man ; his loyalty was unquestionable. This quality, no doubt, induced the Emperor to prefer him ; disgust at which advancement drove HATZFELD and PICCOLOMINI, both active and experienced Generals, from the Austrian service in the preceding year.

In another part of this work, GALLAS has been compared to General MACK, both of whom, the first in 1643, the last in 1805, suffered themselves to be surrounded, and sacrificed their armies, almost without striking a blow. Justice, however, demands the admission that GALLAS was brave, and true as steel, while MACK labors under the charge of having been not only false, but a coward. This we shall see hereafter ; but throughout this campaign there is a similarity in the character of the two Generals, which is somewhat remarkable. ALISON remarks that "MACK was an officer who stood high at Vienna, in the estimation of military men, but who, though skilled in sketching out plans of a campaign on paper, and possessed of considerable talent in strategical design, was totally destitute of the penetration and decision requisite for success in the field." Had these words been intended to apply to GALLAS, they could not have displayed his character more correctly. Had that Imperial Commander operated, in 1644, as he seems to have intended, he might have made the country between the *Eider* (emptying into the *North Sea*) and *Kielsfjord* (putting in from the *Baltic*) on the south, and the *Eckernsfjorde* and *Schleyfjord* (estuaries of the *Baltic*) and *Frcena* or *Freen* river (flowing into the *Eider*) and *Hever* river (emptying, at *Husum*, into a gulf of the *German Ocean*) on the north, a succession of *Thermopylas*. Such a country, judiciously occupied, was a complete natural citadel, *a la Hollandais*. In the first place, the *Eider*, which had its source only 8 miles south from *Kiel*, intersected the country, which it traversed in its course, with a complete network of tributaries, flowed through, or perhaps more properly speaking, expanded into, several large lakes, the principal known as the *Westen See*, and thus formed a wet ditch, almost, across from sea to sea. The *Freen*, on the other hand, rose in the marshes, only 3 miles south of *Flensburg*, and after a W. S. W. and W. course, of about 40 miles, at *Friederickstadt* joined, forming, with the *Eider*, that tract of land known as *Stapel-*

holm (Anglice *Stapel Island*), a small district or township, fleur-de-lys shaped, cut up in every direction with streams and ditches. Thus, while the Austrian right rested upon the deep bays of the *Baltic*, their left was equally protected by the natural field works, almost unassailable, of *Stapelholm*. The *Sorg* river, again, the lake from which it flows, the larger lake known as the *Witten See*, and other small streams and ponds, almost extending across the Peninsula, formed a second line of defence. Between these lines the tributaries of the larger rivers, marshes and ponds, rendered the whole surface of the country a watery labyrinth. It would almost seem an impossibility for any force to effect its escape through such a district, had its defenders vigilantly guarded the few routes by which it could be traversed by an army. After examining reliable maps, such as lie before the writer—those published by THEODOR GLIEMAN, at *Copenhagen*, in 1838, and JOHNSTON'S National Atlas—it appears perfectly marvelous, how TORSTENSON conquered a country which seems, like Holland, protected by nature against an invader, and only requiring common sense, ordinary courage and lukewarm patriotism, to bid defiance to such numerical forces as those which took possession of it, and harvested its wealth as if it had been their own.

No one could have been more aware of the impending danger than the Swedish *Commander-in-Chief*, and he was unwilling to suffer the same extremities to which he had so often subjected his opponents, but rather determined not to see his army either shut in or famished ; so, without delay, traversed the intermediate dangerous district before the enemy could render it impassable by occupying its strong positions, concentrated all his forces near *Rendsburg*, a strong town formerly on an island in, now built *a-cheval*, the *Eyder*, calling in all the corps detached on special duties, and garrisons dispersed over the conquered country, immediately crossed the *Eider*, attacked the field-works which the Danes had thrown up, with that intention of cooping up his army, and defending the passes of the broad river, and carried them by storm. Morasses, which presented impediments to his march, the GENERALISSIMO caused to be filled up sufficiently to afford a passage, new roads were constructed, and having by a defile, which had been left unguarded, near *Schleswig*, turned the enemy's positions, TORSTENSON, with an army reinforced and refreshed in their late abundant cantonments, passed, with drums beating and colors waving defiance, before the eyes of GALLAS, offered him a battle, which he he did not dare to accept, and then, being satisfied that the Imperialists had no intention to run the slightest risk, he caused his army—in bravado—to defile under the very entrenchments of the enemy, and always in sight of their forces, after having intercepted some of their convoys, marched

out of *Holstein*, and encamped near *Ratzenburg*—an ancient town in the Duchy of *Lauenburg*, seated on an eminence, and defended by a castle, almost surrounded by a lake of the same name, (25 miles long and 3 broad)—in order to cut them off from their provisions. GALLAS followed him, without having accomplished anything with his army, except to ravage a friendly country, and marched into *Lauenburg*, whence, unimpeded, the Imperialists crossed the *Elbe*, into the Duchy of *Lunenbourg*, the Swedes contenting themselves with harassing their rear. The Danes, however, returned to *Bardewick*—17 miles southeast of *Hamburg*, on the *Ilmenau*—highly dissatisfied with the Imperial Commander, who did not possess even ability sufficient to lay hold of the advantages which Fortune tendered with both hands, and who had accomplished nothing but to assist the enemy, the Swedes, in impoverishing a country already reduced to comparative wretchedness from a highly prosperous condition, such as, taking all things into consideration, it has never since attained on account of the constantly recurring wars which have from time to time swept over it.

The *Geschichte des Kriegswesens** sums up the matter in these significant words: GALLAS made his way out of *Holstein*, having been actually of more detriment than benefit to those whom he had been sent to assist, and the Danes separated from the Imperialists to do the best they could for themselves, both parties, as is often the case with coalitions, much dissatisfied with each other.

At the conclusion of this campaign, of the Imperialists in *Holstein*, a commemorative medal was struck at *Hamburg*, bearing on the obverse the following inscription: "*The reverse presents a succinct narrative of the distinguished achievements of GALLAS in Holstein.*" The reverse was perfectly smooth and without impression—nothing was there, nothing had he accomplished.

Complete Destruction of the Imperial Army under Gallas, by Torstenson.

Already, in August, 1644, Germany, after a respite of 8 months, had become once more the theatre of war. After the Danes separated from the Imperialists, TORSTENSON, although he had a favorable opportunity to fall upon the former, considered that it was more expedient to pursue the latter while he outnumbered them, and before the junction of reinforcements could enable them, on the other hand, to assume the offensive, and attack him. By this determination the GENERALISSIMO, in some degree, satisfied the French, who were extremely out of humor that the Swedes should have left the whole burthen of the war in Germany upon their shoulders, while they made so satisfactory an expedition into Denmark.

TORSTENSON, having passed the *Elbe* near *Rouzeburg*,

* "HISTORY OF WARLIKE OPERATIONS," (so often referred to in this Biography,) Book IV. Berlin, 1832.

(Boitzenburg ?) pursued, by forced marches, GALLAS, who halted near *Bernburg*, on the *Saale*, and established himself there in an impregnable entrenched camp, in the hopes of being able to arrest the progress of the Swedes. But in vain ! for TORSTENSON passed over the *Saale*, encamped in the rear of GALLAS' army, so as not only to surround it, as it were, in the middle of Germany, but what was still worse, to cut off almost every means of communicating with *Saxony* and *Bohemia* ; nay, more, he captured the noble old *Schloss* (Castle), which stands on the summit of a height, rising precipitously from the *Saale*—its oldest portion, a Keep-tower, called *Eulenspiegel*, more than 120 feet high, being quite ancient, while the rest was erected in the XVth and XVIth centuries—whence his cannons, their range tremendously augmented by their great elevation, twice forced the Imperialists to change the position of their camp. Still, GALLAS, consistent in his suicidal tactics, would not risk a battle—and so the two armies continued in sight of each other until the end of September. TORSTENSON determined not to allow the Imperialists to escape, whom he had, as it were, blockaded ; fortified and garrisoned as many circumjacent places, as his numbers would permit, in order thus to prevent all necessities from entering the enemy's camp ; who, by these means, were reduced to such extremity, that both men and horses, in many cases, starved to death. Great, however, as their sufferings were, more bitter miseries followed the defeat, near *Aschersleben*, about 9 miles S. W. of *Bernburg*, of their convoy, and the capture of the forage.

After this, although GALLAS had been reinforced by the Saxon Cavalry, TORSTENSON still so closely hemmed him in, that the Imperial Commander had no alternative left, but to retrace his steps across the *Elbe* to *Magdeburg*. Nor was this flight even a facile movement, for the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, ever on the alert, by his dispositions, rendered escape almost impossible. At length, having sent out a large foraging party, which marched towards *Eisleben*—25 miles S. S. W. of *Bernburg*, near a lake—famous as the birth-place of LUTHER, TORSTENSON hastened to pursue them with the greater part of his Cavalry ; and GALLAS took advantage of the opportunity, and—decamped. As soon as TORSTENSON received intelligence of this movement, he hastened back, in hopes of overtaking the enemy, and, perhaps, cutting them up in their retreat ; but GALLAS marched—nay, fled—so precipitately, that he succeeded in saving himself in *Magdeburg*, although he abandoned his baggage, and a great many wounded in his camp, and, to heighten still more the satisfaction of the Swedes and the shame of the Imperialists, when the latter's foragers and convoy returned the next day, they fell into the hand of TORSTENSON, and the supplies, requisite almost for the preserv-

ation of the lives of themselves and animals, became the prey of the Swedes, already in possession of sufficient stores.

Although GALLAS was safe in *Magdeburg* from the sword of the enemy, his army carried thither within itself the elements of destruction. Every thing seemed to conspire to annihilate the Imperial forces, and it became manifest, almost immediately, that the Cavalry would perish utterly from want of forage if they remained in that city: consequently, on the 21st November, 1644, Generals BRUAY and ENKEFORT led it forth, in the silence of midnight, and fled towards *Silesia*.

But here, as ever, *TORSTENSON* was HIMSELF; no sooner had his estafettes brought him intelligence that the enemy's horse were on the road, than he, with his, launched forth in the pursuit, and, by a circuitous route through *Wittenberg*, intercepted them at the village of *Niemeck*, near, N.W. of, *Juterbock*, where, on the 23d, he fell upon them, crushed them, and captured the greater part, (over 4,000 men,) together with General ENKEFORT and several Colonels; nor would even the smallest remnant have escaped, had not the Swedish Cavalry-horses been completely exhausted, having made 15* German [over 60 English] miles on one fodder. (*bis.)

In the very moment of his triumph, such were the physical sufferings the GENERALISSIMO had to endure from the maladies with which he was afflicted that the military renown, which lures, and has ever lured, monarchs, nations, and individuals to their ruin, had lost all charm for him, and, sighing for that repose which he so greatly needed, but without repining, *TORSTENSON*, in his dispatches home, besought permission to relinquish his command and return to Sweden, to alleviate his anguish in tranquility, of mind and body.

But, great as were the Generals who still survived, of that cortege of heroes which *GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS* had bequeathed for the maintenance of Sweden's preservation and aggrandizement, not one could fill the place which *TORSTENSON* so greatly occupied, nor wield that truncheon, whose exercise seemed natural to him. His application was denied, but denied in language that must have made his heart beat high with glad emotion, and nerved him to advance in *Glory's* path, while his poor shattered frame could stagger beneath the mighty weight his genius and his will imposed.

"YOU HAVE DONE ALL WELL," wrote the Administration. "For the rest, we value your services so highly, that for your pains and sufferings we would gladly grant you immediate furlough and releasement. But your success in war, and authority over the foreign soldiery, are so great, and the circumstances

* (*bis) *TORSTENSON* to *WRANGEL*, 24th Novbr. 1644.

yet so difficult, that we must beg you to have patience for some time further.*

After the flight and ruin of his Cavalry, GALLAS, with his Infantry and one single regiment of Horse Troops, still remained in *Magdeburg*, before which TORSTENSON left KÖNIGSMARK with the Hessian *army-corps*, to watch his movements and complete his utter ruin; and, with his own, the main army, marched into *Missia*, and went into winter quarters; where he remained until the close of the year 1644, and by judicious management greatly reinforced his army. While thus the Swedish strength augmented, the Imperialists, shut up in *Magdeburg*, became, each day, the prey of bitterer want, and in addition to the sufferings which that want engendered, experienced the fabled torments of TANTALUS—starving in sight of plenty; for the city authorities would not contribute anything to their support, and the Saxon Governor or Military Commander, although his master was the Emperor's ally, kept his store-houses of provisions firmly closed, and issued nothing. Starvation, now, stared officers, as well as privates, in the face, and men of all degrees deserted, when, how, and where they could. Many resorted to the Swedes, to offer them their swords; but even here Misery would not relax its grasp, and that want which drove them to desertion caused the rejection of their proffered services; since, sick and weak, their services were worthless. As for GALLAS, himself, he resorted to his bottle for consolation and got drunk, twice every day, that, in the cup, he might drown the consciousness of his humiliating position and the remembrance of his late utter inefficiency; but what must have stung him more deeply—for he was a kind-hearted man and by no means a severe disciplinarian, to which may be attributed most of his misfortunes—all the officers and men, who still remained faithful to their colors, cursed him to his face for having thus systematically and utterly ruined so magnificent an army.*

A short time afterwards, however, the fields of ice brought down by the winter freshets, having swept away the bridge of boats which the Swedes had thrown across the *Elbe*, to facilitate their operations—thus breaking the communication between the different corps of their comparatively weak besieging army—GALLAS took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, and, the Swedes being unable to pass the river in time to intercept him, escaped to *Wittenberg*, with the remains of his army, on the 23d of December, 1644. Nevertheless, KÖNIGSMARK made such hot pursuit that he overtook and captured 1,000 Musketeers, ("Firelocks,") whose heavy weapons and equipments prevented their keeping up with the rest of the

*The ADMINISTRATION to TORSTENSON, October 26th, 1644.

*PUFENDORF, "UNTERSETZUNG" von 1688, XVI, 108, as quoted in SPENCER'S "DREIßIG-JÄHRIGER KRIEG," p. 649. New York, 1848.

Imperial column ; and thus, of so numerous and splendid an array, the flower of the Austrian army, which GALLAS led into *Holstein*, less than 2,000 haggard footmen found their way back with him into *Bohemia*, from whence they started.

Before we resume the consideration of TORSTENSON'S own immediate operations, let us examine, for a moment, the situation of the Swedish troops in other quarters, as well as the condition of the Emperor with reference to the ensuing campaign. Of all the fortresses and fortified towns which the Swedes had mastered in the heart of *Germany*, but two remained in their possession ; *Great Glogau* and *Olmütz*, both blockaded ; *Trachenberg*, on the *Bartch*, *Schweidnitz* on the *Weistritz*, *Oppeln* on the *Oder*, and *Wohlau*, remarkable for its position, surrounded with small lakes, near the *Oder*, all in *Silesia*, had been captured by the Imperialists. *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and *Crossen*, at the confluence of the *Bober* with the *Oder*, had been delivered up to FREDERICK WILLIAM, the Great Elector of *Brandenburg*—who had declared an armed neutrality in 1643, and, having laid the sub-structure, had commenced the consolidation of the present kingdom of *Prussia*—in order that, having been relieved from the necessity of defending those places, they, the Swedes, could dispose, to advantage, of the troops which had hitherto been required to garrison them. RAGOCZY, famine and fatigue, had made as terrible an end of the Imperial army, under Field-Marshal GOETZ, in *Hungary*, as that under GALLAS had experienced at the hands of TORSTENSON. The French, commanded by the great CONDE, equally great—although every history does not accord the title—TURENNE, and the DUKE DE GRAMMONT, having beaten the *Bavarians* on the 3d August, 1644, after a four days' struggle at *Freiburg*, had captured *Mayence*, (*Mentz*) *Philipsburg*, *Manheim*, *Spire* and *Worms*. In the commencement of the succeeding year, 1645, HELLMUTH WRANGEL, whom TORSTENSON had left in the Danish peninsula, had made great progress throughout, and remained master of, almost the whole of *Marklanden*,* while on the other side of the *Elbe*, KÖNIGSMARK, having marched into the Archbishoprick of *Bremen*, conquered *Altenland*† and *Kedingerland*,‡ took *Staden* and its strong fortress on the *Swingel* near its confluence with the *Elbe*, on the second day of

* MARKLANDEN. Nothing is more difficult than to locate many of the districts referred to in the Old Histories of the Thirty Years' War, as the majority do not appear on any maps, accessible to the writer, under the designations given them therein. This is most likely the "Dithmarsen District," lying along the German Ocean, between the *Elbe* and the *Eyder*, forming the western part of the Duchy of *Holstein*.

† ALTENLAND, the writer takes for that part of *Oldenburg* lying along the *Weser*, or perhaps, *Oldenburg* in general.

‡ KEDINGERLAND, must be that District known, on SPRUNER'S Map, as "Kehding," and on DELAROCHE'S, as "Kaidinger-Moor" [Fen], constituting the triangle between the rivers *Elbe* and *Oste* and the city of *Stade*.

its investment, so that other places, stricken with terror, surrendered at first summons, and WRANGEL, in less than a month's time, remained master of the whole country.

Like a gigantic tree, the Imperial Influence, first planted by the genius, valor, enterprise, and generalship of *RUDOLPH, Count of Hapsburg*, in 1273, had increased in pride and might and cruellest intolerance, until it overshadowed the whole of Middle Europe, Spain and Italy. Near four centuries had fostered its baleful development, and it grew defiant both of man and the wild storms awakened by the gradual expansion of intelligence. From its wide-spreading branches distilled a poison, its base* the venom of the Papacy, which had scorched and withered all whereon it fell. Many an axe, wielded by skillful woodmen, had blunted on its iron knotty trunk; but now, the Reformation, like a worm within its heart, had eaten deep, the Gaul and Swede, without, had hewn deep gashes in the stately shaft, and still were at their labor. Deprived of wonted nourishment, many as mighty limb waved bare of leaves. In three years more it stood a withered tree, shorn of one half its vast magnificence.

And who had cleft so deep as *TORSTENSON*? Not one.

Third Invasion of the Imperial Hereditary States.

Torsten's Crowning Victory at Lankowitz.

OPERATIONS OF THE YEAR 1645, AND CLOSE OF THE GENERALISSIMO'S MILITARY CAREER.

Even as the fabled swan, in the last moments of its existence, pours forth its most melodious strain, the Swedish hero, in this, his last campaign, excelled even himself, and, to the historian, afforded ample materials for an heroic ode of unsurpassed magnificence. It seemed as if, like the *PHŒNIX*, he felt that his career as a General, was drawing near to its close, and that he, who had been a *RARA AVIS* among the military leaders of his time, intended to light such a fire when he passed from the scene of his glories, that the reflection of its brightness should illumine the page of history, while his country's name endured. In a blaze of triumph, which lit up the whole continent of Europe, *TORSTENSON* terminated his command, a wonderful creature—whose frail and shattered tabernacle of mortality, encompassed a demiurgic spirit—he towered, like a colossus, in the magnitude of his intellect, among his contemporaries, grouped around like common men.

The Danish war had for nearly twelve months freed *FERDINAND III.* from his most dangerous enemy, and afforded that repose to his dominions, exhausted by the operations of previous

*Chemically speaking.

†At the Peace of Westphalia, 14th (24th) October, 1648.

years, which they so greatly needed. The cause of the Swedes was regarded as lost, even by their best friends, since the majority were of the EMPEROR'S opinion, that their forces had been absorbed, and entangled, as in a net, in the marshes and plains of *Holstein* and *Jutland*, interlaced with streams, and that their wonderful GENERALISSIMO would also, in that distant region, terminate ingloriously his, hitherto victorious, career. While indulging in such day-dreams, the extreme consternation of the EMPEROR and his adherents can be well imagined, when, all at once, as if—like the bird of Jove, to whom, for his penetrating glance and rapid movements, the “irresistible” Swede has been so often compared—he had stooped from the very clouds, TORSTENSON stood, once more, victorious in the very midst of Germany; and, from his preparations, demonstrated that he was about to direct the march—ever the advance to conquest and glory—once more, into *Bohemia*: according to some, to take up his quarters there for the rest of the winter; according to others, in the hope of surprising its capital*—an exploit in which KÖNIGSMARK succeeded 3 years subsequent, when TORSTENSON (and TORSTENSON'S genius, carried into execution by his successor and pupil, CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL,) had swept away all obstacles to its accomplishment—and capturing the Emperor and his brother the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM (*bis), who had repaired to that city as soon as the GENERALISSIMO'S intentions became manifest.

KÖNIGSMARK, who seemed, by nature, fashioned in mind and body, to be one of the right hands of his *Briarean* Commander, was left in *Westphalia*, to maintain the ascendancy of the Swedish arms in that Circle, and AXEL LILYE, an impetuous and haughty man, but one who “understood well how to obtain obedience,” as *Governor of Leipsic*, charged with the duty of negotiating a truce with the ELECTOR OF SAXONY, which was concluded in the course of the year 1645. Having thus cared for his communications with *Mecklenburg* and *Hither Pomerania*, TORSTENSON resolved, as he wrote to the Regency at home, “to attack the Emperor in the heart, and force him to peace,” and the Ministry, 6th March, 1645, approved, as well it might, his intentions, the inspirations of a genius which had never betrayed him, “since the grounds were weighty, and the design great.”

Upon this, FERDINAND III. roused up all his energies, and summoned together all the troops which could be drawn from *Hungary*—whence, menaced, as that kingdom was, by RAGOCZY, they could be so illy spared—the *Rhine* and *Bavaria*; the Empire had now to exert itself to the utmost, if it hoped to keep

(*bis) The only authorities for this last, are BARRE and HUME, who are followed by RUSSEL, in his “*Modern Europe*.”

TORSTENSON from its sanctuaries, whither he advanced with the strides of a giant.

Despite the rigorous cold, the **EMPEROR**, accompanied by the **ARCHDUKE**, repaired forthwith to *Prague*, at once to revive the dejected spirit of his soldiery ; see, with his own eyes, that the city was placed in the best possible state of defence, and personally make all the dispositions of which the country was susceptible, to arrest the march of the dreaded enemy. Every historian admits that universal terror reigned throughout the land.

As some slight retribution for his criminal inefficiency, **GALLAS**—whose strategy and tactics united had more utterly annihilated an army than even the most bloody previous battle—was dismissed from the command, and saw himself superseded by his rival and enemy, Field-Marshal **HATZFELD**, who, as Imperial Generalissimo, was charged with re-organizing the wrecks of his predecessor's regiments and those reinforcements already arrived, or about to be drawn together.

Subsequently, Field-Marshal **GOETZ**, who had been recalled from *Hungary*, joined him with from 8,000 to 10,000 men ; likewise Field-Marshal **WERTH** and **MERCY**, with 4,000 men, obtained from the **ELECTOR OF BAVARIA** ; several Saxon Regiments ; as well as additional bodies of troops, from different quarters, under **BRUAY**, **MONTECUCULI**, and other distinguished Generals. Never had an Imperial army displayed a greater aggregate of talent at its head than that which had been concentrated, and established itself, between *Budweiss* and *Tabor*.

COUNT MELCHIOR VON HATZFELD, the Commander-in-Chief, was an officer of experience, who entered the Imperial service at a very early age, and took part, with great success, in most of the combats, even from the very beginning of the Thirty Years' War. It is true, that he lost the battle near *Wittstock*,* but in

*COMBAT OF WITTSTOCK.

COMBAT OF WITTSTOCK, (Page 13, TEXT, supra,) fought 24th of September, 1636, between the Allied Saxon and Imperial troops, commanded by the **ELECTOR OF SAXONY** and *Field-Marshal HATZFELD*, and the Swedes, under the orders of *Field-Marshal BAKER* and *Lieutenant-General TORSTENSON*.

By the **PEACE OF PRAGUE**, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg had been given to Prince **AUGUST OF SAXONY** ; and the **ELECTOR**, to secure for him the possession of this District, brought about the expulsion of the Swedes, partly by force, partly by menaces. But when the Saxon General **BAUDIS**, [**BAUDISSEN**,] (previously in the Swedish service!) entered Mecklenburg, and invested the fortress of Domitz, the Swedish Field-Marshal **BAKER** hastened to its succor, and completely routed his forces. **BAUDIS** lost 1,000 men killed, as many prisoners, and had to retreat precipitately. He soon afterwards resigned his command. **BAKER** thereupon entered Saxony, but was himself expelled therefrom by the Saxons, reinforced by an Imperial army-corps, under **HATZFELD**.—**BAKER** was likewise forced to evacuate a great part of Brandenburg, and it was the general opinion, that the Swedes would have to retreat even to the shore of the East Sea, [the Baltic,] and take refuge on board their ships, when the **BATTLE OF WITTSTOCK** again turned the scale in their favor. Unable to hold Saxony, or to save Magdeburg, **BAKER** entered the country of Lundenburg, but on learning that **HATZFELD** and the **ELECTOR OF SAXONY** had captured Havelberg, Werben, Rathenau, and Brandenburg, he

return, as some equivalent, defeated the Palsgrave CHARLES LOUIS [KARL LUDWIG] near *Lemgo*, in *Central Germany*—in the

returned upon the Elbe, and to Domitz. Here he held a Council or War, where it was proposed that BANNER should unite his forces with those of Field Marshal HERMANN WRANGEL, in Pomerania, there to defend the coast against a corps of Imperialists and Saxons, who had made considerable progress in that quarter; BANNER dissented from this opinion, because thereby the ELECTOR and HATZFELD would be able not only to entirely command and subdue the countries on the Elbe, but also every acquisition of the Swedes in Westphalia might be periled by such a movement, if not certainly lost. Moreover, the Landgrave WILLIAM of Hesse might thereby be induced to abandon the Swedish alliance. Instead thereof, the Swedish Commander determined again to march upon Saxony; that being the best way to induce the ELECTOR to turn back to the defence of his own country, and also to prevent Duke GEORGE of Brunswick-Lunenbourg from effecting a junction with him. In the meanwhile, WRANGEL, in Pomerania, would gain time and strength to retake the places in that country, conquered by the Saxons and Imperialists. They, however, retreating from Pomerania, and having left only a few garrisons therein, intended to join the ELECTOR and HATZFELD near Perleberg, whereupon BANNER ordered part of WRANGEL's troops to reinforce him. When these arrived under VIZTHUM, BANNER numbered 9,150 horse and 7,225 foot, and now determined to compel the Saxons and Imperialists to fight, before the Duke GEORGE of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, and GOETZ could join them. But for this very same reason the ELECTOR and HATZFELD desired to evade a battle. BANNER, considering their camp at Perleberg unassailable, sent VIZTHUM to Havelburg to retake that place, which enterprise succeeded, and then followed him with his army, which, in the meanwhile, had increased to 22,000 men, to storm, also, the entrenchments at Werben. There, at that point, he suddenly heard the report that the enemy had left his camp, in order to cover the arrival of a division coming up from Brandenburg, under KLITZING, which induced him to retrace his steps. At once, the ELECTOR and HATZFELD, with a force of 31,000 men, took up a position at WITTSTOCK, on the Dosse. BANNER, whose soldiery were suffering from want of provisions, now saw a possibility of advantageously attacking his adversaries, and, on the evening of the 23d September, 1638, threw a bridge across the Dosse, flowing through extensive morasses on either side. On the morning of the 24th, BANNER crossed the bridge with his forces, and towards noon they stood, drawn up ready for the attack, on the other bank of the Dosse.

I.—NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMIES.

(A)—IMPERIALISTS AND SAXONS.

13 Brigades of Infantry,	16,000 men,	} 31,000.
70 Squadrons of Cavalry,	15,000 men,	

(B)—SWEDES.

10,000 Infantry,	} 22,000.
12,000 Cavalry,	

II.—PLAN OF ATTACK.

The ELECTOR OF SAXONY, on the march from his entrenched camp, at Perleberg, upon Brandenburg, was menaced near *Wittstock*, on the Dosse, with an attack of the Swedes under BANNER. The Imperial and Saxon army took up its position on the Schreckenbergh [Mount Terror]—or Scharfenbergh [Sharp Mount]—and entrenched itself. Field-Marshal BANNER, who came up from Ruppín, determined, after having reconnoitered the enemy's position, simply to make a false attack on the opposing left and centre, and direct his principal attack on the right flank of the enemy.

III.—POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES.

(A)—IMPERIALISTS AND SAXONS.

(A)—Right wing drawn up behind a line of detached redoubts, connected with lines of wagons, shoved close and bound together, defended by 6 batteries of field artillery, placed in the rear of the redoubts.

(B)—Centre; Infantry advancing in *tertias*, solid squares, with smaller squares like bastions, at the angles, formed *a-cheval*, the road from Neu-Ruppín to Wittstock.

(C)—Left wing; Cavalry drawn up without defences.

Principality of *Lippe-Detmold*, on the *Bega*—conquered nearly the whole of *Westphalia*, and, as General-in-Chief, effectually

(B)—SWEDES.

(AA)—Right wing; Cavalry under the orders of Field-Marshal *BANER*, and Lieutenant-General *TORSTENSON*.

(BB)—Centre; Infantry under the orders of General *LESLIE*.

(CC)—Left wing; Cavalry under the orders of Generals *KING* and *STALHANKE*.

(DD)—Reserve under the orders of General *VITZTHUM*.

IV.—DETAILS OF THE COMBAT.

1.—After having debouched from the oak wood beyond, and crossed the *Dosse* near *Fretzdorf*, 2 miles from *Wittstock*, whence the road joined that from *Wittstock* to *Neu-Ruppin*, just in front of the Allies' centre, *BANER* and *TORSTENSON* fell upon their left wing, by whom he was repulsed 8 or 10 times.

2.—The Imperial Infantry advanced to meet the Swedish Foot, between whom a bloody combat ensued, which *BANER* confessed he had never seen equalled in obstinacy. Some regiments attacked 6, 7, 8, nay, even 10 times, and always in vain, and the Swedish Cavalry, completely exhausted, even began to think of abandoning the field.

3.—The Allied left, having repulsed the Swedish right, was already thoroughly victorious; it was even reported that *BANER* had been slain, when General *LESLIE* hastened with 4 Brigades of Infantry to the support of Field-Marshal *BANER*, and re-established order in that quarter, but not until 2 Brigades had been badly cut up by the enemy's Cuirassiers, detached to their assistance from the right not yet engaged.

4.—Meanwhile the Swedish left, turned the *Schreckenbergl*, and attacked the flank of the enemy's right.

5.—At this juncture the *ELEKTOR* learned that the Swedish reserve, which had delayed its advance in the most unaccountable manner,* and had not, as yet, taken part in the engagement, had made its appearance near *Fretzdorf*, on the *Dosse*, and was forming for the attack. On receiving this report, the *ELEKTOR* saw that the day was lost, and hastened to make a precipitate retreat, by *Priwalk*, on *Werben*.†

IV.—RESULT OF THE COMBAT.

The Imperialists and Saxons experienced a loss of 6,000 killed, mostly Infantry—among whom, contemporary writers assert, besides Colonels *WILDBERG* and *FALKENSTEIN*, lay young *HATZFELD*, son of the Imperial Commander. Many more were slain in their flight by the Cavalry under *KING* and *STALLHANTZON* (*STALHANKE*), which next morning pursued the flying army, made 2,000 prisoners; 127 flags, 24 standards, 35 pieces of artillery, all their baggage, and the *ELEKTOR*'s silver plate, fell into the hands of the victors.

This victory completely changed the public opinion of Protestant Germany; previous thereto, it had been in favor of accepting the conditions of the *TREATY OF PRAGUE*, concluded in 1635, now it was almost unanimous for espousing the side of the Swedes. This feeling was increased since the Imperialists and Saxons, though continuing to be stronger than *BANER*, declined any second battle, with an anxious assiduity. *BANER*, the victor of *Wittstock*, then liberated *Heese* from the Imperialists, compelled *Erfurt*, in *Thuringia*, to reunite itself to Sweden, and then took up his winter quarters in *Saxony*. *LESLIE* was sent against the Imperial Commander, *GOETZ*, in *Westphalia*, while *HERRMANN WRANGEL* in *Pomerania*, recaptured *Garz*, and invaded the *Mark*, [March of *Brandenburg*,] but was repulsed at *Custrin*, then appeared before *Landsberg*, but did not think it advisable to attack that fortress in the winter, and therefore returned into the Duchy of *Pomerania*.

[Translated and compiled from *Von Kausler, Sporchil, Schiller, &c.*]

**PAPPENDORF* states that the Swedes attributed the unsuccessful action of the Cavalry of their right wing, and their Infantry, to *VITZTHUM*, who was an officer of old *HERRMANN WRANGEL*'s army, and may be supposed to have been imbued with that General's hostility to and jealousy of *BANER*. *VITZTHUM* could not have been very anxious to assist that Commander, and, no doubt, hoped that he would not live to punish his remissness, when he dared to reply to an *ad-de-camp* (adjutant) of *BANER*, who rode up to bid him make more speed, that "he knew already when it would be time to come up." He is also said to have remarked before the battle, that "it would turn out at *Wittstock* just as it had before at *Nordlingen*."

†*VON KAUSLER* says, "the combat ceased in this manner, without having been entirely decided." *SCHILLER* states, "the *ELEKTOR* did not wait for a second attack. His army was exhausted by the efforts of the preceding day, and as the drivers had fled with the horses, his artillery was unserviceable. He accordingly retreated in the night, with Count *HATZFELD*, and relinquished the ground to the Swedes."—"Relinquished the ground"! 11 Seldom have such victories rewarded valor and ability as the *Austro-Saxon* rout at *Wittstock*.

assisted in the splendid surprise of *Tuttlingen*,* a disgrace to the French arms, unparalleled in the war, only equalled by their

*SURPRISE OF TUTTLINGEN,

By the combined Imperial and Bavarian army, under the orders of Duke CHARLES of Lorraine, Imperial Field-Marshal HATZFELD, and the Bavarian Field-Marshal MEROT and WERTH,* on the 24th November, 1643.

I.—FORCE AND POSITION OF THE ALLIED FRENCH AND WEIMARIAN ARMY.

After the capture of Rothweil—on the Neckar, near its source, and also that of the Danube—on the 18th of November, 1643, by the French, under the Field-Marshal COUNT DE GUEBRIANT, who died shortly afterwards, of a shot received on that occasion, the French and Weimarian army established itself in cantonments in the environs of TUTTLINGEN. The advanced guard, under the orders of General ROSE, comprised 8 Regiments of Horse, 2 of Dragoons, and 3 of Foot, quartered in Muhlheim and its neighborhood.

The Headquarters, all the Artillery, and 2 regiments of Infantry, were in Tuttlingen. The French Lieutenant-General RANTZAU, with about 8,000 men, Infantry and Cavalry, was posted at Moerbingen and in the neighboring country.

The French and Weimarian army was composed of the following corps :

WEIMARIAN TROOPS.

25 Companies of German Cavalry,	} Total, 10,000 men.
2 Regiments of Dragoons,	
12 Regiments of Infantry,	

FRENCH TROOPS.

8 Regiments of Horse,	} Total, 8,000 men.	} 18,000 men.
6 Regiments of Foot,		

II.—ALLIES' PLAN OF ATTACK.

At the Headquarters of the Imperial and Bavarian army, established at Balingen, the DUKE OF LORRAINE and Field-Marshal HATZFELD and MEROT, acting upon the proposition of Quarter-Master-General, Colonel HOLZ, resolved to attack the enemy in his cantonments, or give him battle in the open field. With this intention, the Allied forces, about 20,000 strong, crossed the Danube near Sigmaringen, dispatched all their baggage to Riedlingen, and advanced through Moeskirch, upon Tuttlingen.

III.—DETAILS OF THE SURPRISE.

1.—At Moeskirch, where the Allied forces passed the night, they learned from prisoners brought in, that the enemy believed themselves perfectly secure in their cantonments, and intended to remain therein 3 or 4 days longer.

At day-break, on the 24th of November, the Austro-Bavarians noiselessly continued their march towards Muhlheim and Tuttlingen. Field-Marshal WERTH commanded the advanced guard, composed of about 1,500 horse, and 600 musqueteers. He halted near Neuhausen, on the Eck, where the whole army then concentrated.

2.—At 3 P. M., the Austro-Bavarian army debouched from the forest and narrow passage, on a side where the attack was least expected, in the midst of a tremendous fall of snow, and drew nigh to Tuttlingen. WERTH, with the advanced guard, threw himself upon, and made himself master of the Weimarian Park of Artillery, and then turned the captured guns against Tuttlingen, at the same time that the town was invested by the Allied Cavalry on both banks of the Danube, and the Chateau of Homberg on an adjacent height, occupied by the French, was carried after a feeble resistance.

3.—General ROSE, on the left bank of the Danube, endeavored, with his troops, to succor the headquarters in Tuttlingen, but HATZFELD, who had passed the Danube above, at Moerbingen, met them with his Cavalry, and forced ROSE to save himself by a precipitate flight, whose Infantry, overtaken by HATZFELD, was defeated, partly taken prisoners, partly utterly routed. The Imperialists likewise captured all his baggage.

4.—WERTH, with a numerous corps, advanced on both banks of the Danube, upon Moerbingen, invested this little town on all sides, drove back several French regiments, which attempted to escape on the right bank, established a battery on the left bank, and

*SCHILLER asserts that "WERTH, a master in this species of warfare, which he had often put in practice against GUSTAVUS HORN, conducted THE ENTERPRISE, and succeeded contrary to all expectations."

overthrow at *Rosbach*, a century after, as ignominious in its results. Unfriendly to GALLAS, and unwilling to serve under one far inferior to himself in capability, he left the Imperial service, in the fall of 1643, and entered that of *Bavaria*. We have already learned what duty was assigned to him in the campaign of 1644, but after his attempt upon *Leipsic* had been foiled by KÖNIGSMARK, he was unable to return to the assistance of the ARCHBISHOP OF BREMEN, because the French had laid siege to the important fortified town of *Philipsburg*,† looked upon as one of the Bulwarks of the Empire, to whose assistance he marched from the *Principality of Halberstadt*, but arrived too late, as the fortress was already taken when he arrived.

When GALLAS made his way back from *Holstein*, the EMPEROR became satisfied that HATZFELD, although defeated on almost every former occasion, still always full of courage, and never cast down, or without remedies in misfortune, was the only Commander able to counterbalance TORSTENSON, and recalled him from the Bavarian service, to re-enter his own with supreme command. Unfortunately, whatever talents he possessed, and whatever benefits he had derived from his warlike experience, were neutralized by the arrogance of his subordinates, impatient of control, as well as by the superior genius of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO.

JOHANN VON WERTH—a peasant's son of *Luttich*, [*Liege*,] in *Belgium*, himself originally a peasant—was likewise a General of ability, experience, and cool courage. He had been lately, with two other Imperial Commanders, exchanged for Field-Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN, and burned to retrieve by some valorous achievement the time and opportunities which he had lost in captivity. The COUNT OF BRUAY, an active and brave soldier,

cannonaded the town until nightfall. The French, who made an obstinate defence, remained shut up all night in Moeringen, while those who had been dispersed and sought to escape, were pursued on all sides by the Austro-Bavarian Cavalry.

5.—On the morning of the 25th, all the Generals and troops in Tuttlingen surrendered at discretion, likewise 7 regiments of French in Moeringen. The French Cavalry was overtaken in its retreat by Colonel SPORK, [SPORCK,] defeated and lost a great number of prisoners. Night alone ended the pursuit, kept up in every direction, and saved the French and Weimarian troops from utter annihilation.

General ROSE succeeded in saving a small portion of his corps at Rothweil.

IV.—RESULT OF THE SURPRISE.

The French-Weimarian army lost in killed and wounded 4,000 men, 7,000 prisoners, among whom were 8 Generals, 9 Colonels, 12 Field-Officers, and 240 Company Officers. [SCHILLER says 25 Staff Officers, and 96 Captains.] The booty in cannons, caissons, and baggage, was extremely great. The loss of the Austro-Bavarian army was proportionally inconsiderable.

[Translated from Von Kausler, with Additional Information from Schiller, &c.]

† An Imperial town of Germany, situated on the Rhine, [over which there is a bridge,] seated in a morass, and fortified with seven bastions and several advanced works. The town itself belonged to the Bishop of Spire, but all the works and the fortifications appertained to the Empire.

had already distinguished himself at the battle of *Breitenfeld*, at the head of his division of the Imperial right wing, which had withstood with such determination the efforts of the whole Swedish army, when deserted by the left and centre. Field-Marshal CASPAR VON MERCY, another Bavarian General of renown, had shared with HATZFELD the glory of the Surprise of *Tutlingen*, and was worthy to be classed with the school of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. And last, the famous Count RAYMOND DE MONTECUCULI deserves more particular mention. Born in 1608, of a distinguished family, in the *Modenese* (Italy); at the age of 16 he entered the Imperial army, as a common soldier, in which capacity, March, 1631, in his 23d year, he was the first to mount the walls of *Neu-Brandenburg*—by whose able and desperate defence, KNIPHAUSEN won such renown—and presented one of the keys of the city gates to his General, TILLY. His ardor in the first battle of *Leipsic*, in September of the same year, carried him so far into the midst of the Swedes that he was taken prisoner. In 1634, at the head of 2,000 horse, he surprised 10,000 Swedes, and took their baggage and artillery, but was himself soon after defeated, and again taken prisoner. On the 5th of May, 1645, being then still only a Colonel of Horse, it is a certain fact, although few historians are aware of it, he played a principal part, serving then under MERCY and WERTH, in defeating TURENNE at the battle of *Mergentheim*, or, as the French style it, *Mariendahl*. His abilities and penetration, even at that time, were so very great, that it was a common saying with the French and Swedish Generals, that MONTECUCULI entertained a familiar spirit in his service, who made him acquainted with all their designs. In 1657, serving once more, but with better fortune, with his present Commander, HATZFELD, he, for the success is credited to him, defeated RAGOCZY, and drove him out of *Poland*, back into his own Principality of *Transylvania*. In 1664, he gained a splendid victory over the Turks at *St. Gothard**—on the *Raab*, in *Hungary*—where the enemy had to bewail a frightful slaughter of the Spahis and Janissaries, called, in the emphatic language of the East, “the Sword and Shield of the Ottoman Empire.” In 1675-’6, he commanded the Imperial army on the *Rhine*, where, by his masterly manoeuvres, he foiled all the efforts of such opponents as the great TURENNE and PRINCE OF CONDE: his campaign against the former being in itself an abridgement of all that is refined and exquisite in the science of war.

- Nor were these the only officers of distinction who had been summoned together to interpose their swords and talents between the EMPEROR and that TORSTENSON, who, thus, thrice had made the whole Empire tremble for its head and

* See COXE'S "HOUSE OF AUSTRIA," Vol II. Chapter LXII. Pages 370-1.

capital; and yet, if history is true, FERDINAND, who had ordered HATZFELD to risk a battle on the Virgin's assurance of victory, had so little confidence, both in the supernatural promise and the protection of his gallant "armada," under leaders of such renown, that he did not dare to remain in their midst, but, with his brother, retired to *Vienna*, to await the result—as if he felt insecure until he had placed the broad and swift *Danube* and the bulwarks of his capital between him and the crippled Swede.*

Notwithstanding the terribly severe lessons, which he had already received, when his troops had ventured to meet the invaders in the field, the EMPEROR, disgusted with the Fabian policy of GALLAS, from which he had equally and more recently suffered, resolved once again to adopt the more daring tactics of MARCELLUS, forgetting that it required a Commander of consummate ability to imitate that famous Roman, who saved his country by "Delaying," and that, although many might possess as fiery courage, as "the Sword of Rome," all could not emulate his judicious application of that quality.

Moreover, a dream, in which the Virgin MARY appeared to the EMPEROR, and promised him a victory, induced FERDINAND to order his new Commander-in-Chief to hazard a battle against the, as yet, unconquered TORSTENSON, he who had never lost a battle. Perhaps, however, this excuse might have been invented in order to conceal the EMPEROR's fears of seeing the Swedish GENERALISSIMO passing the *Emu*, and joining the dissatisfied Protestants of *Austria*, excited by constant persecution and unrelenting tyranny.

Meanwhile, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, whose headquarters had been established near *Zeitz*—on the *White Elster*, 23 miles S. W. of *Leipsic*—while his troops were cantoned partly in *Saxony* and partly in *Thuringia*, advanced towards the *Danube*. Previous to this movement, however, he had not been idle, but—in the Cabinet as well as the field his mind was equally on the alert with regard to every thing which could further his purpose or benefit his country—applied to the French Envoys, at *Munster*, in order that they might induce their Government to issue orders that their forces should open the campaign early in the year 1645, so that HATZFELD, with the *Bavarians*, and other Contingents, of the Circles, belonging to the *League*, could not be enabled, all at once, through the apathy or inaction of his Confederates, to fall "with crushing weight upon his own neck." With *Saxony*, likewise, he was busy negotiating a truce, and by his astute diplomacy, encouraged RASOCZY, the Prince of *Transylvania*, whose alliance with Sweden had been ratified by CHRISTINA, to remain in a state of warfare with the Emperor.

*RUSSEL, [following HENRI and BARRÉ,] Vol. I. Letter LXXV. Page 545.

In all these matters, the GENERALISSIMO, it is true, was not equally successful. *Saxony* sent several regiments, which fought at *Jankau*, to assist the EMPEROR, and delayed entering into an armistice until after that decisive battle—a policy imitated by *Prussia* towards NAPOLEON, in the campaign of *Austerlitz*, in 1805—and the French Generals, in full health, were not as quick as the sick and crippled Swedish Commander, so that, instead of occupying the whole attention of *Bavaria*, as TORSTENSON had hoped and urged, not only was HATZFELD the ELECTOR's best General, enabled to re-enter the Imperial service, but that Prince was enabled to send powerful assistance to the Head of the Empire.

In January, 1645, TORSTENSON—who, according to SCHILLER, had at this time under his command 16,000 men, with 80 pieces of artillery—having learned that the EMPEROR had again collected a numerous army at *Klattau*, on the *Beraunka*, [*Bradlanka*?] river, [*Boehmer Wald*,] and the *Fichtel-Gebirge* [*Pine Mountains*] on the frontiers of *Bavaria*—rising superior to his bodily anguish and infirmities, marched out of *Voigtland*, by the way of *Annaberg*, in the *Erz-Gebirge*, and entering *Bohemia*, advanced to *Kaaden*, where he was obliged to halt for some time, because the bridge across the *Eger*, near *Saatz*, had been carried away by a freshet, and the January thaw had rendered all the roads impassable.

As soon as the bridge was re-established, and the state of the roads would permit, the GENERALISSIMO again broke up from his winter-quarters at *Kaaden*, on the *Eger*, to gratify his desire for a hostile meeting with the enemy; and, although the winter was exceedingly severe, particularly so in those wild, forest-clad, mountainous regions, and all the rivers were covered with ice, not even such obstacles could daunt his lion-heart, or delay the advance of his Swedes, excited by the prospects of a conflict, so long sought and so ardently desired. These impediments, however much they aggravated the fatigues of the Swedes, were not without like prejudicial influence upon the Imperialists, who, through the sudden thaw, were nearly caught in an awkward position, for HATZFELD, misled by the idea that TORSTENSON had changed his mind, and was marching on the *Pfalz*, had scarcely time to assemble his forces on the *Wottawa*, to oppose the Swedes, when he discovered the real direction of their march. In complete line of battle, they passed onwards, over the mountains near *Zephik*, and thence upon *Horazchowitz*, from which point, on the 16th February, they descended the Imperial Camp pitched on inaccessible heights, beyond the *Wottawa*—a small river, having its source in the *Rachelberg* (*Rachel Mountain*)—on the Bavarian frontier, at whose junction with the *Moldau* stands the old Castle of *Klingenberg*,

one of the most beautiful and striking ruins in *Bohemia*, remarkable throughout for such interesting feudal relics.

Both armies saluted each other with a few cannon-shots (a slight cannonade which did not lead to any result*), and, during the night, remained under arms, in expectation; the Swedes, that the enemy would descend into the plain; the Imperialists, that **TORSTENSON**, listening to the promptings of his extraordinary valor, rather than the warning voice of his no less marked discretion, would attack them in their positions. Both were mistaken; no collision took place. The intense cold, however, increasing—to whose severity the Swedes were more especially exposed, as they had no camp equipage or utensils—compelled the **GENERALISSIMO** to leave his position, and thus he marched, along the left bank of the *Wottawa*, upon *Strakonitz*, while the enemy kept upon the right, closely watching his movements. During this march, both armies fired (heavy cannonades arose) upon each other, just as the heights afforded opportunities. By (untrudged) mountain paths, never before (as it is said) traversed by any species of wheeled-conveyance, much less by cannons and military equipages, **TORSTENSON** gained *Klokowitz*, on the *Maldau*—by the way of *Pisek* and *Lida*—which river the Swedish Cavalry, long train of baggage and artillery crossed by a shallow ford, discovered a half (German, about 2 1/4 English) mile below *Zwickau*, on the 20th February, 1645, and, some miles further down, the Infantry upon the ice. In spite of the bad roads, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Imperialists in light cavalry, the Swedes, nevertheless, accomplished this highly difficult march without any loss.—**TORSTENSON**, though suffering severely from his maladies, and oftener in his bed [litter] than on horseback, was present everywhere, encouraging his men, and inspiring them by his example, with the requisite fortitude to encounter manfully whatever hardships and labors the exigency presented or demanded. Field-Marshal **HATZFELD**, in his report to the **EMPEROR**, complained of the inertia, or, in plain English, laziness, of his scouting parties, wherefrom it had been impossible for him to delay or thwart (prevent) the movements of the enemy, whom he styles “*sagacious and vigilant*” (watchful). That, however, his *Eclaireurs* were on the alert, is evident, for the **GENERALISSIMO** wrote to **AXEL LILLJE**, on the 27th February, that the messenger which he dispatched from *Pilsen* to the Major-General [**KÖNIGSMARK**?] had been taken 2 [German, about 9 English] miles from *Preisnitz*, and shot by one of the enemy’s bands.

At this time, **TORSTENSON** spread abroad a report that he

* The remarks in (), throughout the pages devoted to the consideration of the *Battle of Jankau*, (*Janikau* or *Jankowitz*), are from the *Geschichte des Kriegswesens*.

was about to march upon, for the the relief of *Olmütz*, which had been for some time besieged by an Austrian army-corps under *Count LADISLAUS VON WALDSTEIN*.* Scarcely had the Imperial Commander-in-Chief been apprised of this rumor, which he believed, than he took counter-steps to prevent the success of the attempt.† He therefore passed *Pisek*, crossed the *Moldau*, in

* In one place, *SPOECHIL* says the siege, which had been ineffectual, was raised in November, 1644; and then, after the battle of *Janikau*, intimates that its relief was due to that victory. The latter statement is correct.

† In the course of this Biography, a comparison has been instituted between two of *NAPOLEON*'S most celebrated operations and *TORSTENSON*'S *March across Germany* and *Invasion of Denmark*. We are now about to translate some passages from *Marshal MARMONT*'S *De l'Esprit des Institutions Militaires*, and the assimilation, in many respects, between the tactics of *MARMONT* and those of the Swedish *GENERALISSIMO*, are so remarkable, that they will strike even the most unmilitary reader. After entering into an explanation of certain military operations, the *DUKE OF RAGUSA* proceeds to take up the subject of a *March in the Presence of the Enemy*, which closes his Third Chapter, treating of *Marches and Encampments*.

"There are likewise marches," says he "executed in the presence of the enemy by the army, concentrated, formed in order of, and ready to give, battle; whose aim is to force the enemy to abandon the position which he occupies. Nothing merits more attention, and requires greater precautions, than such *Marches*, which must be considered under the head of *Tactics*. The execution of such a movement requires troops not only highly disciplined, but capable of manœuvring with the nicest precision; vigilant and active Generals and a Commander-in-Chief, gifted in the highest degree with that foresight which enables him to read, as if by intuition, the intentions of his opponent. The army of Portugal, in 1812, under my command, made such a march with success." [We cannot imagine how the *MARSHAL* can administer to himself such consolation, when we take into consideration the ultimate result.]

As the comparison, although so appropriate, would not hold good throughout, the reader, to complete the parallel, must permit a substitution of actors, since *TORSTENSON* and the Swedes, who, in the march, represent *MARMONT* and the French, in the subsequent action, assume the roles of *WELLINGTON* and the English and their Allies, thereby manifesting conclusively the *GENERALISSIMO*'S superiority to *MARMONT* and *HATFIELD*'S inferiority to *WELLINGTON*. With this necessary explanation, calling the reader's attention to the parallel, we resume the translation.

The French (Swedish) and English (Imperialists) were encamped on the opposite banks of the *Duero*; the former inferior to the latter by 6,000 Infantry and 4,000 Cavalry,* the disproportion between the Swedish and Imperial armies, taking into account their aggregates, was about the same.

"Notwithstanding the disproportion of the forces, I [*MARMONT*] had to act on the offensive, while, at the same time that my official correspondence informed me, that I could expect no reinforcement of importance, I was aware that the English army, already so superior, could yet receive in the course of a few days, great accessions from *Estremadura* by the Bridge of *Alcantara*, while the army of *Gallicia*, occupied in the blockade of *Astorga*, was about to become disposable at once for field operations, and could act upon my rear in consequence of the surrender of that city, which, from the failure of provisions, was about to open its gates. I concluded, therefore, in order to change this state of things, that it was my duty to assume the offensive, but with great prudence; to manœuvre in order to compel the enemy to retreat, and only fight when it became absolutely necessary. In accordance with this resolution, I determined to effect the passage of the *Duero*, and executed that movement.

* * * * *

On the evening of the day on which an affair occurred at *Tordesillas-de-la-Orden*, the two armies found themselves facing each other, but separated by the marshy stream of the *Guarena*.

On the 29th of July, the French army, formed in order of battle, executed a flank manœuvre by the left, advancing up the stream; arrived at a passage, reconnoitred

* *VON KAUSLER* says that no French author gives the real strength of *MARMONT*'S army, at *Salamanca*; this concealment was a part of the policy of *NAPOLEON* and his officers.

pursuit, and led his army on *Mulhausen*, while, for greater expedition, he left behind (sent) his baggage in the country around *Tabor*, to endeavor, thus, to bar the way to the Swedish forces. But the want of provisions, and particularly bread, which had caused a small number of the Cavalry and Infantry to desert from the Imperial "Armada," occasioned various delays on all hands.

in advance, it threw the head of the column on the left bank, carried immediately a plateau, which extended indefinitely in the direction which menaced the enemy's retreat, and debouched under the protection of a very powerful field battery, which covered its movements. The DUKE OF WELLINGTON, at first, believed that he could oppose this offensive march; which, however, was executed so rapidly, and with such precision, that he soon renounced the idea of attacking me. He then put the English army in motion along a plateau, parallel to that which we occupied.

The two armies continued their march, separated only by a narrow valley—always ready to receive battle; they exchanged some hundreds of cannon-shots, according as the sinuosities of the plateaux afforded more or less favorable opportunities, for each of the Generals wished to accept battle, but not to make the attack. After a march of five leagues,—12 1/2 miles—(the Swedes and Imperialists moved thus about 100 miles)—they arrived, maintaining these parallel relations in the respective positions, which they wished to occupy; the French army on the heights of the Aldea-Rubia, the English army on those of St. Cristoval.*

Taking all things into consideration, this march is the only one, which, to my knowledge, has taken place in our time,

Now it is, that *TORSTENSON* assumes the role of *WELLINGTON*, and *MARMONT* subsides into that of *HATZFELD*. Hitherto *MARMONT*'s movements had been worthy the highest praise—the English General admitted that his army of about 45,000 men, marched like a single regiment—henceforward he fails himself.

In the same manner that the Swedes occupied the chapel on the hill, beneath which *Gortz* fell, the English took possession of the second—the northern—of two elevations called *Arapiles*, anticipating the French, who made a dash at it, and failed. As at *Janakowitz*, there was a great deal of hard fighting on this point, in which the English succeeded. This was about 8 A. M. At 4 P. M. *MARMONT* extended his left—just as *Gortz* was fool-hardy enough to do—*WELLINGTON*, seeing this, and the chasm between it and the main army momentarily increasing, exclaimed to the Spanish General *ALAVA*, who stood at his side, "Mon cher *ALAVA*, *MARMONT* is a lost man!"—ordered his columns to the onset, and the French Marshal was defeated.

We do not mean to assert that this comparison holds good in all its details, but there is an interesting similarity throughout, well worthy of consideration.

*The two armies of *MARMONT* and *WELLINGTON* were now in line on the opposite banks of the narrow *Guarena*. But on the 30th, the French Marshal crossed that stream on *WELLINGTON*'s right, and advanced towards the *Tormes*, in the design of cutting off his communications with *Salamanca* and *Ciudad-Rodrigo*. This must not be! *WELLINGTON*'s columns were in motion as soon as *MARMONT*'s and during part of that day's march, the two hostile armies marched towards the *Tormes* in parallel lines, and within half cannon-shot of each other.* This striking spectacle has been described by several British officers, who were eye-witnesses. "A sight more glorious and more solemn, war does not often present; 90,000 combatants marched side by side, as it were, without collision, each host admiring the array of its opponent, all eyes eager in their gaze, and all ears attent for the signal sound of battle.†" "Nothing intervened to obstruct a view of the columns of enemies that thus continued to pursue their course without the least obstacle to prevent their coming into instantaneous combat; for the slightest divergence from either line of march towards the other would have brought them within manketry distance. I have always considered this day's march as a very extraordinary scene, only to have occurred from the Generals opposed commanding highly disciplined armies, each at the same time pursuing an object from which he was not for an instant abstracted by minor circumstances: the French Marshal pressing forward to arrive first on the *Tormes*, Lord *WELLINGTON* following his motions, and steadily adhering to the defensive, until substantial reasons appeared to demand the adoption of a more decided conduct. No spectator would have imagined that the two immense moving columns that filled the whole country, and seemed interminable—being lost to the eye in dust and distance—composed two armies, animated with earnest desires for the destruction of each other, but who, although possessed of numerous artillery and cavalry, were persevering on their way, as if by mutual consent refraining from serious hostility, until arrived at the arena destined for the great trial, to which either was now advancing with confidence and without interruption.‡"

*MAC FARLANE'S "Memoir of the Duke of WELLINGTON."

†M. SHERRER, "Military Memoirs."

‡Colonel LEITH HAY, "Narrative of the Peninsular War."

The Swedes, by-and-by, pushed further to the eastward, which led HATZFELD (R.)* "to think that they would not march upon *Beneschau* or in the direction of the *Hosida*, but either towards the *Bridges* or to *Leditz*." He therefore determined to march upon *Sternberg* [Star Mount], believing that he would be enabled thereby to bar the way to the Swedes, who had to traverse this road, in case that his opinion was correct as to the object of their march. In order to receive hourly notice of the movements of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, HATZFELD made really excellent arrangements. Colonel SPORCK, distinguished equally for his activity and caution, who had gained great credit for his successful pursuit of the French Cavalry, after the Surprise of Tuttlingen, was ordered, with 200 picked horsemen to observe [*custodiren*] the march of the Swedes, to ascertain, with care, where he encamped at night, and in what direction he turned the head of his columns in the morning, and to send in reports from time to time, by postilions and estafettes [horse messengers]—of which a sufficient number had been attached to his corps for that very purpose—and that his reports should not miss the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, Colonel SPORCK was furnished with a time-table or memorandum, setting forth where he—HATZFELD—could be found from hour to hour.

The Imperial forces had scarcely moved from *Tabor*, when its Commander received news of the enemy, through Colonel SPORCK, who reported that the *Swedes* were marching upon the same place, on which HATZFELD, with his army, intended to advance that very day. In consequence of this, the Imperialists hastened their march, and had arrived between *Janikau* and *Woritz* [Wottitz ?], when the Swedes likewise made their appearance opposite *Janikau*. The Imperialists, however, "had already occupied all the hills," before TORSTENSON'S arrival, "placing themselves in such a position that *Janikau* was between the two armies, and benefited neither much." The opposing forces, separated only by a small, flat hill, immediately formed their lines-of-battle. This was on the 23d of February; neither army was very large, the Swedes numbering 16,000, the Imperialists 19,000†

At a small place in the District of *Kaurzim*, called *Jankau*,

* (R.) wherever it occurs, signifies that what follows, is quoted from, or founded on HATZFELD'S Official Report to the Emperor FERDINAND III.

†The KRIEGBESCHEN states each numbered between 24,000a28,000 men : that the Imperialists were said to have had 3,000 more Horse than the Swedes, but as an equivalent, HATZFELD (R.) declared that the Swedes were stronger in Infantry and Artillery. This can scarcely be, and the estimate and assertion are neither borne out by other historians. In fact, if we enter into a calculation of the troops embodied, or under their respective colors a short time previous, the estimate in the Text will in itself appear most accurate. The Swedes could have received no reinforcements, whatever may have been the increase of the Imperialists.

(Janikau,) TORSTENSON crowned, as it were, all his preceding victories, by this, his last and greatest.*

History commemorates bloodier conflicts and more appalling catastrophies attended with far greater waste of human life than that recorded here ; but it is very doubtful if, during the whole XVIIth Century, an era of continual warfare, two armies faced each other under such mutual apprehensions of an untoward result, or looked forward to the decisive moment with livelier expectation ; for, on the issue of the struggle, not only the fate of nations, but the triumph of liberal principles and religious freedom seemed entirely to depend.

This battle, by the Swedes called *Jankowitz*, was fought on the 24th of February, 1645, (Old Style—6 March, New Style), in the fifteenth year subsequent to their first participation in the affairs of *Germany*.

In the very heart of the Emperor's *Hereditary States*—7 German (about 30 English) miles S. E. of *Prague*, and 18 German (about 72 English) miles N. W. of *Vienna*—the two armies "looked each other in the eyes." The inhabitants of both these capitals, as well as of the whole surrounding country, partook of the same anxious sentiments which disturbed the heart of FERDINAND III., since all were alike menaced if the result proved unfortunate for him. On the other hand, the Swedes were fully aware to what extent their fate depended on the issue, for, strangers as they were in race, language, and worst of all for them, religious faith, far away from home and all resources, in the midst of a hostile country—doubly hostile from its natural and present condition, and the bitter sentiments entertained by the whole population toward them—they felt that they were doomed if not victorious.

Austria, it is true, for the time being, could concentrate no second 'armada' to oppose the victor, if HATZFELD should be defeated ; nor could *Sweden*, on the other hand, have scarcely devised means to organize another army, were TORSTENSON overthrown, for even her very nucleus of veterans would have been destroyed. How, watched, and followed up by a victorious force, could the Swedes have hoped to escape the weapons of the triumphant foe, at this, the worst period of the year, exposed and subjected to such fatigues as were sufficient to demoralize, if not destroy, the finest army, even if flushed with

*Before concluding our descriptions of the most memorable combats of the Thirty Years' War—says the *Geschichte des Kriegswesens*, in its IV. Division (Berlin, 1838)—we must consider carefully one battle, the last, which the Swedes fought, and fought almost unsupported, or rather, more properly speaking, without any allies. This battle is remarkable in more than one respect, since it affords an elegant picture of excellent, warlike combinations, displays the discipline and manœuvring capacities of the two contending armies, in the clearest and most beautiful light, and at the same time exhibits in the most perspicuous manner the different tactics of the two opponents, who might be considered, as it were, the types of their peculiar systems.

success instead of depressed by reverse, without the assistance of the sword.

Already on the eve of this memorable conflict, both armies, as was stated above, stood face to face, in order of battle. The Imperial Cavalry exceeded that of the Swedes by 3,000 men; the Infantry, however, was nearly equal on both sides. This numerical superiority, however, caused no change in the resolutions of either TORSTENSON or of the Council of War which preceded the battle. It was the unanimous determination, "after mature deliberation with the whole of the Generals and Colonels, in God's name, to attack the enemy"; and, in this opinion, the other officers and soldiers heartily concurred, as a battle, if successful, would, most likely, terminate their terrible trials, unexceeded, if equaled, in any previous campaign.

At all events, whatever may have been the real sentiments of either army, a conflict was inevitable. HATZFELD saw himself compelled to fight—his adversary's strategy was too superior, his genius too subtle, for him to compete with successfully. Such refined and fearless Generalship required a higher order of talents than those which he possessed.

The Austrian Commander had been uncertain of their destination, from the very moment he learned that the Swedes were moving toward the frontiers of the Imperial Hereditary States. First, he believed that his adversary intended to invade *Upper Austria*, when TORSTENSON had actually determined to march through *Bohemia*, into *Moravia*, in order, then and there, to harmonize his further operations with those of RAGOCZY, Prince of Transylvania.

These were the reasons, according to SPORCHIL, why the Austrians, posted near *Grunberg* [Green Mountain], just north of *Nepomuch*, forced the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, by their parallel march, to move as he had, across the country. Thence HATZFELD went to *Budweiss*, and there, appearing to have made up his mind that the Swedes would pass *Prague*, and march on *Leitmeritz*, left his baggage at *Tabor*, as we have seen, and hurried after them, by the way of *Wolitz*, on the road which they had taken to *Deutschbrod*, on the frontier of *Moravia*, for the Austrians feared that if the Swedes were allowed, unmolested, to pass into that *Marquisate*, they would unite with the Transylvanian forces, and march upon *Vienna*, destitute of troops, from which the Emperor himself was also absent.

Moreover, the ELECTOR OF BAVARIA had only loaned his troops to the EMPEROR for a short period, as he needed them himself, to defend his own territories against the French, and JOHANN VON WERTH, the Bavarian Commander, declared "that if nothing was done in three days' time, he would have to lead his troops back home."

Thus HATZFELD, even if he had received no orders to that effect, saw himself compelled to give battle, and formed his troops near *Janikau*. TORSTENSON, likewise, had he been averse to, instead of anxious for, the combat, was, in a manner, forced to accept battle; for, if the Imperialists were to continue on his flank, harassing and impeding his movements, it was to be feared that his troops, forced to bivouac, without any roof but the high heavens, in damp and cold, and severe winter weather, would be at length exhausted, and eventually unable to fight.*

The *terrain* on which the battle was fought was mountainous, the ranges of hills rising in terraces, and here and there covered with wood. It appears that it afforded even a partial view in only a few places, and was, therefore, well adapted for secret evolutions; a connected line-of-battle was, likewise, impossible. On the left flank of the Imperialists, upon a mountain, a chapel was situated, the possession of which seems to have conferred upon its occupant the command of the whole country. Thence several sunken (covered) roads led to the enemy's left. Although HATZFELD had made it the especial duty of Field-Marshal GORTZ, giving him no discretion in the matter, to reconnoitre the whole country in that direction with the utmost care, his subordinate had neglected it entirely; and this disobedience, as will soon appear, exercised a fatal effect upon the whole subsequent operations of the Imperialists. *Janikau* itself, lay between the two armies, and was unoccupied.

As stated hereinbefore, an inconsiderable flat elevation separated the two armies, when they came in sight of each other on the 23d. This the Imperialists occupied, and thence cannonaded the Swedes, who had to water their horses near its foot. It also served as an observatory for the Imperial Commander, who considered it the best look-out to discover the movements of his opponents; in fact, TORSTENSON believed that the enemy would take up their final position thereupon; but in this he was mistaken. Nevertheless, Marshal HATZFELD did not deem this superficial investigation sufficient, but, at once, set about making himself acquainted, by actual personal survey, with the nature of the whole *terrain*, in which reconnoissance (R.) he came very near being taken prisoner. Meanwhile, the Swedish GENERAL-*ISSIMO* also was engaged in reconnoitering the positions of the enemy; with better judgment, will be almost immediately apparent. The result of his reconnoissance may be said to have determined the success of the first combat.

Throughout the night the Swedes made a great noise, moving their artillery and driving wagons, as if they were about to establish their cannon upon a height in front of the Imperialists, (R.)

*TORSTENSON'S own Report, *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, V. S. 667. Sp. 1.

and twice sounded; "*Butasella*"—"Boots and Saddles,"—the trumpet signal for cavalry to saddle their horses; the next morning their army appeared to be falling back, and taking up a position high up among the bushes, as if about to retreat upon the same road by which it had originally come up. TORSTENSON likewise, as soon as it was light,* made himself master of the chapel on the mountain, already referred to, commanding the surrounding valleys, situated on the right of *Janikau*; and the position which his army assumed. This post, which his military instinct assured him was the key of the whole battle ground, and the enemy had forgotten to secure, he hastened to take possession of; and, without delay, turned GOETZ's inexcusable neglect to his advantage.

While effecting this last evolution, however, a portion of the Swedish forces moved towards the left, as if about to attack the Imperial right. This initiative induced HATZFELD, accompanied by WERTH, to repair to that side, the right, after having, again and again, ordered GOETZ, commanding the left wing, to reconnoitre the mountain and chapel on his left flank, and make himself thoroughly acquainted with all the roads leading thereto, since, said HATZFELD (R.) "I was well acquainted with the enemy's [TORSTENSON'S] mode of action, who generally did not intend to march to that quarter whither he made the most noise of proceeding." GOETZ, utterly regardless of the orders of his superior, still omitted this duty altogether. HATZFELD and WERTH had scarcely arrived upon the right, when the former received intelligence that the Swedes not only were moving upon his left wing, but had already formed their columns and advanced to the attack. TORSTENSON had disposed his army in two lines, without any reserves; 6 Infantry regiments formed, according to the favorite tactics of the enemy, [the Imperialists,] in *tertias*,† constituted the centre of the first line; 2 other regi-

*He [TORSTENSON] accordingly advanced towards their camp, in a threatening posture, about break of day, when a brisk cannonading began; and, by 7 (A. M.) in the morning, both armies were engaged in close fight, which was continued for 4 hours with incredible obstinacy.—[ROSSEL, quoting HINS and BARRE.]

†The large, unwieldy, tactical formations, in which Infantry were drawn up, in the XVIIth Century, for battle, were called among the Germans, Spaniards, and several other nations of Europe, *TERZIAS*, [TERTIAS, BATTAGLIA or BATTALIONS]. Among the Germans these divisions were very great, often consisting of several thousand men.—At Leipzig, 8,000 Imperialists stood in 4 such BATTAGLIAS or TERZIAS in the first line, and 10,000 in 6 other ones in the second line. FRANCHVILLE supposes the TERTIA to have been originally 45 deep; but at any rate, at the close of the war, it was still 10 ranks deep.—[*Geschichte des Kriegswesens*.]

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS despised the Low Country method of drawing up great incoherent bodies of troops in square masses, commonly called TERTIAS; forasmuch as originally they made up a third of the main body or centre. He reduced the huge regiments, which consisted formerly of from 2,000 to 3,000 men, to 1,200, and afterward

ments, drawn up in the same manner, were posted in the second line, in the rear of, covering the intervals between, the 2 regiments on either wing of the centre ; while 13 regiments of Cavalry, in 2 lines, composed his right, and as many his left, wing. All these regiments, except 5, undivided, and 1, divided into 3, were broken into 2 distinct subdivisions ; while in every interval between those in the first line were posted 40 commanded* (picked) musketeers. The artillery appears to have been placed and served as circumstances required. The Swedes, nevertheless, according to VON LUNDBLAD, could not have been said to have had a connected line-of-battle.† ARWID WITTENBERG, who so gallantly led the same wing of the Swedish army at the Battle of *Breitenfeld*, commanded the right wing ; ROBERT DOUGLAS—a Scotchman, the ancestor of the family of that name, even now existing, in Sweden—the left ; the Infantry (centre) were marshalled under CASPAR CORNELIUS MORTAIGNE. He was a noble officer, who possessed the confidence of all his brother officers and soldiers, and, at *Breitenfeld*, shared with the lamented LILJEHOK, the conduct on that occasion as on the present, of the centre. The watchword of the Swedes was, "HÄLP, JESUS" !

The formation of the Imperial army was very similar. The centre, however, consisted of but one line of Infantry, formed in 6 great *tercias*, of which the *Bavarian Electorate Troops* constituted the right wing, GOERTZ's Infantry the left. In the second line, of the centre, stood the *Saxon Electorate Troops*, (Cavalry,) broken up into 7 small divisions, in the rear of, covering every interval between, the *tercias*, and also the first squadron of each

to 1,008, in order to distribute more officers among the soldiery, and multiply the posts of preferment for brave men.—[HARTE's *Essay on the Military State, &c.*]

We suppose that in this battle the term BRIGADE (ployed into close column or mass,) would be the correct translation of *TERZIA*, for it seems scarcely possible that such a military genius as TORSTENSON would resume a formation obsolete in the Swedish service, of whose disadvantages his own experience must have presented so many striking proofs.

* *Commanded Men*, in the language of those times, [the XVIIth Century,] were the better half of a regiment, selected from their companions, and conducted, by their respective Colonels ; so that in this particular the troops, upon enterprises of importance, were doubly *Coloneled*. * * * It was the King's [GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS] practice, on particular occasions, "to make a draught of the moiety of soldiers in each regiment, every Colonel being bound to conduct his own Division, who, as they were *commanded*, i. e. picked, men, selected for desperate service, it was their custom to march *without colors*."

"By these means, a General, upon any emergency, had the choice of the better half of his army, and the more experienced officers of rank and seniority ; who, by their presence, not only kept the common men in spirits, but did them honor ; and if the service proved sharp, no regiment was destroyed, but in part only.

[Compiled from HARTE's GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.]

† See TORSTENSON'S Letter to the Commander of Leipsic, *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, 5th Del. Sid. 540.

of the wings. 10 (12[?]) Regt's of Cavalry, in 2 lines, formed the left wing (proper), and 9, also in 2 lines, the right (wing). At the utmost extremity of the left wing (proper), 2 regiments were posted, in such a manner, that they stood immediately in the rear of the flanking regiments of the first line—the second (cavalry) line was drawn up considerably farther to the rear—on a prolongation of the same alignment with the *Saxon Electorate Cavalry* of the centre (second line). The Artillery, 26 guns, was posted according to circumstances. Count MELCHIOR VON HATZFELD, Commander-in-Chief, supervised the whole, and was every where, that his presence seemed, to him, necessary. JOHANN VON GOETZ commanded the left wing; CASPAR VON MERCY* and JOHANN VON WERTH† the right; the Count SUTS [SUYS]

*FRANCIS DE MERCY, one of the greatest Generals of his era, was descended from a family of no distinction, at Longwy, in Lorraine; while quite young, embraced the career of arms; entered the service of the ELECTOR OF BAVARIA, and owed to his talents alone his rapid elevation to the rank of *General*. He signalized himself in the German Wars; took Rothweil and Überlingen in 1643; and, in 1644, captured Freiburg, looked upon as a place of the utmost importance. He covered that town with an entrenched camp, protected by the commanding eminences, so that his position seemed impregnable. Notwithstanding, the GREAT CONDE, with inferior forces, dared to attack him therein; the combat lasted three days, and even then was not decided. Nevertheless, MERCY found himself under the necessity of evacuating his camp, and, although pursued by TURENNE, conducted his retreat with such ability, that his reputation did not suffer from the reverse he experienced in being forced to abandon his position. In 1645, he profited by an error of TURENNE—the sole fault with which that Great Captain had ever to reproach himself—and beat him on the 5th May (25th April), at Mariendahl.—CONDE, however, having rejoined the French army, he, contrary to the advice of his Council of War, attacked MERCY on the 3d August, on the plains of Nordlingen (at Alzenheim). The affair was extremely bloody, and would have terminated to the advantage of the Bavarians, had not MERCY fallen, covered with wounds, of which he died the next day, and was interred upon the field of battle. Upon his monument the following epitaph was graven: “STA VIATOR, HEROEM CALCAS” — (“Stop, traveler, thou treadest upon a hero.” J. J. ROUSSEAU, in the IVth Book of his “EMILE,” criticises this inscription, and with some reason, for these pompous words do not express as much as would the simple mention of one of his great victories.—(Translated from WEISS, in the “*Biographie Universelle*.”)

*JOHANN [JEAN DE] BARON VON WERTH, one of the most celebrated partisans of the XVIIth Century—who shared with his opponent, the Swedish Major-General KÖNIGSMARK, the chief honor of this harassing but highly effective phase of war—was born in 1594, in Brabant, at Weert, a little town from which he derived his name or title.—Having selected, early in life, the profession of arms, he owed his subsequent rapid promotion to his courage. He next entered the Austrian service, and, after the death of ALBRECHT, —[See Note *, (agate), appended to Note *, (brevier), Page 95, supra]—succeeded that General in the command of the Bavarian Forces, and bore a distinguished part in the victory won by the Imperialists before Nordlingen. He then marched upon Heidelberg, and had made himself master of one of the suburbs, and forced the city itself to surrender, when, not having been able to capture the Castle, he was obliged to retire therefrom upon the approach of Duke BERNHARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR. In the following year he retook Spirens from the Swedes, obtained several other advantages over them, and rejoined CHARLES IV. in Lorraine. GASSION subsequently gave him a severe check, but he nevertheless intercepted the French convoys, beat their rear guard, and captured a part of their baggage. Lorraine had now become so devastated that it was impossible for an army to subsist therein, so that JOHANN VON WERTH was compelled to take up his winter-quarters in Alsace. At the opening of the campaign of 1636, he made his appearance before Leige, which had not as yet declared for the EMPEROR, but

and Don FELIX, the centre. As watchword, HATZFELD had given the war-cry of the savage, "No QUARTER"!

Count JOHANN VON GOETZ, [GOETZE, GOTZ,] originally from *Lunenburg*, one of those remarkable men which *Germany* produ-

all at once, with an army composed, of Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Croats, he burst into Picardy, destitute of defence. France thereupon seemed once more to realize the ancient invasions of the barbarians, for, in a very short space, he was enabled to menace Paris itself, whose inhabitants, stricken with terror, even abandoned the capital, and sought refuge in the provinces, further removed from the enemy, to which they imparted the panic which had driven them forth and accompanied their flight. The entrance of GALLAS into Burgundy increased the peril, already sufficiently great; but the unexpected resistance which that General experienced before Saint Jean-de-Loenne—[*See Note "GALLAS," pp. 94a98*—] gave Paris a breathing spell, to recover from its consternation. In a few days, 50,000 were ready to march against the invaders; whereupon JOHANN VON WERTH, not deeming it prudent to hazard a battle, abandoned Picardy, but not without carrying off with him an enormous booty. In 1637, he took from the Swedes in Ehrenbreiteu and Hanau, and marched against DUKE BERNHARD of SAXE-WEIMAR, who advanced to the relief of that place. Defeated twice by that prince, he was grievously wounded in the third combat which ensued. As soon as he had recovered, WERTH proceeded to join the army before Rheinfeld, and contributed in a great degree towards forcing the DUKE of SAXE-WEIMAR to raise the siege. This was in 1638. While the Imperialists were rejoicing over the victory, DUKE BERNHARD surprised them in their camp and captured, among others, four Generals, one of whom was JOHANN VON WERTH. Notwithstanding his objections, and pressing desire to be permitted to remain, a captive, in Germany, CARDINAL RICHELIEU ordered WERTH to be sent into France, to gratify the Parisians with the sight of that General, as a prisoner, who had occasioned them such distress. His arrival in the French capital was hailed with joy, as a crowning triumph. Although at first incarcerated in the Castle of Vincennes, WERTH soon had no other prison than the whole capital itself; the Parisians whom he had so thoroughly frightened two years previously crowded to get a sight of that redoubtable General who had caused them so much trepidation.

"Le redoutable JEAN DE WERTH."

"Qui lors les avait pris sans vert."

"That formidable Baron, JEAN DE WERTH [WERT],
Who, once, upon a time, had caught them napping;
And, ere they had a chance to cry 'alert!' [alerte!]
Had given them a most tremendous strapping."

CARDINAL RICHELIEU himself gave him (WERTH) a fate at his Chateau of Conflans, at which the DUKE of ORLEANS, brother of the King, LOUIS XIII. did the honors. Following the example of the Prime Minister, the highest nobility considered it a merit to afford him, day after day, new entertainments, as fresh scenes of amusement. The captivity of JOHANN VON WERTH lasted four years; but it is very apparent that nothing was omitted which could render this period of restraint as agreeable as possible. It was not until 1642, that he, together with two other Imperial Generals, likewise prisoners, was exchanged for the Swedish Field-Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN, captured in 1634, at Nordlingen. At once, when free, he reassumed his command, and completely destroyed the army of the brave RANTZAU, by his masterly Surprise of Tuttlingen. [*See Note*, pp. 119 and 120, infra.*] Some slights, or causes of dissatisfaction, subsequently induced him to quit the Bavarian and enter the Austrian service, and he distinguished himself again in his new command, at the head of the Imperialists, in 1646. He did not, however remain long under his new colors, but, soon after, returned to combat once more under the Bavarian banner. After the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, he retired to a domain which he had obtained in Bohemia as the reward of his distinguished service, where he died—worn out with the fatigues which he had undergone—on the 6th of September, 1652. His name, although that of an enemy, was popular for a long time in France. More than 50 years afterwards, it was the burthen of many refrains and songs; they even had a piece of music arranged for the trumpet, called the "Air of JOHANN VON WERTH." [*See the Romance of Mademoiselle L'HERITIERE, in the "Mercure Galant," May, 1702, and BAYLE's "Dictionary."*—(Translated from WEISS, in the "*Biographie Universelle*."

ced at this time; particularly remarkable, however, for his terrific ferocity, worthy a Tartar *Khan*, or, perhaps, more justly speaking, a Roman Catholic *Inquisitor*. War was his trade and source of livelihood. His whole life had been spent under arms, and, brave to superciliousness, this constitutional bravery was the only quality he could boast of, or esteemed at all in others. Moreover, indifferent towards every thing, except the acquisition of military honor and booty, he was one of the prominent actors and instigators of the *Pasewalk* slaughter;* for which atrocity he

* **THE PASEWALK SLAUGHTER.**—GORTZ and his soldiers, after having reduced Pasewalk to the utmost poverty by quartering and contributions, at a time when GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS had scarcely landed on German soil, were beaten by the Swedes; who, guilty of inexcusable carelessness, were in turn surprised by GORTZ, who had been reinforced by several Imperial regiments, re-expelled from Pasewalk, an unfortified (or rather entirely open) town, which was subjected to such usage, that the reader, shuddering at the very narrative, would scarcely believe it possible, did he not remember the Albigenian, Waldensian, Neapolitan, and other massacres, perpetrated by the Roman Catholics on their Protestant brethren, and, infamy of infamies, the murders of St. Bartholomew.

Great as had been the cruelties of many of the Emperor's Commanders, with the exception of the sack of Magdeburg, nothing could exceed the ferocious cruelty of the Imperialists at Pasewalk—25 English miles N. W. of Stettin, on the Ucker, on the frontier of Mecklenburg. This town, already exhausted by repeated and long billetings, and so depopulated by the extremity of famine, that scarcely the third part of the houses was inhabited, received orders from the Imperial Colonel, GORTZ, who marched his command thereinto, to pay a still further sum of 18,000 thalers [\$18,000]. Upon the representation of the Magistracy, that the collection of such an amount, in their impoverished condition, was an impossibility, the place was given up to plunder. Like hungry wolves, the soldiers immediately burst into the houses, each question was accompanied by sword cuts, every mouthful of bread was soiled with blood. Even the poor, likewise the sick in the hospital, were beaten; their garments were torn off from men and women, children were speared on the breasts of their mothers, and pregnant women were cut open and the unborn babes thrown to the dogs. The most beautiful girls were bound to the horses of the troopers, or thrown into the baggage wagons, to be reserved for further cruelty. A Burgomaster, several Members of the Council, and the most prominent citizens, tied hands and feet together, were carried to Garz, where they were compelled to lay three days and three nights, exposed to the rain and cold, without any shelter, save the heavens; and besides all this, and the accompanying, hunger and bonds, were forced to submit to the insults of the soldiers; who relieved nature not only around, but even upon them. Finally, the soldiers [Imperialists] at their departure, set the whole city on fire, and threw into the flames all the inhabitants who were still living; likewise their children, and the corpses of the slain.—[BECKER'S *History of the World*, Vol. IX. Pages 63 and 64. Edition of 1880.]

These atrocities were perpetrated under the influence of religious rancor, in 1630, at a time when public opinion had little weight. Let us see if there are no parallels in recent times, when all the incitements which could be pleaded in extenuation were the savage instincts of the human heart. With the view of enabling our readers to judge for themselves, we furnish the TREATMENT OF LUBECK, a neutral town, by the French, in 1806, and the Sack of Loosoncz, in Hungary, in 1849; the first, to prove what the French, with all their boasted refinement, have shown themselves capable of; the second, to demonstrate how the Russians wage war, and to convince the Russomaniacs in this country that the Muscovite is still a savage, however he may cloak his inward sentiments to the eyes of an unsuspicious, and, in matters of diplomacy, unsophisticated, people.

"We terminate"—says BAIRD, in his *Northern Europe*—"our notice of LUBECK, by giving a brief account of the awful events of November 6th, and the days following, 1806—by which this city, which had enjoyed the blessing of an uninterrupted peace during more than a century, was suddenly overwhelmed in the calamities of war, and

was so much the more detested and despised by all the Protestants, as he at that time professed their, the Reformed, faith.

received a blow from which it has scarcely recovered during the many years of prosperity which have succeeded. Apart from the mere historical interest which attaches to the events which we are going to narrate, we cannot recall to our mind too frequently the dreadful consequences of war.

A vivid impression of the evils which this awful scourge of the human race has, from time to time, inflicted on so many of the fairest portions and the most beautiful cities of the old world, would make men talk less flippantly than they do when they speak of the glories of war, and have a juster estimate of the blessings of peace, when they consider the question of exchanging them for scenes of rapine and blood.

On the 14th of October, 1806, BONAPARTE, with the Grand Army of France, met, and completely put to rout, the forces of the Prussians on the plains of Jena. The first consequence of this great battle was the complete dispersion of his enemies, and his prompt and uninterrupted advance to Berlin. By this movement, the remains of the Prussian armies were completely divided.

A portion of those forces—and by far the greater—with the King and other Members of the Royal Family, retreated towards the eastern part of the kingdom, whither they were followed by NAPOLEON, with the larger part of his forces. Several detachments of the Prussian army, including the remnants of shattered regiments, under the command of BLÜCHER, fled precipitately to the west, and were closely pursued by the corps which the PRINCE OF PONTE CORVO, [BERNADOTTE], Marshal SOULT, and the GRAND DUKE DE BERG commanded. Notwithstanding that their army was from day to day joined by some detachments which were flying over the country in various directions, the Prussians were almost daily defeated in their rear guards, and compelled to retreat from one position to another.

In a few days, they were driven wholly out of Prussia, and compelled to take refuge in Mecklenburg, where they committed the greatest excesses in their rapid flight.

But even here they found no resting-place, for the French columns, converging from different points, pressed hard upon them.

Quitting the plains of Mecklenburg, BLÜCHER presented himself at the gates of Lubeck, and seemed resolved to take possession of it and there defend himself against his enemies. In vain the Senate of that peaceful and wholly neutral city expostulated with him, and depicted the frightful consequences of this step. In vain they invoked the shield of justice, and of the rights of nations; even this last defence of the helpless was of no avail to them. The Prussians entered by the three gates which stand on the eastern, north-eastern, and S. E. parts of the city, and having strongly entrenched themselves by placing many pieces of cannon at those gates, and a considerable force with them, in order to make the greatest possible defence, they marched the largest part of their army through the city, and passing the gate on the western side, and crossing the river Trave, deployed or spread themselves over the level country, which lies on the left bank of that river down to Travemünde. These arrangements were made only on the morning of the 6th November.

But no sooner were they made than the 3 French Commanders appeared with their forces, which in all amounted to 50,000 men; and at once a most furious battle took place. The wretched Lubeckers beheld with consternation the awful strife which had commenced at their gates, and which was soon to penetrate through all their streets.—After a furious cannonade for two or three hours, the French drove the Prussians from the gates, carrying them at the point of the bayonet, and pursued them pell-mell into the streets.

The Prussian musketeers, who had been posted in each house, on one side of every street that terminated at the gates, opened a murderous fire upon the French, who in turn attacked them, after they had driven back the mass of their enemies with whom they were engaged in front. This was no easy matter. Several times the Prussians rallied, and drove them back, and for a considerable time the awful spectacle was beheld, of opposing masses of men driving and re-driving each other at the point of the bayonet, and contesting every inch of ground.

Vast numbers fell in the murderous affray. But at last the French cleared the streets, and attacking the enemy that were entrenched in the houses, they pursued them from story to story, and from room to room, even to the very roofs.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when the French got full possession of the city. Then commenced a scene of pillage and brutality which it is impossible to describe

Without having the talents requisite for a great Commander, he was, nevertheless, an able partisan; and, if he had not aspired

The infuriated soldiers, who, as a mass, did not know that Lubeck was not a city that belonged to the enemy, and who believed, as soldiers always do, that what they had taken by storm was wholly their own, rushed everywhere into the houses of the citizens, instantly killing all who made resistance, and sometimes those who did not, and seized every thing of value on which they could lay their hands. Money and valuables, jewels and clothes, were the first objects of their rapine. In getting possession of these things, great violence was often employed, and sometimes the persons who gave up with reluctance what they possessed, or what they were supposed to possess, were instantly killed. Next, victuals were sought; and, to add to the excess, the miserable inhabitants thought to pacify the soldiers by giving them wine, with which the cellars of the rich, and of those who dealt in this article of commerce, unfortunately abounded. Drunkenness being added to fury, the disorders which the French committed were truly frightful.

We speak only of the soldiers; for it is due to truth to say that the officers, and especially the excellent Marshal BERNADOTTE, did all they could to repress these violations of all law, human and divine. Still, all they could do during the night which followed, accomplished but little. It ought to be stated that some valuable officers lost their lives, nobly endeavoring to protect the helpless people. A Captain CLEVEY, a relative, we believe, of Marshal BERNADOTTE, was badly wounded whilst engaged in this good work.

The next morning, at an early hour, the three Marshals left the city, in further quest of the enemy, whom they overtook beyond the village of Schwartaa, two leagues—about 5 miles—from Lubeck, and compelled them to surrender. Toward evening, they returned with their forces, 50,000 in number, bringing with them 20,000 troops of the enemy, whom they had taken prisoners. All these men had to find places in Lubeck and the villages around. The churches and churchyards, the public places, and the private houses, were filled with them. No time was lost in ceremony. Whatever was wanted was taken possession of with the promptness of the FRENCH SOLDIERS. The Senate of the wretched city was in session perpetually, endeavoring to do all they could to satisfy the wants of their numerous and not very welcome guests. Bread, and all other sorts of provisions, were demanded in the most pressing manner. Provender for the horses was needed, and could not be found. Thousands of horses must have perished, if the King of Denmark had not allowed corn and hay to be carried from the neighboring provinces of Holstein to supply them. *No effort of ours can give an idea of the confusion and difficulty in which the poor Senators were, or of the insolence with which they were treated. The clamorous applicants assailed the Hall in which they were assembled, some demanding one thing, and some another. A cook wanted six dozen oysters for his master, and stood impudently insisting that they should be instantly forth coming!*

Another demanded the choicest wines! Another, fresh bread! And there would have been no end to their clamor, had not the PRINCE OF PONTRE CORVO interfered by a proclamation, addressed especially to his own men, and by other measures, to prevent the Senate from being insulted. But notwithstanding all, that great and good man could do to prevent it, wild disorder prevailed throughout the night of the 7th, and during the 8th and 9th days and nights.

Gradually, good order was restored, and these excesses restrained, and made finally in a good measure to cease. But no description can give our readers an adequate idea of these scenes.

§ 37 The loss of property by pillage and needless waste was immense. Many families were literally plundered of every thing in the shape of money, jewels, and wearing apparel.

In many cases, parlors on the ground floors were converted into stables, and horses were to be seen standing on fine Brussels carpets, feeding from troughs which stood on marble tables, in front of looking-glasses! The loss of property was estimated at more than \$2,000,000. *But all this material was nothing in comparison with the demoralization which took place during these few days. The soldiers gave up rein to their vilest lusts, whenever there was an opportunity of gratifying them. Women of all ranks and conditions fell a prey to their violence. In one case 22 wretches seized one woman, the wife of a laborer, who had been married only the night before, and having gratified their base desires, THREW HER INTO A SHALLOW POND, IN THE REAR OF THE HOUSE, WHERE SHE DIED A FEW HOURS AFTERWARDS. The extent to which this barbarity was carried can never be known; for what parents, or husbands, or brothers, would not wish to*

to distinction in the more elevated sphere of a General, he would have won a more distinguished mention in the annals of this

conceal such cases, as completely as possible, and mourn in silence over the ignominy which their daughters, their wives, and their sisters, had suffered? In many cases, beautiful and virtuous young ladies died in the course of a few weeks or months, consumed by the hidden grief which preyed upon them, in remembrance of the scenes through which they had passed. And what is, we believe, without a parallel in the history of the sacking of cities, even the female inmates of a Hospital for the Insane, were invaded by some wretches, and two of them, fortunately for themselves unconscious of the crimes which these brutes committed, long bore the traces of the violence which they had received from their hands.

We are fully aware that there are certain persons of such consummate depravity, that they can make light of such crimes as we have here alluded to, and can even laugh at the idea that there is any great enormity in such actions. They are, in their opinion, only the trifling incidents of war, which one must expect, and are in reality hardly worthy of censure. But the laughter of such men is the laughter of hell, and their levity is the most appalling demonstration of the ineffable baseness of their souls!

We turn, however, from this subject, and will pollute our pages with no more revolting details respecting it. The furious cry was every where heard: "Au nom de l'Empereur, donne moi ta bourse—ta montre—tes chemises—ta femme! Tout ton argent ou je te tue!"*

Amidst all these awful and cruel scenes, there was, as is always the case where the French are concerned, not a little of the extravagant and the burlesque.

One soldier, who had pillaged the house of a Lutheran pastor, put on his cassock of black camlet, put over it his belt and his cartridge box, and sallied forth to join his companions. Some dragoons, having need of a guide, tied a citizen to the tail of one of their horses, and so set out in quest of what they wanted. The house of the pastor VOX HOUNE had been completely pillaged by some 20 or 30 marauders. Two soldiers afterwards came and stayed all night at his house, and helped themselves to such articles as they could find. Notwithstanding the kind treatment which they had received from its occupant, in the morning, when about to depart, they demanded what little money he had, which he gave them. They still wanted to know if he had not something more in his pockets. He pulled out a small silver box, at the sight of which they exclaimed, "Here are the ducats!" He told them that the box contained the wafer which he used in giving the sacrament to the sick. At this they started back, fell on their knees, and begged to be allowed to kiss the box? They then went off; but were careful not to give up the things which they had stolen. Wonderful mixture of immorality and superstition! For one cannot call by the name of religion an idolatry so gross, and which influences so little the heart.†

We may add to the notice which we have just given of the capture and the sacking of Lubeck, that it was a long time before the city recovered fully from this great calamity—a calamity so much the more overwhelming and distressing, as it was unexpected, and occasioned by those whom it had considered to be its friends. Among the 20,000 prisoners whom the French took on this occasion, were 2,000 Swedes—many of them young noblemen, who had been sent to aid the Prussians. The noble conduct of the PRINCE OF PONTRE CORVO towards these Swedish troops, as well as towards the inhabitants of the city, was the circumstance which afterwards led to his being chosen CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN. A noble reward for such noble and generous conduct!

HOW THE RUSSIANS WAGE WAR:—THE SACK OF LOSONCZ.

On the 1st of August, 1849, about 9 o'clock in the morning, 90 Russian soldiers, commanded by 10 officers, arrived at Losoncz. They halted in the public square, and, whilst the officers were breakfasting in the nearest tavern, the soldiers scattered around among the baker shops of the town. They had been scarcely 15 minutes engaged in regaling themselves there, when the place was suddenly surrounded by a column of 150 Hunga-

*"In the name of the Emperor! give me your purse, your watch, your linen, your wife! All your money, or I will kill you!"

*We are indebted for the facts in relation to the capture of Lubeck, to a most interesting account of it, which M. VILLERS gave in a letter to the Countess FANNY BEAUMARIS.

protracted war. It was to him, too, that the Imperialists ascribed the unhappy issue of this battle, whose loss was the result

rian guerillas, who rushed upon their bated foes with unexpected impetuosity. Three Russian officers were killed; the rest, with all the common soldiers, were captured, excepting only a few who managed to escape.

After this feat, the guerillas withdrew. When they had at length departed, the bodies of the Russians were buried in the common ditch. It was not long, however, before the rumor reached Losoncz that General GRABER had sworn to take vengeance on the town for the surprise of his soldiers. At length, on August 7th, the affrighted inhabitants learned that the enraged Russians were within an hour's march of them. All who had vehicles at their disposal at once hurried away, but the largest portion were compelled to remain. The cholera was committing its ravages in the town, and nearly every family had dead members to bury, or sick to tend.

The town was speedily surrounded by the Russian advanced guard, composed of Cossacks, who first measure was to cut off all retreat for those who might still endeavor to escape. "Hungarian dogs!" they cried to the unfortunate fugitives, as they drove them back with clubs.

Ere long, a Russian major presented himself at the Town Hall, and the municipality having secreted themselves or taken to flight, named a magistrate and mayor among the town's people present, imposing upon the place a ransom of 27,000 rations of bread, 100 oxen, 100 quintals of lard, 200 bushels of vegetables, 100 cords of wood, 100 casks of wine, 25 casks of alcohol, 100 casks of brandy, 50,000 rations of hay, 500 bushels of oats, and 20 quintals of tobacco.

This exorbitant ransom was laid upon the town, with an accompanying threat that if it were not paid by 8 o'clock the next morning, the place should be destroyed. To satisfy such demands was impossible, for a few days previously the army of GORGEEY and the corps of General SASS had consumed nearly all the provision that could be found in the neighborhood. Yet every exertion was made, and then the deputation of burghers presented themselves at the head-quarters of General GRABER, to reach which it was necessary to pass through the Russian army. At first, free passage was refused them; they were insulted, beaten and threatened with death; but after having been subjected to much ill treatment, succeeded in making their way to General NADDE, who received them brutally, although, at the same time, promising to spare the innocent. But, by afternoon, the pillage began in some of the streets. The officers, to console the inhabitants, told them there should be no burning. But the soldiers were more frank in announcing the truth. At last, night came—and what a night! About 10 o'clock, a troop of Cossacks dashed into the town, and drove the inhabitants towards the cemetery, where the Russians slain by the guerillas had been interred. There, they were ordered to open the pit in which the dead soldiers had been deposited, and as they were about to do so, with mattock and spade, there arose a yell from their foes: "With your nails, dogs that ye are!" and they were forced to obey. The general pillage commenced after midnight. The signal was given by a blast of trumpets. The regiments marched in, one after another. This thronging host, constantly renewed, did not content itself with pillaging the houses, but they even tore from the inhabitants their clothing, not excepting their linen and shoes. Those who did not yield to this outrage with a good grace were regaled with a shower of blows. All were soon reduced to a condition bordering on complete nudity. Of course, the principal demand was for their money, and when they had none, they were lacerated with cuts of the *kantschuk*. The last regiments, finding nothing more to take, avenged themselves for the disappointment by unheard of cruelties. *Officers, as well as common soldiers, shared in the booty.* When all the stolen articles had been conveyed to the Russian camp, some of the battalions re-entered the town with pitchforks and sticks, and broke to pieces everything they had not been able to carry away. They did not leave a single article of furniture entire. Descending into the cellars, they bilged all the wine they could not drink. *The excesses committed by these drunken barbarians surpassed all that any one could imagine or dare to describe. I will say nothing of the outrages committed upon women and girls. Although an eye-witness, I can scarcely believe them. This much I will say, however, that neither the churches nor the resting-places of the dead were respected. This sack, of which the like has never, perhaps, been elsewhere committed, lasted thirty-six hours.* During that whole time, the town was surrounded, so that no one could pass out of it. The destruction was complete, the ruin was total—but even all that was not enough.

On the 9th of August, fire was applied to all the houses. The fragments of broken

of his imprudence and indiscreet excess of courage; and, in speaking of an adventurer, there exists, even to-day, the proverb in *Bohemia*, "He will succeed as well as GOETZ near *Janikau*," or "He will do as little as GOETZ near *Janikau*."

As previously stated, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO had already commenced his advance, and had possession of the chapel on the mount, when, on the morning of the conflict, 24th, GOETZ, all at once, of himself recalled the importance of that position, and remembered that he had taken no measures to secure its possession.* Without throwing out eclaireurs, or making proper dispositions—without even having reconnoitered the ground over which he had to move—all his steps were taken so unadvisedly, that he not only failed in his undertaking, but lost his life in the attempt. Headlong, with the whole [infantry of the ?] left wing [of the centre ?], to which 25 squadrons of Cavalry were attached, he advanced to occupy or besiege it; but, delayed by a dense intervening wood, filled with underbrush, arrived too late, and blundered into a most disadvantageous position; TORS-TEHSON had already occupied it in force. Surrounded by woods and mountains, entangled among marshes and thickets, with a stream expanding into small lakes in his front, GOETZ's men stood there, as it were, in a pit, packed together, and were subjected to a plunging fire of artillery, directed against them from a height, just opposite, upon which the Swedes had already

furniture were heaped up in the centre of the rooms, and fire set to them with torches prepared for that purpose. *By a refinement of cruelty, while this unfortunate town was burning, the Russian regimental bands played their national airs.* The flames, the savage music, the ferocious yells and laughter, mingled with cries of despair from a wild throng of naked, maltreated, famished and frantic people, made up a catalogue of horrors that cannot be conceived.

In a few hours the whole town was in flames. Those who attempted to extinguish the conflagration—a vain effort, at best—were beaten back by the patrols, who even drove many of the inhabitants into the flames. Towards evening the heat became insupportable, and the wretched survivors were led to *Apatfalva*, where, it was told them, that they were to be massacred. But this menace produced no effect upon them; they had already suffered too much for that—and, so they were permitted to live, as the worst punishment that could be inflicted upon them. But, in order to make their work complete, on the next day, while the army was commencing its march, they were assembled, and five francs given to each one, with the following words: "Strict investigation has been made, and we have discovered that the town was fired, not by Russians, but by guerillas disguised as peasants."

After this unblushing and infamous falsehood, the army moved off; and the wretched townspeople returned to gaze upon the smoking ruins of their dwellings, so lately the homes of peace and comfort—(*New York Daily Times*.)

*The importance of this chapel and mount, and attempt of the Imperialists to gain possession of it, still further justify the comparison between this battle and that of Salamanca. [Examine MCFARLANE'S *Memoir of the Duke of Wellington*, pages 123 to 138, particularly 137; ALISON, and other Authorities treating of that conflict.]

established their batteries,* which played upon the disorganized Imperialists below, with fearful effect. HATZFELD exerted himself to the utmost to dispatch, but the place was too confined (narrow), to allow any, succor to reach the Field-Marshal; and the Commander-in-Chief, very soon after, learned that GOETZ, having been struck by two balls, was dead, and that his troops, after "disputing it hardly," deprived of their leader, had been the greater part killed, the rest dispersed, leaving 3 pieces of artillery, and almost the whole ammunition, except the balls, of the Imperial army,† in the hands of the Swedes.

Though HATZFELD made his other troops still show front to the enemy, after some resistance, they gave way; the whole conflict having thus far lasted three hours: it commenced at 8 o'clock A. M. Thus passed the forenoon; the first act of the bloody drama had been played out.

The Imperialists now drew, or rather were driven, back, from one hill to another, in the form of an arc—"the Swedes constantly advancing, successively carried all the most commanding heights"—until they occupied the same mountain range which had served as their head-quarters on the preceding night.—Thereupon, HATZFELD drew together his forces, and assumed a new position, his right resting on *Janikau*, his left extending towards a village, which he had caused to be set on fire to prevent being out-flanked on that side. Immediately after noon, the fight was renewed, for the Imperialists fell with the utmost

*SPORCHIL states that "GOETZ moved off, *full drive*, to the attack, and so entangled himself in the wood and low ground, that he only arrived at the foot of the height when the Swedes had already gained possession of, and mounted, it with cannons. Nevertheless, GOETZ persisted in the assault, although neither his Cavalry nor Infantry had space sufficient to deploy. After a hard contest, his troops suffered a complete defeat, and he himself remained dead on the spot. HATZFELD, to sustain GOETZ, who had thus so imprudently engaged, changed his (line-of-battle) formation to furnish him support. But the Field-Marshal was defeated, before any assistance could be rendered; and HATZFELD, perceiving that the Swedes had established cannon on the height of the chapel-mountain towards the right front of it, in order to cannonade his flank, had nothing left but to commence a retrograde movement. This he effected towards the heights, which arose in the form of terraces, and consequently rendered the attack of the Swedes extremely difficult. Here he intended, if possible, to hold out until evening, and commence, under cover of the night, his retreat, which was difficult from the same reasons which aggravated the attack. TORSTENSON had already given orders to encamp, when he received the report that the Imperialists had again made a stand. He had himself carried near enough to their line, so as to be able to reconnoitre it, but erred so far in his judgment that he believed that their forces, drawn up before him, were no other than a strong rearguard, posted there to cover the retreat of the main army.—The GENERALISSIMO therefore only ordered the cannons and the musketeers to attack, who, being repulsed, he then commanded his infantry brigades to advance. But the Imperialists, not satisfied with the advantage they had obtained, in repulsing the Swedish attack, themselves attacked in turn, with their whole force, which general onset appears to have been made contrary to the will of HATZFELD. * * *

†"The General, with the greater part of his men, [were] killed, and almost the whole ammunition of the army taken."—[SCHILLER'S *Thirty Years' War*, Page 357.]

fury on the Swedes, who, following up the advantages already gained, were advancing in full line-of-battle, or, rather, in as good order as the many hills and woods would permit, to decide the affair.

The *Theatrum Europæum*, a great authority for what occurred in the Thirty Years' War, only mentions the watchwords issued in this, the second, battle, fought in the afternoon. The Swedes still shouted, as before, ["Help,] LORD JESUS CHRIST!" The Imperialists, who had got the worst of it in the morning, and no doubt began to have some doubts but that the cup might be returned to their own lips, now modified their barbarism, and for "NO QUARTER!" substituted "SANCTA MARIA!" desirous, perhaps, of recalling, the Virgin's promise of victory in the Emperor's dream. The Protestants, however, had put their trust in HIM alone who giveth or refuseth the victory, and HE heard, and in His good time, answered their petitions.

"Both armies now fought with an exasperation and a valor which seemed, were such a thing possible, to give promise that both would win the day." In fact, the battle raged with such an extraordinary fierceness that TORSTENSON, in his report, says "it became a very hard and bloody combat, such as has not been seen of late years, and will not soon be seen again." For

Austrian Account.—[Translated from the German.]

[From the Pocket Library for Officers, or TACTICS OF WAR, or POPULAR MILITARY INSTRUCTION, for both Military Men and Citizens; Prepared and Published by an Association of Prussian Officers, under the Superintendence of the Editorial Direction of the Journal devoted to the Art, Science and History of War," Vol. I. "HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR," Berlin, 1828—Part IV. "HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY," Berlin, 1838. Published by F. A. HERBIG—hereinafter designated "GESCHICHTE DES KRIEGSWESENS.—(G. DES K.)]

As we have already seen, TORSTENSON, with great ability, had begun his march towards the mount on the left flank of the Imperialists. As soon as Field-Marshal GORTZ perceived this movement of the Swedes, he, on his part, took steps to occupy the before-mentioned mount. But, even without taking into account that the Swedes had already gained possession of it before him, his dispositions were so badly made, that he not only failed in his undertaking, but, also, lost his life in it. We already know that the only access to this mount passed through certain defiles. Without, as he had been ordered, having reconnoitered these, he, at the first appearance of the Swedes, at once, marched with his whole Cavalry against the mount, and, in this advance,

a short time, things even indicated that the result was about to be unfortunate for the Swedes, whose right wing was broken through by 3 (5 ?) Squadrons of the Imperial regular Cuirassiers, who having thus come at the baggage, fell to plundering. Even the GENERALISSIMO's faithful wife, who accompanied her husband to the field, in the hope of assuaging his terrible sufferings with her devoted tenderness, fell into the enemy's hands.* This circumstance—the capture and plunder of the baggage, for which their Cavalry neglected to follow up the advantage gained by the charge—which had already caused the Imperialists to lose many a previous battle during the Thirty Years' War, in a great measure occasioned their defeat on this field also. Moreover, their whole attack, made without any general connected plan, was the result of a momentary impulse, and wanted that unity of purpose and co-operation in execution which alone could have rendered it successful; the more particularly in such a mountainous country—broken up by defiles and steep hills, and interspersed with wood, underbrush, and marshes, which would have rendered a simultaneous charge extremely difficult under the most favorable contingencies.

At this moment, fortune seemed to have decided in favor of the Emperor. The Swedish Cavalry was almost exhausted ;

found himself in such ravines and narrow passes, that, finally, when the *Swedes* commenced to cannonade him, he neither had the power to advance nor retreat. When the *Commanding-General* HATZFELD, came up at full speed, on horseback, to investigate the cause of such a disaster, he was beside himself to find that the left wing had marched off without orders ; but, his astonishment and fury were augmented, when, to his utter consternation, he discovered that GÖRTZ, with all his Cavalry, had precipitated himself into such a hole, from which it was impossible to extricate himself or his command, without great damage—for he had marched into this *cul-de-sac* by a narrow road, between two forests, and now had on his left and in his rear a thick wood, while before him spread out a large pond, between which, in some localities, there was not space sufficient to march a company with full front. Over the pond, upon a height, to his right as he approached it, the *Swedish "armada"* were drawn up, and had already begun to fire with its pieces upon the *Imperial Cavalry*, huddled together at their mercy. Before them, but at some distance, was an open field ; to reach this, they again had to pass two woods—hard by the small wood which ran out on the

* TORSTENSON'S wife was held prisoner by JOHANN VON WERTH, who was forced to release her by a sudden and furious attack by which he was subsequently surprised. (*Theatrum Europæum*.)

not a Squadron but had charged, 6, 7, and even 8 times (R.) ; in the Regiment of Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, called the KURLAND Regiment, there was not one officer living but was wounded (R.), while many were already killed.

TORSTENSON, who justly deserved the surname, so often and aptly applied to him, of BAJAZETH-ILDERIM,* i. e. LIGHTNING, was present on horseback, or in his litter, wherever his example could be of service, encouraging his soldiers with his voice and dauntless demeanor, establishing his batteries, and even pointing his guns whenever the Artillery could open to advantage upon the enemy. Nor must it be forgotten that this victory—"by which the Emperor lost on the same day his BEST General and his LAST army"—is ascribed to the superiority of TORSTENSON'S favorite Arm—his Artillery—which he—the GENERALISSIMO—caused to play, "after the old Swedish wont."

At length, the resolution of DOUGLAS, and the inextinguishable valor of the Swedish Cavalry, decided the fate of the battle. The Imperial Horse, which, as often as it had been repulsed and broken, had as often rallied again, and reformed on the flanks of the Infantry, became disordered by the Scottish General's furious onslaught, and began to give way. Neither the examples

left hand, the enemy stood. Thus, no other expedient was left for GOETZ but to advance, as quickly as possible, through the defile, before the Swedes could have an opportunity to garrison the small wood, on the one side, with Infantry, and shut up this passage also : "which I [HATZFELD] advised him to do as speedily as possible, as the sole expedient [*remedium*] left ; and then, as fast as my horse could carry me, rode back to lead the Infantry, Artillery, and the remaining Cavalry, which had not, as yet, received any orders, around the wood." "When I had come out of the wood, I sent Adjutants (Aids-de-camps), and did my utmost to get possession of the road around the wood ; but saw at once that the Pieces, also the Infantry, were entering the wood itself. As I now had every reason to conclude they marched upon a beaten road, I therefore, sent word to the General of the Ordnance to do nothing farther but to endeavor to reach the Field-Marshal as quickly as possible, and then place himself near him till I could come up with the Cavalry. The Cavalry, I also met, at full gallop, rounding the wood. Though, therefore, every one, Cavalry, as well as Infantry, had made as much haste as possible, still, the often hereinbefore mentioned Field-Marshal (GOETZ)—whether for the reason that he had delayed too long, with the Cavalry, in the above mentioned narrow place, I do not know—had been so hard pressed by the enemy, that he

* BAJAZET was the Turkish Sultan's proper name, his surname ILDERIM, Lightning or Thunder, was procured by the rapidity and force of his military operations.

nor exhortations of their officers, could any longer keep them firm. Their rout once effected, the flanks of the Imperial Infantry were left entirely uncovered, upon whom the whole Swedish forces, Horse and Foot, threw themselves with simultaneous fury; and although the Austrian Infantry fought bravely and obstinately, it was gradually disorganized, driven in, and jammed into one compact mass, without order or susceptibility of restitution to any regular formation, by which it could either resist or escape. Shattered by repeated shocks, the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, who, to the last, displayed the cool courage of a self-collected General, and the fiery valor of a soldier, lost all effect. All at once, this confused mass dissolved, and, at that moment the Swedish Cavalry, returning from the pursuit of the Imperial right wing, made a decisive end to the whole affair, falling all at once on the front and rear of the Infantry, who completely bewildered and dismayed, left the field to the Swedes, each man seeking to provide for his own safety in indiscriminate flight.* The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle; 1,200

was beaten and himself speedily killed, even before our Cavalry or Infantry could come to his assistance; for, when I had just arrived, with the first files, there, where we expected to join him, I perceived the already dispersed troops upon my left, and our Infantry and Pieces returning in confusion from the wood above." Up to this point, we have the Original Report of the Commanding-General, by which it appears that GOETZ rashly advanced upon and occupied a *terrain*, where he afterwards found it impossible to deploy. Cannonaded in front by the Artillery which the intervening pond prevented him from reaching, and certainly from capturing by a desperate attack (*coup-de-main*), he was also confined by the conformation of the ground on his flanks, in which quarters he was, moreover, assailed by the *Swedes*. As a natural consequence, the troops of GOETZ were thoroughly beaten. * * * History records that he was one of the most dauntless leaders whom the Austrian army possessed. Born in the *Duchy of Lunenburg*, a Protestant, he commanded the *Imperialists* at the time of the *Pasewalk Slaughter*, whose scenes of atrocity are even to this day remembered with horror by the people. Afterwards, he apostatized to Roman Catholicism, although as insensible towards its peculiar doctrines, as he had been with regard to those of the Protestant Faith. As a partisan, his name and renown were general; and seldom have courage and indefatigable activity been united to such a degree in one person as in his case. * * * With the unlucky combat of the *Imperial-*

*This is according to the Report of the General-Field-Marshal, commanding the left wing, (after GOETZ was killed). What transpired on the right, is nowhere to be found recorded. Most probably the same relation would serve for both.

Austrian Infantry were slain in one body, and those who had gone into battle with "No QUARTER," on their lips and in their hearts, now experienced in a measure the punishment such heathenish barbarity deserved.

Herewith ended one of the most bloody battles of this terrible war, which lasted, with but little intermission from 8 (A.M.)* in the morning, until 4 (P. M.) in the afternoon, when, about that hour, as the darkness began to envelop the mountains, TORSTENSON had the happiness of liberating his wife—worthy help-meet of a hero, daughter of the *Councillor of State*, JOHN PONTUSSON DE LA GARDIE, a martial family—who had fallen into the hands of Field-Marshal WERTH† and now enjoyed the mingled felicity and triumph of being rescued by her glorious husband, and congratulating him on his victory, which, to use the pious language of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, "the HIGHEST had graciously vouchsafed. *Yes, such a complete and brilliant victory as sufficed to lead the Swedish battalions even to the gates of Vienna, and diffused terror, far and wide, throughout the whole of Austria.* [G. DES K.]

Only 2 of the Austro-Bavarian Generals of the League esca-

Left-Wing, the affair appeared to the Imperial Commander-in-Chief already decided. He now became persuaded that he must act as the necessities of the moment required: in fact, he desired to temporize as much as possible, and profiting by a favorable opportunity, endeavor to re-organize the existing disorder and renew the combat under better circumstances, in a more advantageous position. A series, however, of unlucky accidents, indiscipline, and misunderstandings, compelled him to accept a battle, which, from the very first movement, gave promise of no propitious results.

When the Austrian Commander-in-Chief had observed the unfortunate issue of the first attacks of the Swedes, which followed each other in rapid succession, were, it is true, repulsed, and, as it would appear from the Original Report, with tolerable success, for sixteen (16) Swedish Infantry colors, and several Cavalry standards were captured therein at this time. But, at the decisive moment, the *Imperial Cavalry* was found wanting; a portion of the troops not doing their duty. "If," says the G. DES K., "we understand their position aright, HATZFELD himself must have been at the head of the Cavalry.

During the ensuing cannonade, TORSTENSON ordered part

* All authorities agree that the battle lasted 8 hours—from 8 A. M. to 4 P. M.—but also admit an intermission of about an hour, which would leave only 7 hours for actual fighting. HEISS and BARRE, however, assert that it commenced at 7 A. M. This would give 8 hours for "dash and blow," and yet allow for the breathing spell between the first battle in the morning and the second in the afternoon.

† See note * Page 148.

ped death or captivity--**HATZFELD**, who had fought to the last, with undiminished courage, when all was lost, accompanied by only a Captain of Horse,[†] sought for safety in the adjacent woods, but experienced, in his flight, the same evil fortune which had beset him in the conflict. He was pursued by two Swedish under (corporals) officers, to whom, even when overtaken, he would not surrender until he had received several blows (sword cuts), upon which he handed over his sword and purse to them. But, even yet, his peril was not ended, for if his captors, on rifling, had not found upon him 100 florins (about \$40), which led them to conclude that he was an officer of importance, they would still have slain him for his stubborn refusal to say who he was. Of the two more 'fortunate, **JOHANN VON WERTH** escaped, with a few men, and came to *Tabor*, whither he brought the first intelligence of the battle's terrible issue, for which he should have been held responsible--for, in the same manner that **HATZFELD** attributed, and with strict justice, the first overthrow, in the morning, or first battle, to **GOETZ**--who, in spite of his superior's warnings and commands, engaged with the Swedes in a locality rendered extremely difficult by mountains, woods, and lakes, whence there was no possibility of escape, or, at best, orderly retreat--he (**HATZFELD**) likewise charged **WERTH** with being the cause of the defeat in the after-

of his troops into a position, upon a mountain, by which the position of the *Imperialists* was flanked. **HATZFELD** thereupon took the *Bavarian Electorate* Dragoons, together with several other squadrons of his Cavalry, and advanced towards this height, which, after a severe contest, he gained possession of; and thence made his dispositions for a new formation [line-of-battle] of his forces, who were to be drawn up upon another height, which was somewhat to the rear of that he then occupied.

"As soon as I arrived upon this mountain," [height] says the Original Report, "I, [**HATZFELD**,] through my Adjutants [*Aides-de-Camp*], ordered all the Commandants of the different troops to separate, disengage the soldiers belonging to their several corps, and [promptly] re-form them in their original order, [which directions were necessary,] because while they stood covered behind that mountain they had become intermingled in consequence of their hurried movements, retiring upon this position, and the rout (derotta) of **GOETZ**'s divisions. These directions I then, myself, impressed upon the General of the Cavalry, as a

[†]The G. DE K. mentions this abandoned condition of the Austrian General-in-Chief, as the best proof of how utter was the route, how decisive the victory, and how *sauve-qui-peut* the flight.

*Remarks in [], by J. W. DE P.

noon, in the second or main battle, by having neglected to occupy a height which was of great importance to the *Imperialists*, and having thereby committed an error which could not be retrieved. The truth of the matter is, there were too many Generals of equal rank and renown on the field, of whom, besides the Commander-in-Chief, 4—MERCY, WERTH, GOETZ and BAUAY—had exercised independent commands, and distinguished themselves by important victories; besides, moreover, the two *Bavarian* Marshals were answerable, for any crime or error, to their own Sovereign alone, as they and their troops were a simple temporary loan, to aid the EMPEROR's necessities. Envy or jealousy, and pride, on the one hand, and superior ability in the leadership, and devotion in the following, on the other, lost and won the battle of *Janikau*. In addition to other propitious circumstances, the cold was seasonable for the

matter most urgent, and of the utmost importance. Making a hurried inspection of the *Bavarian Electorate* Troops, drawn up nearest to me, upon riding back I found them standing on my left, and not according to orders, in the rear of the mount, but saw the Regiments and Spearmen [*Lands knechte*] and even the Artillery, crossing [the intervening] ground, towards another higher mountain range, still farther [in the rear].

Thus, an act of misconception or disobedience rendered nugatory all the able dispositions of the Austrian Commander-in-Chief. Disobedience would be the more proper term to apply, since even the Generals immediately subordinate to him in rank could not show or bring forward any proof who had given the orders for the movement [which had just been undertaken].

Field-Marshal HATZFELD now made his dispositions for another new disposition [the third], and himself pointed out to the Adjutants, (Aids-de-Camp,) [how and where] to place the "*Armada*"; but even this order also was not obeyed, the troops marching [falling back] upon another height [still farther to the rear of that which had been designated].

In consequence thereof, HATZFELD had no remedy left but to accommodate himself [to these unexpected movements]. For this reason, the General-in-Chief repaired to the mountain upon which his camp had stood in the morning, and thereupon made his arrangements once more, to concentrate his army. He now devoted his attention particularly to the discovery of such a position as would enable him to cover his troops from the effects of the fire of the *Swedish* Artillery, so that they would not be exposed thereto, until the very moment they were called upon to engage. A slowly ascending plain, in connection with other favorable localities, appeared to offer him the best opportunity to carry his plan into effect. In this position [the fourth] the *Imperial*

Swedes, as it greatly facilitated their march ; *nor could they have been too grateful in that the favorable state of their GENERALISSIMO's health permitted him to be present (visit) on horseback or in a litter, wherever the danger was imminent, and point out in person—* remember, reader, we are speaking of an invalid suffering at most times excruciating anguish, whom the gout had deprived of the use of, so that he could not even stand upon, his feet—

right wing leaned on *Janikau*, the left on a village which he caused to be set on fire, by which, this new disposition, [line-of-battle] the latter [left wing] was quite [covered from the enemy]. General POMPEO, who appeared to HATZFELD not to be sufficiently capable of executing his (H's) orders, was removed from his command, which was given to Count BROX [BRUAY ?] Having done this, the General-in-Chief hurried to [inspect] the centre and the other [right] wing. After restless chasing and toiling, HATZFELD finally appears to have reorganized [his forces and brought them into something like] order. It was his intention now to delay the combat until in the night, in order [meanwhile] to discover some expedient for giving a better turn to affairs.

In order to effect this, he had given orders to await the Swedes in position (*de-pied-ferme*), and on no account to abandon the points which they then occupied. But, upon the Swedes attacking them, the Imperialists wavered ; with the greatest difficulty, order was maintained. The efforts of the General-in-Chief were finally crowned with success ; the Swedes recoiled ! But, there-upon the whole army, Infantry and Cavalry, broke up in pursuit. In vain, HATZFELD endeavored to stop his maddened troops. While he kept back his men by main force upon one wing, upon the other they only broke forth the more. No one would know who gave the order to pursue. The General-in-Chief, borne along [despite himself] by [this disorderly] movement, at length gave the order against his own will for a [general] advance ; but before this, [the general advance,] the left wing had already come within range of the Swedish Artillery. Staggered thereby, they [the troops] faltered, and were brought to a stand ; and, upon the Swedes [resuming the offensive] the first line took to flight. The second line, which then received orders to advance [to the support of the first], did not obey, but retraced its steps and re-assumed the position it had previously held, which it had abandoned without orders. Meanwhile, a portion of the Imperial Cavalry, which out-flanked the Swedish line-of-battle [right wing] still charged on and overthrew the Swedes opposed to them, and in the pursuit was enabled to reach the Swedish baggage. This somewhat checked the advance of the Swedes. The Imperial Cavalry, however, not thinking of re-assembling, the Swedes [TORSTENSON] gained time, as well to detach troops

the way through the snow and ice. It is somewhat remarkable—and to the writer it seems providential, for he believes in special Providences—that, soon after, when this cold spell was succeeded by rainy weather, TORSTENSON again fell sick. One day earlier, such an accident might have changed the whole fortune of the day, and caused the destruction of the *Swedish* army.

The *Imperialists* lost in killed alone, 4,309 men,* who covered

to retake their baggage, as also to make dispositions for the continuance of their advance. Notwithstanding the most furious resistance, they continued to make good their advance towards the height upon which the *Imperialists* formed themselves anew [the fifth time]. A most obstinate conflict now ensued with alternate success; victory oftentimes inclining in favor of the *Imperialists*.

Henceforward, the *Swedish* and *Austrian* accounts do not materially disagree. The details of the combat are renewed and concluded on page 143, commencing with the words, "At this moment, fortune, so long vacillating, seemed to have decided in favor of the Emperor."

* Authorities differ with regard to only two facts connected with this battle. The first, whether HATZFELD accepted battle against, or in accordance with, the will of the Emperor, a only our authority maintains the negative; the second, with regard to the number of killed and prisoners SCHILLER states 2000 *Imperialists* were killed on the spot and 3000 taken prisoners; RUSSEL, following HESS and BARRÉ, says "3000 men were left dead upon the field," and adds "the pursuit was no less bloody than the battle." BECKER corroborates the statements in the Text, "after 8 hours fighting GOETZ with 4000 men lay dead, HATZFELD and as many were taken prisoners; COXE, the Historian of the House of Austria, admits that the *Imperialists* were defeated with the loss of 8000 men, their commander captured, and many of their principal officers killed or made prisoners. SPORCHIL is more definite, and reads, "4118 officers and privates were taken prisoners.—Upon the battle field 4000 *Imperialists* lay dead and wounded; how many were cut to pieces in the flight (and pursuit) no human being knows. 45 standards, 32 ensigns, 26 cannons, and all the ammunition and baggage trains, fell into the hands of the victors." In fact all writers agree in regard to booty and trophies.

aThe concluding words of HATZFELD's Report to the Emperor FERDINAND III. set this matter at rest, at once; and they are so manly, yet mournful—emanating from a brave man in misfortune—that we call our readers' particular attention to them:

"This is the whole and perfect report of what has happened from the time I left Prague up to the unfortunate hour of the loss of the Imperial Armada and my captivity. It was YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S EXPRESS ORDER THAT WE SHOULD FIGHT THE ENEMY, which I, as in duty bound, intended implicitly to obey; but whether we fought on the same day, or two, three, or even more days afterwards, as long as I did so under advantageous circumstances, I hoped would not be the cause of any dissatisfaction with me. Consequently, I resolved, regardless of the remarks of the many persons who expressed their opinions, to march resolutely alongside the enemy, and not risk anything until some favorable opportunity occurred, which might present itself in many different ways—which course I hoped that no one could, with reason, be offended with. Moreover, will your Imperial Majesty be pleased to ask all the superior officers—who were about me, from the beginning to the end of the affair, and whom I had at all times to employ in carrying orders—what orders I issued to one or the other respecting the movements of the main army and wings, and judge therefrom whether or not I did my duty. Should any fault be found in me, I will at once cheerfully submit to all [the severest] punishment; but, if any should not be proven, even as I trust in God, even so I will not doubt, for a moment, but that your Imperial Majesty will be pleased to take care of me, and graciously provide for my ransom or release." Done at Iglau, 23d March, 1645.

the earth for a circuit of 2 (German, 9 English) miles. Nearly all the *Imperial* Infantry lay upon the field like mowed grain in the autumn. The most eminent among their dead were Field-Marshal GOETZ, the COUNT OF WALDBECK, and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Piccolomini Troop, GRAFF;* Lieutenant-Colonels; MAPP and STEINBELN; some Majors, Captains of Horse, Captains of Infantry, who had been recognized—as far as it was possible in the hurry of the moment, as they were all so mutilated by horses' feet—and buried. The Imperial-Field-Marshal-Lieutenant COUNT OF BRUAY, who was captured, also died of his wounds, shortly after the battle, at *Tabor*. The prisoners taken were, the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal-General COUNT VON HATZFELD; 2 General-Field-Marshal-Lieutenants, MERCY and COUNT BRUAY, the latter already enumerated among the dead; 3 Sergeants-Generals of the Cavalry, (General-wachtmeister, equivalent to Major-General?), ZARADETZKY, DON FELIX, and TRAUDITZSCH; 7 Colonels, SCHIFFER, TAPPER, BINAU, MEITHER, LANAU, KÖNIGSECK, and MERSY; 9 Lieutenant-Colonels, FRITTRA VON PICCOLOMINI, COUNT WORFUSH, SCHMIDT COUNT BUKERME, COUNT KEVENHULLER, CASSINATI, and 3 more Lieutenant-Colonels, the names of whom could not be ascertained in the hurry of the moment; 6 Majors; 20 Captains of Horse; 23 Captains; 10 Captain-Lieutenants or Lieutenant-Commandants; 58 Lieutenants; 1 Regimental-Quarter-Master; 24 Cornets; 27 Ensigns† (Infantry-Standard-Bearers); 20 Cavalry Sergeants; 36 Corporals; 41 Sub-Corporals; 21 Trumpeters and Kettle-Drummers. The booty made was inconsiderable; for, with the exception of a few carriages belonging to the superior officers, and a small number of baggage-wagons, all the baggage of the Imperialists had been left behind in *Tabor*, and afterwards secured against capture in *Budweis*—an old town defended by the ancient feudal fortress, *Schloss Frauenberg*. The whole Imperial Artillery, however, 26 pieces, and all the ammunition wagons, 45 standards, and 32 ensigns or pairs of colors, were the trophies of the victors.

The Swedes lost, it is said, 2,000 men, although their GENERALISSIMO stated that it was impossible to make a correct return,

*On the 1st of April, 1645, the dead bodies of Field-Marshal GOETZ, the COUNT OF WALDBECK, young PICCOLOMINI, and another Colonel [Lieut. Col. GRAFF?] were brought to Prague; that of GOETZ—according to one account—was interred in the Church of St. Emmaus, and the funeral ceremonies celebrated for three consecutive days—according to another, it was subsequently transported into Silesia. That of the COUNT OF BRUAY, however, who died in consequence of wounds received in the battle, at *Tabor*, was embalmed, and deposited with the Capuchins, thence to be transmitted into the Netherlands, of which he was a native.

†According to TORSTENSON'S account of the Battle, contained in a letter, written 8 days subsequent thereto, and published at Stockholm, in the "Extraordinary Post Journal" of April 19, 1645, "a MULTITUDE of superior (field) and inferior (company) officers were taken prisoners."

since they were scattered here and there on the hills and in the woods, for the space of 2 (German, 8 to 10 English) miles, very thickly. Among them were Colonels ~~SREESTEDT~~, (~~SCH~~ESTEDT,)—originally returned as wounded—a valiant soldier, and particularly lamented, who fell early in the forenoon, in the attack upon GORTZ's wing—and REUSCH; besides some few other officers of inferior rank and note. A number were wounded, as was naturally the case in such a hot battle. General GOLDSTEIN, who led the first attack, was the only General wounded; he received a shot in his right hand. The Prince Palatine (Palsgrave), CHARLES GUSTAVUS, displayed the greatest intrepidity, and encountered the utmost danger; his hat, coat, and even shirt, were pierced by balls.

Although the Swedes did not gain much booty by the victory, neither did the three squadrons of Cuirassiers, although they actually obtained possession of the Swedish baggage; for, they were not only allowed but little time to pillage or even search it, and had only opened some of the General-Officers' carriages, and made off with what they could hastily lay their hands upon, when, making their way through the wood, in which the wagons had been parked during the battle, they stumbled right into the midst of TORSTENSON'S troops, so that pretty much all that they gained was sword-cuts; and thus their pillaging—which they preferred to doing their share of the duty, and bearing the brunt of the fray—ended in their being mostly cut to pieces.*

Reflections† on the Battle of Janikau or Jankowitz.‡

Whoever undertakes to judge and criticise the battle of *Janikau*, will be forced to admit that it is one of the finest in the Military History of a period which GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, BERNARD VON WEIMAR, BANNER, CONDE, TURENE, WALLENSTEIN, TILLY, MERCY and many other heroes rendered illustrious with

*The original German has, "and were mostly cut to pieces for glove-money."

†Translated from the German of the G. DES K. Remarks in [], by J. W. DE P.

‡We intend, in the APPENDIX, to furnish the account published in the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, written by a Swedish Colonel of the Battle of Janikau, which is by far the most agreeable and clearest elucidation of the details of this tremendous conflict. The *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* contains, likewise, the Official Report, in full, of Field Marshal HATZFELD, and TORSTENSON'S Letter giving an account of what transpired. The whole would have been furnished in the Text, had we been fortunate enough to obtain that work in time. Examination and comparison show all that we have furnished to be correct; but there are some interesting details which the authorities consulted [over a dozen] omitted as of no consequence.

It is somewhat strange that before this work was commenced, notwithstanding his utmost endeavor, the author could scarcely collect any data to assist him in its preparation for the press; but, latterly, he has been remarkably favored in obtaining facts and the best authorities for the completion of his biography; as if History, herself, at length was desirous of affording every available means to introduce, as it were, the fa-

their genius. From the very first TORSTENSON'S conception of this advance against the Imperial army was excellent. By his march from *Eger* to *Pilsen* he compelled the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians* to leave *Prague* and meet him, because the latter feared an irruption into the *Upper Palatinate*. Scarcely had he attained this end, when, by his flank march to the left he induced the enemy's army to commence a war of movements in which he had every reason to believe he would prove the conqueror.—By a flank march of 20 (German, 80 to 100 Eng.) miles both commanders rivalled each other in military ability. If TORSTENSON'S operations were ably carried on, HATZFELD'S manœuvres to foil him were no less so. The latter's countermeasures were so complete that even the most rigid critic could not find any mistakes in them worthy of blame. Both Commanders believed that they had already obtained the objects which they had in view, when, although it cannot be said unexpectedly, but still unlooked for, the advanced corps of their respective armies came in sight of each other. Thus matters had arrived at such a point that nothing but a battle could decide the question. From the moment, however that the opposing forces were disposed in line of, prepared for, battle, HATZFELD'S genius succumbed to that of TORSTENSON.

It is true that the Austrian General-in-Chief had reconnoitered the country with unremitting activity, but still it can only be supposed that he had even yet relied too much upon his Assistants-in-Command, since HATZFELD allowed himself to be deceived by TORSTENSON'S march to the left in sight of the Imperial army, and followed this movement, [did exactly what his opponent wished him to do, which was the reverse of what, according to

mons Swede to a new world. The description of Janikau was just completed when the writer was enabled to purchase a copy—in 21 large folio volumes—of the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, or a Complete History in detail of the XVIIth and part of the XVIIIth Centuries, containing plans of all the important battles fought and sieges undertaken in Europe from 1616 to 1717; likewise, maps, and portraits of every person of distinction who flourished between those dates. This remarkable work is the text book of every author who has treated of the Thirty Years' War, and is a wonderful monument of the industry of its compiler, JOHANNES PHILIPPUS ABELLINUS, and whoever co-operated in the collation of its contents.

If ever this Biography should be deemed worthy a second edition, the whole contents will be revised and compared, with new and important data; for, having been printed 8, 16, or at most 24 pages at a time, there was no longer any possibility of amplifying or correcting what had already passed through the press.

The basis, as mentioned in the Introduction, of the greater part of this Biography, is VON LUNDELAD'S "*Swedish Plutarch*," which the Editors of the "*Geschichte des Kriegswesens*" admit, contains rich treasures for the benefit of an historian; the basis of the Battle of Janikau, however, is the "*Geschichte des Kriegswesens*" itself; that of the *Advances to Vienna*, the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*. Besides these books, extremely rare in this country, the author has consulted and embodied statements from SCHILLER'S, SPONCHER'S, BROCKHAUS'S Histories of the Thirty Years' War, as well as many other works, too numerous and needless to mention, as they sometimes were only necessary to supply a single corroborative fact or certify a date.

military principles he ought to have done.] Meanwhile, a range of hills had enabled TORSTENSON to appear [move] with the greater part of his forces on the left flank of the Imperialists, who, then, for the first time, seemed to appreciate what fatal consequences might ensue if he should occupy a certain hill in that direction. The Imperial Commander-in-Chief became acquainted with this movement of the Swedes, when, as yet, it was not too late to parry the blow, [to counteract its effects.] A manœuvre however made by *Field Marshal* GOETZ with the left wing, contrary to HATZFELD's orders, endangered the safety of the whole army, and before the latter could repair to the spot, that combat had already begun, which, under the circumstances of its commencement, could not terminate otherwise than disadvantageously. In spite of the repeated orders, which he had received to that effect, GOETZ had entirely neglected to make himself acquainted with the terrain (lay of the land) on his left flank, and the result was, thrust himself into a *cul-de-sac*, out of which he could neither force his way, nor retreat, still less deploy therein, or upon. All that HATZFELD, who came only in time to witness this series of fatal errors, could have done, was now inoperative. Powerless to avert the fatal blow itself, all that he could accomplish was to break its force by assembling the dispersed and rallying the broken troops on those which still held firm under his own command. This he appears to have executed with ability. The Swedes, who probably had not all, as yet, come up, gave him time to do this as well as to restore order in general. Nevertheless the *morale* and spirit of the whole army, but more especially of those troops which GOETZ had commanded, was shaken, [deeply affected.]

So much disorder prevailed, so many misunderstandings occurred on the part of the Austrian subordinate general officers, that the Swedes succeeded in driving back the enemy upon a mountain whereon they had encamped before the battle. There, however, HATZFELD had been enabled to rally his army, and form them once more to receive the enemy. But on every point where he himself was not present, such confusion and so many fatal mistakes seemed to govern every movement, that he could scarcely have even hoped for victory. All that he attempted was to temporize. The *Swedes* immediately followed up their advantage. The good position which HATZFELD had occupied, farther strengthened by appropriate dispositions, enabled the *Imperialists* to repulse successfully the repeated attacks of the *Swedes*. But that spirit of [intentional] disobedience, or if it seems preferable, of [willful] misconception, which so conspicuously ruled every thing throughout the day, impelled the right wing to an inconsiderate pursuit. This fatal movement finally so thoroughly infected the whole army, that the Austrian Commander-in-Chief was obliged to yield to it. Whether it was

that the *Swedes* tempted the *Imperialists* to pursue them by a feigned flight [in order thus to disorder their formation and deprive them of the advantage of their position], concerning which, however, the *Swedish* report is silent, or whether their own ardor caused them to forget the obstacles which they naturally had to encounter [can not be determined now. It is sufficient to know] that when they came within range of the fire from the *Swedish* main position they faltered. For some time they bore up under the fire with determination, then suddenly retreated. An order to the second line to advance at this crisis [to support the first] was not obeyed. Finally the cavalry took to flight and left the infantry to its fate. The latter, assailed on all sides, after an heroic defense, which the *Swedes* were compelled to do justice to, succumbed to their assailants.

[We have already seen how utterly abandoned the Austrian Commander-in-Chief was, when he sought to escape. Such a fact is the best evidence of the completeness of the rout and decisiveness of the victory. "*Sauve qui peut*," was the impulse of the moment. No one thought, except of himself, and every restraint of discipline, which could impede his individual flight, was instantly abandoned.]

The principal charge which can be brought against the *Imperial* Commander himself, is, that he was not always present where his presence was most needed. He must have known, GOETZ, and [knowing him], for that very reason, should have taken care to provide in time against an arrogant assumption of independent command [assumption of authority] by that brave, but insolent leader. It was his duty, as Commander-in-Chief, to find means to do so, in the very same manner that, at a later period, he did find a remedy when he substituted a better general for the incapable POMERO. It is undoubtedly well for a Commander-in-Chief to be everywhere in a battle, but still, as no human being can be in more than one place at a time, it is the duty of a General-in-Chief to remain there where he is actually needed. In this respect HATZFELD failed entirely. [His restlessness, his desire to be everywhere, was his great mistake.] It can not be denied, that he possessed courage, and penetrating [sound] judgment.

The conduct of his army, however, although evincing courage, activity and valor, places its order and discipline in a bad light. The day of *Janikau* was a day of confusion, misunderstanding and disobedience, always more culpable and dangerous on a day of battle than at any other time or in any other position. In every other particular the arrangement of all the leaders appears to have been excellent. The valor and obstinacy with which HATZFELD fought at *Wittstock* as well as at *Janikau*, show the able general. But in the same manner that in the former battle he succumbed to BAKER's [and TORSTENSON'S] superior

talents, so in the latter he was forced to yield to TORSTENSON'S higher order of genius as a general.

Throughout, TORSTENSON'S dispositions were excellent. The manner in which he manoeuvred to bring about a battle was worthy of the highest praise. *It* [either his strategy or tactics] *might be cited as a model.* This is also the case with everything connected with the introduction of the battle. His dispositions for the flank march to the left in order to deceive and induce his adversary to make a false movement, and then appearing in the very opposite direction, was masterly : and is in itself the best evidence of great perfection of manoeuvring on the part of *his* troops. Once in possession of the position which appeared to him appropriate for the attainment of his object how, [without waiting a moment] he hastened to meet his heedless, advancing opponent [rushing blindly into the trap so cunningly prepared] and engaged him in a combat which had a decisive effect upon the whole [subsequent] battle. But still the cautious [at the same time that he was fiery energy itself when the occasion demanded the exertion of the most opposite qualities] GENERAL-ISSIMO did not allow himself to be dragged into a premature pursuit of the beaten enemy. And, then, it was only after he had again collected his troops and brought up those in the rear to their support, that he advanced to a fresh attack, which, once determined upon, he carried on with all his wonted determination.

That there was no division which did not attack [rally and again attack] six to eight times, proves with what [determined] animosity both parties fought. The *Swedish* cavalry having overthrown [one part of] the enemy and driven it from the field of battle, immediately returned to complete the destruction of the rest of the *Imperialists*. This conduct furnishes the best proof of the high state of discipline of the *Swedish* horse.* But

* Previous to the advent of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS cavalry were drawn up from six to eight horses deep, which he at once and forever reduced to three. Great as were his improvements in Infantry Tactics, those for the Cavalry were still more important. He never allowed his Cavalry to engage except in cases of the utmost necessity, and then only at full gallop (*pleins carriers*), sabre in hand. This was a great innovation and produced wonderful effects. In fact, as would naturally follow, it insured him the victory as long as his opponents did not adopt the same system. According to SCHILD-KNECHT, previous to this, the writer would judge from the context, that in a charge, the squadrons were divided in three separate bodies either in successive divisions (one after another) or with intervals between the files or troops, so that those in advance could retire through the intervals between those in the rear. Sometimes, also, they were disposed chequerwise (*en echiquier*, in echelon), in which case they attacked, one after another, rank by rank, fired and then, wheeling their horses, countermarched to the right and left and reformed in the rear.* Cuirassiers however charged home at once, they

* The Cavalry of that day were not Cavalry as we understand that term ; they seem to have been more properly speaking Dragoons in the original acceptation of the word, or rather Mounted Infantry. Otherwise great as were the generals of that era, they did not know the proper use of Cavalry. The very fact that in almost every army during the whole war the Cavalry exceeded the Infantry in numbers proves that Cavalry could not have been confined to their legitimate duties ; thus, for instance we have seen that KOMMERSMARK'S troops were ordered to the assault of Schwednitz. Did they wear spurs, and mount breeches, or conclude with such ticklish appendages?

what a marked contrast does it present when compared with the action of part of the *Imperial* cavalry, which, having seized upon the *Swedish* baggage,* continued to plunder it, without caring in the least about [the event of] the battle [or wasting a thought upon the consequences which might ensue from their desertion of their comrades], till they were driven from their spoil.

Every General, every leader of the *Suedes* worked in so exactly with the general plan of operations, that there was nothing like misunderstanding or false movements. [Every General, every Commander on the part of the *Suedes*, performed his [duty] part of the days' work, so exactly, fulfilled his orders so strictly, and understood all the details of the plan of operations, [dispositions for the day] so perfectly that there was no idea, [not the slightest] instance of misconception of what was ordered or expected of each, or mistaken manœuvering. *Sometimes on horseback, sometimes in his litter,† the GENERALISSIMO was in every spot where the occasion rendered his presence requisite. He saw, ordered, and directed everything himself. The last battle which he won was at the same time the finest* [specimen of his superlative generalship, and the greatest achievement] *of his life; [nay, what is more] perhaps it is the finest of the whole THIRTY YEARS WAR. But we—remember it is the Prussian Colonel VON BRANDT, author of this*

were intended to cut in. They charged in three ranks with open files and increased their pace the nearer they approached the enemy. Light cavalry protected their flanks.

The numerical strength of the squadrons varied greatly, some were as strong as modern cavalry regiments. Cavalry were accustomed to fight with intervals between the squadrons, formed in line of battle, and on all occasions in two, sometimes even more lines. Sometimes they appear to have charged in line without intervals, as was the case at the battle of *Janikau*, whence HOYER is of opinion that the attack *en masse* originated (85—'6). In the very first year of the reign of GUSTAVUS he substituted (*Lendreiter*, Land or District Cavalry) *Lendreiter*, on the Prussian Landwehr principle, for the quotas previously furnished by the nobility. Each county furnished three companies; each company consisted of 125 men. The Finnish Cavalry alone comprised twelve companies and the whole Swedish Native Cavalry, 3,500 men (38). The Light Cavalry were organised into Dragoon regiments, armed with short muskets or carbines and matchlocks* (*lunkkeys*), but were to serve on foot only under circumstances of the utmost necessity; the lunt or match-cord was carried attached to their horses' bridles (39—40). The whole cavalry was divided into Dragoons and *Quirasiers*. The ensigne—an obsolete title for a troop—were succeeded by Companies and Regiments. Originally a regiment commanded by a Colonel, comprised 24 companies, every four companies under a Captain (*rytt mastare*), each company composed of 150 men, besides 24 supernumeraries (*passerolantes*.)

* Flint locks did not come into general use until 1699.

* It was on this occasion that TORSTENSON'S wife fell into the hands of the *Imperialists*. She was, however, soon after liberated, as it would appear, by her husband himself.

† TORSTENSON is not the only instance of a General directing his troops from his litter. The Count of FURNES, the stout old leader of the Spanish Infantry, at Rocroy, from a similar cause, the gout, was compelled to appear on the field rather as an invalid than as a soldier. But if he appeared like an invalid, he fought and died like a soldier, and the French General, the Duke d'ENGHEN, found him, after the victory, covered with wounds, and expiring beside his shattered conveyance.

portion of the "*Military Pocket Library*," who utters this opinion, not the author of this Biography—regret to say that it is one of those battles which [for the advancement of Military Art and Science] up to the present date have been the least studied.

With regard to the *Tactics* practiced on this occasion, two important points are to be observed. If the plans—there are three plans given of the battle (of course drawn according to the manner of the times) showing its different phases—which are furnished in the *Theatrum Europæum*, of that battle, accompanying the original Reports of the [both] Commanders-in-Chief are correct, the *Swedish Infantry** were formed in the same manner

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS reduced the depth of infantry formation [from at least 18] to 6 deep, under ordinary circumstances, and in actual battle to three [which is the rule now observed in almost every civilized army]. "The king," says OCKENITZ, "found that in deep battalions, the front ranks interfered with the serviceableness of those in the rear (hindered their fighting); moreover in such dense masses the artillery was able to do more mischief." (G. DES. K., I, 45.) He at once and forever abolished the massed formation in squares, drew up his infantry in six ranks, who, in action, deployed in such a manner that they fought then in three, whereby they were enabled to deliver a much more rapid fire. Arrived near the enemy the line of battle was formed; as long as the troops were in range of the enemy's artillery they advanced with opened ranks and files with an interval of four to five feet between. Having come within musket range the first rank of musketeers advanced five paces, fired, filed to the right and left and retired to the rear to load. Each rank in succession went through the same manœuvre. [It was a *stationary street firing*. See "*Eclaircur*," vol. II, No. 4 and 5, pages 78—79 and 113—114.] Although they did not always gain ground by this manœuvre as a matter of course, still it served to break up [loosen] the opposing forces, so that when an attack was ordered it would experience less resistance. If cavalry charged or threatened to [fall on] hew in, the musketeers retreated behind the pikemen intermingling in such wise that the different services could use their appropriate arms with the best effect and mutually cover and sustain each other. Probably they played as at first, i. e. reduced their front and doubled their depth, resuming the same formation, six deep, as at first. [HARTE in his third volume of his Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS furnishes an explanation and plates showing how a Brigade, called the *Leipsic Brigade* or *Column of Musketeers* or *Pikemen*, was drawn up on different occasions.] They may have lain on the ground and fired while in that position, like the *Chasseurs de Vincennes* and similar corps in other European services.

On some occasions the Musketeers were disposed in the rear of the Pikemen; the latter kneeling upon one knee presenting their pikes, while the former delivered their fire over their heads. When the Musketeers fired kneeling, the rear rank loaded standing, and the kneeling rank and erect rank alternately interchanged. When Pikemen were attacked by Cavalry they planted their pikes firmly in the ground near the right foot, sustaining them with the right hand, while with the left they cut and thrustured with their swords. When Pikemen attacked Pikemen or other Infantry, they depended on their pikes alone, which they managed with both hands. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, according to HARTE, introduced a partisan, instead of the pike then in use, with a narrow head 4 1-2 inches broad, cutting on both sides; this was so admirable a weapon that it was with difficulty superseded by the bayonet. Even as early as 1631 he had organized complete regiments of Musketeers whose fire-arms carried a 1 1-8 oz. ball—a calibre retained up to 1811. He also invented paper cartridges for the Infantry, which were carried in a pouch of prepared leather slung at the back (43—4). What kind of firing GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS introduced at the camp of Werben, in 1632, cannot be exactly determined; but it was, most probably, that by three ranks, the same as is still practised in some armies—the present drill however is slightly modified and improved—the

* Generally all subdivisions, whether administrative or tactical, were multiples of six, in consequence of the formation in six ranks adopted by the king of Sweden.—ROQUINCOURT *Cours élémentaire de l'art et de l'histoire militaires*, p. 386 (61).

as the Imperial Foot in *Terzias*. So far as the author knows, the contrary has never been asserted, much less proven. This would be uncontrovertible evidence that the *Swedes*, at the end

front (first) rank fired kneeling, the second and third standing; the second slightly stooping, the third erect. As long as they fired thus they maintained the same position while loading instead of alternately interchanging as mentioned above. This rendered their fire much more speedy, regular and effective and not a little surprised the *Imperialists*, opposed to it, when they experienced its terrible effects for the first time. The fire originally practised by the Great King, which he appears to have learned from the French, was afterwards kept up, particularly in the army from which it was derived, under the name of File Firing—(*feu de file*). This File Firing* is often mentioned in the records of French battles in the early part of XVIII century.

On page 182 Commanded Musketeers were mentioned as having been posted between the Cavalry Regiments at *Janikau*. This was a favorite manœuvre with GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, who began with small detachments of fifty men. This disposition was first made on the march to Frankfort (70) and appears to have been productive of the best results when directed against the Imperial cuirassiers; the G. D. K. thereupon remarks that he might have been able to operate to more advantage, had he been able to create an effective light cavalry such as we have at the present day. Subsequently these detachments were increased in force, and at Lutzen he augmented them from 80 to 360 and 400 Musketeers, and even added field pieces (80). The Regimental Pieces seem to have been served by these Commanded Musketeers, instead of by the Master-Gunners, which might easily be the case as that species of artillery almost invariably discharged the duty of howitzers and fired canister, which did not require the same experience and precision as ball (49). Whether the Swedes understood the use of *Tirailleurs* and opened their battles with them as had been already occasionally done by the German troops in Italy and Germany cannot now be determined with certainty; at all events if attempted it does not appear to have been carried out in the present gallant and effective style (63). Before leaving the subject of Infantry we must again recur to that peculiar element in the tactics of GUSTAVUS, already referred to, his BRIGADE, which, at first, the result of necessity, subsequently became a fixed tactical formation in the Swedish army. The king first employed it against the DUKE OF SAVELLI, in the camp of Schwedt, in 1630, and one year afterwards united under that name the remnants of several regiments, much reduced in number, which, thus, once more, constituted a tactical body in another different form, thereby facilitating supervision (inspection) and command (60). The formation of a line (of battle) by Brigades (*Brigadenstellung*) which GUSTAVUS originated—concerning which LORD REA, one of that monarch's favorite colonels, and all who follow him make such a noise; in which FOLARD pretends to find his System of Columns; and later military writers discover the GERM of the WHOLE MODERN SYSTEM OF WAR—he did not live to develop and complete—its improvement belongs to a later period (64).

The German and English regiments in GUSTAVUS' army comprised from ten to twelve companies of 150 men each. A company consisted of one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, one Sergeant Major or Orderly Sergeant, one Sergeant, one Armorer, one Sergeant Quarter Master, one Guide, one Muster Master, six Corporals, eighteen Sub Corporals (*rott meister*), three drummers and 144 Privates. The Staff of a Regiment was composed of one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, one Quarter-Master, one Chaplain or Field-preacher, four (field) Surgeons, one Drum-Major, eight Sentries (*Vivandiers*). The Major actually commanded his own company, but the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel's companies had each a Captain-Lieutenant or Lieutenant Commandant; consequently a Regiment composed of 8 companies had in fact only five Captains, two Captain-Lieutenants, and six Lieutenants.

As monthly pay, a Colonel received 184 Thalers (Rix Dollars—a Rix-Dollar is worth from 70 to 100 cents U. S. currency—but the reader must bear in mind the greater relative value of money then and now); a Lieutenant-Colonel 180; a Watch-Master-Colonel and a Captain 61; a Quarter-Master-Lieutenant and an Ensign, 80; a Sergeant, 9; an Armorer, a Muster-Master and a Guide, 7; a Corporal, 6; a Sub Corporal, 5; a Drummer, 4; a Musketeer and Pikeman $3\frac{1}{2}$; a Volunteer or Supernumerary, 3. The Civil Regimental Staff, as Hoyer terms it, was proportionally much worse paid. An

* This can hardly be our common Fire by File or so much stress would not be laid upon it,

of that bloody contest, the *Thirty Years War*, returned to the system [of Military Formation] of their adversaries, the *Imperialists** Viewed in any light, this seems very extraordinary, for, sometimes we find the *Imperialists* inclined, especially in small combats, to adopt the shallow formation [line deployed nearly as at the present day.] The great powers of resistance which the *Imperial* Infantry had shown on some occasions, for instance in the *Battle of Breitenfeld*, or Second Battle of Leipsic,† had perhaps given the idea to TORSTENSON to oppose them with an analogous system. We have too little information, however, in regard to the minor details to express a certain and satisfactory opinion. But, in any case, the fact is in itself remarkable, and presents an important proposition for the discussion of all military writers, well worthy further elucidation.

[To the author, the reason for this formation of the Swedish Infantry in *Tercios*, *Tertias*, or *Terzias*, seems susceptible of easy explanation. It should be remembered that a *Tertia*, then, was, in many respects, equivalent to a *Regiment* now, and a *Regiment*—ployed-into-column, doubled-on-the-centre, closed-in-mass—would be, at least, 16 ranks deep; the *Tertia* varied from 45 to 10 ranks deep. All parties admit that no connected line of battle was possible, and the topographical map of the battle ground renders this at once apparent. It would not be easy to discover a rougher or more difficult country to manœuvre over or fight in. The best illustration which presents itself is to suggest that the reader should imagine two armies engaged in our

Auditor received 80 Thalers; a Chaplain and the Clerk of a Court-Martial, 18; a Surgeon and a Provost, 12; a Jailor's Assistant and Deputy-Provost, 8; and a Headman or Executioner, 7. The salaries were paid on the 1st, 11th and 21st of each month; it also appears, in dangerous circumstances, or for desperate service, GUSTAVUS sometimes increased the pay (1-3) one-third. These salaries appear small, but the punctuality with which they were paid greatly enhanced their value; at all events they were far better than those of other cotemporary armies. The king however could not afford to give a higher pay, for in 1620 the revenue of Sweden amounted to only 1,280,652 Swedish Thalers (858,768 Specie Thalers). Although this was increased during the latter years of the king's life by the assistance of large loans, these nevertheless were but of small assistance. As to rations a soldier was allowed day by day, if provisions were distributed from the Magazines, 2lbs. of bread and 1lb. of meat; vinegar, salt, light and fire were to be provided for by the landlord [on whom they were quartered (56).]

* The Prussian author promises to devote more time to the consideration of this subject at some future date.

† We might add the obstinate defence of TILLY's *Wallcoons*—reduced from four full, huge regiments, at least 5000 in all, to 600 men—at the *First Battle of Leipsic*, whose submission to be slaughtered rather than fly, surrender or even ask quarter, caused that old savage, TILLY, the author of the *Sack of Magdeburg*, although unused to crying, to burst into tears. Also of those famous *Spanish* or *Wallcoons Tercios*, destroyed at the *Battle of Rocroy*, an irreparable loss to their country, of whom their commander, the mortally wounded Count of FUKENBERG, to the question of the French officer—"How many men he had at the commencement of the combat!"—replied "You have only to count the dead and the prisoners to know what was the number of my forces."

Highlands, somewhere adjacent to *West Point*.* TORSTENSON'S dispositions were made in accordance with his knowledge that, after the battle was joined, it would be a succession of *shocks* and *surprises*; the *brunt* of the former would fall upon the Infantry, the *execution* of the latter would fall to the Cavalry. Remember, neither army had any Light Infantry or Light Cavalry, *proper*. The *conception* and *initiative* required *genius*; the *execution* and *conclusion*, *force* and *courage*. NAPOLEON often launched massive columns against an enemy—take for examples *Wagram* and *Waterloo*. Tactics were still very imperfect in the XVIIIth Century. Although in advance of his time, TORSTENSON was still of his time. He may have anticipated the dense columns of a subsequent era, but if he did he was compelled to form those columns according to the best method of which the tactics, practised at that date, were susceptible. Is this idea a forced explanation?

But, after all, what reason have we to take it for granted that the Swedish Infantry were disposed in *Tertias*—because the plans represent them thus? In every battle of this war, the *Theatrum Europæum* depicts the troops very similarly drawn up; for instance, at the battle of *Leipsic*, where it is well known that GUSTAVUS put in practice his new ideas of military formation and disposition. In the absence of direct proof, it would be difficult to make a person at all cognizant of the genius and adaptive ability of TORSTENSON believe that, at the decisive moment, he was untrue to himself, and guilty of so much indecision as to risk every thing by a return to tactics whose weakness and inapplicability he had seen demonstrated during a service of 14 years.]

We also find an innovation in the formation of cavalry which has already been referred to in HOYER'S *History of the Art of War*, vol. 1, page 471, viz: the bringing together or junction of the troops of three squadrons in order to produce a greater shock in a charge. Upon the left wing of the *Imperialists* stood a Brigade of Infantry, behind which, as TORSTENSON states the fact, the cavalry rallied and reformed as often as it had been repulsed. Seeing this, to meet the occasion, *Herr Major-General* DOUGLAS formed three squadrons into one body and led it against that Brigade, which, after having fired a very heavy volley, was broken and cut to pieces by this [triple] squadron. Our (German) military writers have considered this manœuvre as the commencement of the charge of cavalry in line without intervals (*attaque-en-muraille*), which, for a long period, was held in the highest estimation by all armies.

* On comparatively accessible ground, certainly not over the ruggedest mountains.

TORSTENSON'S

Conquest of Moravia and Upper and Lower Austria, north of the Danube

In order to arrive at a proper estimate of what the Swedish GENERALISSIMO accomplished during the ensuing campaign, it will be necessary to consider the numbers he commanded, their means, and situation, both with regard to their own base of operations and the enemy. Although the *Geschichte des Kriegswesens* estimates his forces at from 24,000 to 28,000 men, no other history pretends to claim that TORSTENSON had over 16,000 men—other authors assert, that he had but 15,500—in the battle of *Janikau*. Of these, 2,000 lay upon the field of combat, and under the most favorable circumstances, deducting the severely wounded and sick, it is very unlikely that he mustered over 12,000 men fit for active service after that desperate conflict. With this handful, and what mercenaries he attracted to his standard by his constant success, TORSTENSON remained undisputed master of all the open country in the *Imperial Hereditary States* north of the *Danube*; and, had allies proved faithful to their engagements, or his own army been spared the visitation of a pestilence, or himself the aggravated return of his own tormenting maladies, there is no question but that History would have a different tale to tell concerning Central Europe, than that which has been recorded of the last two centuries.

But this is a mere speculation. Sufficient for the glory of our hero those achievements which it cannot be denied were due more to his genius and the terror which his sole presence inspired, than to the swords of his soldiers. TORSTENSON brought two hosts into the field to the assistance of his troops,—the first was his transcendent abilities, and indomitable yet discreet valor; the second, himself—his wonderful example—and when his infirmities compelled him to resign the command, “the enemy rejoiced, supposing that TORSTENSON’S cannon were now silenced, and valued his removal from the army as equal to the loss of 10,000 men for the Swedes.”*

When GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS sailed from *Elfsnaben*, in 1630, to take the lead in the German war, as was already stated on a previous (4th) page, TORSTENSON was spoken of as being already in command of the artillery, and “having thus early made a name in this branch of the service,” and, throughout his after life, he neglected no opportunity to improve this right arm of victory, and perfect himself in its use. He must have been a most exemplary officer at the head of his department, for, were practical demonstration wanting, the *Theatrum Europæum*—speaking of the “excellent” Swedish Ar-

*TURNER'S GELZER'S "*History of the Swedes*," Chapter XIX. Page 329. For further proof of the Imperialists' joy at the departure of TORSTENSON, read PURKENDORF, XVIII. §15.

tillery—comprising great and small pieces, completely equipped—which accompanied the army when it landed in *Pomerania*—remarks, “that though a *young* Swedish Colonel commanded it, he was nevertheless the complete master of every thing connected with his duty, and knew how to direct his guns with perfect success. The king likewise kept a watchful eye upon it *in the field*”—which language certainly affords reason to suppose that he placed implicit reliance in the vigilant and able superintendence, elsewhere, of his favorite at its head, “so that no fault whatever could be found with it.” That young Swedish Colonel, 27 years of age, was LEONARD TORSTENSON, and from the time that he was selected for such a responsible post, requiring not only mechanical genius, inventive powers, observation and science, but also administrative qualities of the highest order, until his infirmities drove him from active service, the Swedish Artillery never, for a moment, lost its ascendancy, and on every occasion throughout the German war, did honor, not only to the monarch who devoted so much time and energy to its amelioration, but to his choice of its Grand Master. Conspicuous as TORSTENSON was even in subordinate commands, and afterwards as supreme head of his country’s forces in Germany, remarkable as he was for rapidity of conception and vigor of execution, without which no military chieftain can ever become pre-eminent, he, yet, particularly excelled as an officer of artillery, having won his earliest laurels as Colonel and General of Ordnance, and made a reputation, second to none, by his admirable employment of the siege and field trains entrusted to his supervision. In the same manner that in every age, and in every branch of the mechanical arts and the sciences, the honor of each great improvement or invention has almost invariably accrued to the Chief, the world being ignorant of the patient merit and unobtrusive genius of the more or less obscure subordinate with whom the idea originated, perfected by the greater means, leisure, and opportunities of the superior—so may the credit of organizing the Artillery Arm on an entirely new basis belong in a great measure to TORSTENSON, without detracting from his Great Master’s reputation.

The abilities of SEYDLITZ, brought to the aid of FREDERIC the GREAT, enabled that Monarch to create his magnificent Cavalry. NAPOLEON owed much of the success of his Cavalry to the impetuous MURAT; of his artillery, particularly in his last campaigns, to the virtuous and brave DUVOT;* and what DUVOT

*NAPOLEON won his battles with his guard and artillery; Duvot commanded the Artillery of the Guard. *In the art of handling artillery, and bringing it to bear with precision, Duvot had no rival.*—(*London Times*, 2d April, 1847.)

“It would only require 100 men like you,” said NAPOLEON to Duvot, in 1814, after the victory of *Champ-Aubert*, “to conquer the allied hosts.”

was to his great chief, and Col. DICKSON to the rival Commander, WELLINGTON, TORSTENSON was to GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. And yet, of the world at large, how few have heard the names of those and many other equally able men in similar subordinate positions, while, at the same time, the achievements of their superiors are as "familiar in their mouths as household words." Altho' few particulars of TORSTENSON'S achievements are to be found in the history of times, still, wherever he is alluded to, it is in the highest terms possible ; and from time to time his name appears with honorable mention in connection with his peculiar Arm, particularly at the admirably conducted siege of *Landsberg*, in 1631. Then again, after the capture of *HANAU*, GUSTAVUS marched his army, *a-cheval*, to the *Mayn*, to protect TORSTENSON, who displayed great ability in his arrangements for transporting the Artillery on its broad and copious channel. This very operation may have given him the idea of transporting his large Park of Artillery on the *Elbe*, when he was hastening to the conquest of Continental *Denmark*.

In 1636, when he appeared before and established his batteries against the Saxon entrenchments at *Werben*, so satisfied was the garrison of the superiority of his artillery, that, after 3 shots, they surrendered at discretion. But it is needless to multiply such proofs ; facts speak louder than words, and a summary of our hero's career is worthy a library of references.

Few Generals have left as great a name behind them in connection with any particular branch of the service, as TORS- TENSON ; a reputation without a flaw from its commencement to its termination, so that, when the GENERALISSIMO returned to *Sweden*, the enemy—we can not deny ourselves the pleasure of repeating the following flattering testimony, "*valued his removal from the army, as equal to a loss of 10,000 men for the Swedes,*" but they "*rejoiced*"—mark the strength of the expression—"REJOICED," supposing that TORSTENSON'S cannon were now silenced."

* * * * *

While upon this subject, some few remarks with regard to the ARTILLERY of that era may not be without interest. It is a great mistake to suppose that they were still the clumsy affairs which embarrassed the armies of a few years previous rather than facilitated their operations. The carriages were still clumsy, it is true, but they resembled very closely the old-fashioned flask-trail or Gribbeauval—carriages, superseded in our service within a very short period, and even yet preferred or tolerated in *Austria* and *Bavaria*. In the *Musee del Artillerie*, at *Paris*, and other similar collections in foreign cities, numerous specimens or models of the Artillery of the past are preserved, some of which are exquisite pieces of workmanship. In that admirable work, *Etudes sur l'Artillerie*, by Prince LOUIS NA-

POLBON, now Emperor of the French, several drawings are furnished of the cannons of the XVIIth Century, in one of which, a sketch of a 12-pounder, belonging to the Park of Prince MAURICE of Nassau,* that valiant *Hollander*, the "*Restorer of the Art of War*," a citizen would suppose that he recognized an elaborately finished cannon and carriage (Gribeauval-pattern) of the present day. The light regimental pieces of GUSTAVUS in many respects resembled the 12 pounder mounted howitzers, now adopted in every country, whose shafts were attached almost exactly similarly. Nor was the harness either uncouth or ill-arranged; if the drawings are correct, it indeed differed but little from that in use with us. The application of the draft constituted the great inferiority of the field-artillery of that day, which (the field-artillery) at that time arrived at nearly the same results as at present, in a more primitive manner; but there was no comparison between capabilities of their and our siege-guns. The Swedes brought very large numbers of cannon into the field, greater in proportion to the numerical force of their armies than even many more recent armies. Before *Griefenhagen*, in 1630, GUSTAVUS had 80 guns in battery; before *Frankfort*, in 1631, 200; at the passage of the *Lech*, in 1632, 72 heavy pieces; in the works around *Nuremberg*, 300. Nor was TORSTENSON much behind him in the size of the Parks which accompanied his expeditions.

With regard to ammunition, particular attention was paid to the manufacture of powder of which immense quantities were used since the charges were proportionally much greater than those which are now deemed sufficient. The Swedish artilleryists allowed one pound of powder to every pound weight of the shot. The U. S. Ordnance Regulations allow one-fourth, one-sixth, one-eighth, and even as low as one-twelfth, varying with the service, piece and missile. The principal Swedish cannon foundries were at *Stockholm* and *Fingpang*, where they cast cannons of all sizes from a one pounder to a forty-eight pounder. The most extensive powder mills were at *Nacka* and *Wallinge*.

*MAURICE OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE, youngest son by a second marriage, of WILLIAM I. PRINCE OF ORANGE, born at Dillenburg, 1567, was studying at Leyden, in 1584, when his father was assassinated. The Provinces of Holland and Zealand, and soon after, Utrecht, immediately elected the young Prince STADTHOLDER; and his talents, as a General, surpassed all expectations. Previous to the truce of 12 years, concluded in 1609, about 40 towns, and several fortresses, had fallen into his hands. His life was an almost unbroken series of battles, sieges and victories.

War he understood as a Master, and conducted like a Hero. Like MONTECUCULI, he possessed the rare art of conducting a march and pitching a camp; like VAUBAN, the genius of fortification and defence; like EUGENE, the skill to support the most numerous armies in the most unproductive and exhausted countries: like CONDÉ, that unerring coup d'ail which terminates the issue of a battle; like CHARLES XII., the power of rendering the troops insensible to cold, hunger, and suffering; like TURKHE, that of sparing human life. In the opinion of FOLARD, MAURICE was the greatest Infantry General that had ever existed since the time of the Romans. He died in 1625.—(MAUNDER'S Biographical Treasury.)

Regular fixed ammunition, as we understand it, the Swedes had not; yet they approached it very close. GUSTAVUS abolished the loading-shovel and introduced cartridges even as early as 1620; likewise canister-shot for field-artillery which had hitherto been fired from siege-guns only. This canister-shot consisted, often, simply of pieces of old iron, generally however of musket balls, filled into wood or tin cylindrical boxes; sometimes bags made of strong linen were used, and at times even more primitive contrivances, such as wicker-baskets, while in emergencies the missiles were merely bound and held together by willow twigs.

The military genius of the Swedish monarch discovered almost immediately that the great *desideratum* in his artillery was *mobility*. Of this he became aware in the Polish war and at once made every exertion to remedy the defect and with that view adopted the invention of one Baron MELOHAR VON WORN-BRANDT, a native of *Austria*, and late an officer in the Imperial army—those famous so-styled *leathern cannons*, always attributed to the king himself. These pieces, already referred to and partially described (note †, p. 4), consisted of a pipe or barrel (the bore) of copper, 15 calibres long and 1-8 calibres thick; that part which formed the chamber wrought somewhat stronger—into which another much smaller pipe was screwed vertically which served as a vent. At the bottom of the bore and attached thereto with six screws, a solid piece of metal, one calibre long, formed the breech and cascade. That part of the barrel which constituted the chamber and had to resist the full shock of the explosion, was hooped with strong iron rings and at the end the copper was turned over and rolled up. After this the metal was covered with repeated coats of mastic varnish, then encircled with concentric staves of wood, bound together or rather tightly wound with small ropes and stout twine; after this the interstices were filled and the whole surface rendered even throughout with plaster of Paris, and finally covered with an envelope of leather.

GUSTAVUS ever evinced an “uncommon fondness” for these *leathern cannons*, which “were certainly of extraordinary service upon all sudden attacks in deep [heavy] or mountainous countries, for one strong horse could convey a couple of them as fast as troops could march; and what was more they could be shifted in an instant according as necessity required.” When we consider carefully the method of transporting these light pieces and the use to which they were assigned we will find that in them we have the very mountain-gun on a packing-carriage which until very recently was employed in almost all the European campaigns in mountainous districts, such as the writer has seen in the Neapolitan and Piedmontese, and knows to exist in the English arsenals and such as is referred to in the able article on “Mountain Artillery” in the *Aide-Memoire to the Military*

Science. They corresponded in everything except their calibre to the U. S. Mountain Howitzer—as far as the piece itself was concerned, Count HAMILTON's Gun, or rather Howitzer, bears a more intimate resemblance. That their duties were similar is proven by the services they performed at *Jakinau*, in which battle, a body of musketeers with ten pieces of regimental artillery, were ordered into a dense wood to dislodge a corps of Imperialists posted therein. But whatever modern pieces their invention anticipated, one thing is certain, they were eminently servicable, and TILLY acknowledged that their dextrous employment decided the *First Battle of Leipzig*—a victory which ruined his reputation, the growth of a life time and result of a long and successful military career; at once and forever destroyed the prestige of the Imperial arms; and was attributed in a great degree, to the extreme mobility of, and dreadful execution done by, the King of Sweden's favorite adoption, his formidable leathern-cannon.

Another favorite light field-piece, which Count HAMILTON had either invented or improved, after many experiments, was adopted by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS and introduced throughout and used by his whole army. These guns, made of iron, were 4 calibres long, had a blunted conical chamber, and carried a 4 pound ball; the charge of powder was 1-4 pound. They were so light that they required but two horses—in case of necessity even one was sufficient—and could be fired thrice before a musket could be loaded once.

In time of action the artillery was disposed in divisions along the front of the whole line; where the ground permitted, the batteries were established so that they could deliver a cross fire and yet not impede the advance of the infantry. While GUSTAVUS lived each battery had five small pieces as CHEMNITZ says "with large mouths, which oftener fired cartridge-shot (canister) than balls."

* * * * *

Never had the fortune of the Austrian Empire been at so low an ebb since RUDOLPH first consolidated its circles and substituted an Imperial Crown for an Arch Ducal Coronet. Desperate indeed was the appearance of the IMPERIAL future; his best general was a captive, his boldest a corpse; other able commanders, who had dignified his service with their ability and maintained his cause with their valor, were either dead, abroad, or in captivity; his veteran troops, who, even after defeat, still served as *nuclei* around which the new levies could gather and acquire force and discipline, or could arrest the invader by the obstinate defence of his fortresses or those naturally defensible positions which commanded the passes that gave access to his own Arch-Duchy had perished either by the famine and those unsupportable fatigues incurred through the mismanagement of GALLAS, or "stiff and still and stark" covered the bloody vicinage of *Janikau*.

Hungary was trampled beneath the barbarian *Transylvanian* hordes, while the ELECTORS OF SAXONY and BAVARIA who had hitherto adhered to his sinking fortunes—the first from selfish but mistaken policy with vacillating but efficient support, the latter with unalterable fidelity—could no longer be relied on for assistance. Major General KÖNIGSMARK, the MURAT of the 17th century was fast bringing the *Elector* JOHN GEORGE to a sense of his true interests, and, with his indefatigable flying corps, striking here and there and everywhere, such unexpected and fatal blows as were fast convincing that selfish sovereign it was better to court the friendship than to risk any further the enmity of those Swedes who seemed Antæus-like to acquire new strength and courage from any reverse and overthrow and in every successive campaign demonstrated the military superiority of the Gothic over the German race. Nor was the *Elector* MAXIMILIAN of BAVARIA in a much better position. Every year the French were penetrating deeper and deeper into the heart of his dominions, exhausting his resources, and acquiring that experience which in a few years rendered their generals the most capable and their armies the finest and most enterprising, with the exception of the Swedes, in Europe. Already the *Great Conde*—who, when scarcely yet a man, had broken the military strength and destroyed the hitherto invincible Infantry which had rendered the Spanish Monarchy so formidable to its neighbors and dependants upon the fatal field of *Rocroy*—and the distinguished TURENNE—the *most finished* (living) general after TORS- TENSON, of the age—were battering down the bulwarks of Germany on the west. To repel these invaders, MAXIMILIAN was compelled to recall the relics of his regiments so shattered on the field of *Janikau*; immediately subsequent to whose disastrous combat, WERTH, with the *Bavarian Electorate* cavalry returned home. The few Imperialists who had escaped saved themselves beyond *Tabor*, and TORSTENSON found himself without an adversary, at liberty to march upon whatever quarter he deemed most advantageous, while RACOGZY, with his barbarous Transylvanian army threatened to overrun the greater part, if not the whole, of Hungary, and; united with the Swedes, advance upon *Vienna* for the extinction of the Imperial power.

FERDINAND III. was at Prague when he received intelligence* of the annihilation of his forces. His dream of victory had deceived him, his superstitious belief could no longer uphold his confidence. That vision in which the Virgin had appeared and promised him a triumphant issue to the impending conflict, had

* RUSSEL, who asserted he had fled from Prague, must be in error; for if he retired to Vienna when TORSTENSON was only as yet advancing from Zeitz, in Misnia, and the coast was comparatively clear, how did he muster courage to, or why attempt a return to the post of danger or how succeed in eluding the enemy who interposed between the capitals of Austria and Bohemia, and barred as it were the road.

been a lying vision, and those mocking priests who had cried "peace! peace!" when there was no peace, had proved as usual the falsest of prophets and most treacherous of counsellors. Terror-stricken the bigoted EMPEROR found himself at the mercy of his adversary, and to escape even capture his only resource was flight, which resolution he came to and carried into execution with the utmost precipitation. The next day after the news of the defeat arrived he fled from the capital of Bohemia, and—having entrusted its defence to Count SCHLICK, and abandoned therein all the most precious moveables except the crown and 10,000 Ducats (\$22,000) carried with him for the benefit of the soldiery—notwithstanding the horrible state of the roads, continued to travel all night to *Pilsen*, on the *Beraun*, a tributary of the *Elbe*. 52 miles W. S. W. of *Prague*, where he arrived the next morning at nine o'clock. The next night he reached *Wittau* (*Nittenau* ? on the *Regen*, 15 miles N. N. E. of *Ratisbon* on the direct road from *Pilsen*), where he slept, and the day after reached *Regenspurg* (*Ratisbon*) without the least pomp or show; and so desirous was he of avoiding observation, lest any unusual demonstration of respect upon the road should attract the attention of some Swedish partisan and lead to an attack, that he would not permit the citizens to be summoned together or stand to their arms upon the bridges and other public places, according to custom. So rapid indeed was his flight that he had to abandon his baggage, which together with some military ensigns subsequently fell into the hand of *Major General DOUGLAS* at *Weiskirchen*, a village near *Prague*, in the Circle of *Buntzlau*, when that enterprising Swedish General, with a few squadrons of his cavalry, who had done such service at *Janikau*, made a rapid swoop in that direction.

At 2 P. M. the very next day after his arrival, the EMPEROR left *Ratisbon*, where Colonel TRUCKMULLER, who had hitherto escorted him at the head of a body of Cavalry, left him, and resumed his flight by water, on the *Danube*, so fearful was he lest TORSTENSON, reported to be already on the march toward *Vienna*, might intercept him.

The defence of the *Danube*, which at this junction constituted the most effectual rampart of the Empire, was entrusted to that valiant soldier-priest, the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, the Emperor's brother, of *Breitenfeld* renown, a gallant Prince, who, although an ecclesiastic,* buckled on his harness once more,

*He was originally Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bremen, and from that very fact had little reason to love the Swedes, since he had lost the former rich appanage through the changes consequent on their arrival in Germany, and the latter had been actually conquered by that *beau sabreur*, KENIGSMARK. It was not an uncommon thing in this war of faiths and nationalities for ecclesiastics to exchange their mitres for helmets, their robes for armor, and their pastoral staffs for swords, and to plunge into the mid-battle with an ardor which must have afforded an admirable example of Christian love and forbearance to their comrades and inferiors.

perfectly satisfied that *Austrian* monarchy had need of every stout heart and vigorous arm she could assemble to sustain her tottering throne in this, so great, extremity. He had been residing at *Lintz*, in order, by his presence there, to check in some measure the farther extension or influence of the panic which affected even the boldest, and endeavor to make some preparations to meet the enemy; and had preceded the EMPEROR some few days, to levy every fifth man in, for the defence of, his *Archduchy*,—to such a state of exhaustion had the Empire been reduced by the long war, but more especially by the crushing blows dealt by TORSTENSON.

Nevertheless, the ARCHDUKE did not shrink from the difficult task, but undertook, with 5,000 inferior troops, partly discouraged by previous defeats, partly entirely new to military exercises, and unpractised in the use of arms, to defend the long line of the *Danube*, from *Mautern*, opposite *Crems*, to the *Hungarian* frontier, a distance of 75 English miles. His first care was to obtain possession of all the river craft, and either sink or transport them to the right (southern shore), so that TORSTENSON could not avail himself of these vessels as means of transport, or for the construction of military bridges; and then he posted troops and artillery at every point where the Swedes might be expected to attempt a passage of the stream, placing garrisons in all the towns, and, well aware that he was not able, anyway, to cope with the victorious TORSTENSON in the countries north of the *Danube*, he retired to the south side, hoping to be able to preserve those districts, at least, inviolate. Meanwhile, the COUNT OF KURTZ and MARTINEZ, who had accompanied the EMPEROR from *Prague* to *Ratisbon*, left him at that point and went to *Munich*, to confer with the ELECTOR OF *BAVARIA* with regard to the best measures to remedy the disasters he, in common with the ELECTOR OF *SAXONY*, and HEAD OF THE EMPIRE, had experienced at the hands of the Swedes.

It has been stated that TORSTENSON'S last wonderful victory diffused terror throughout the Hereditary States, and that assertion is amply corroborated by all the records of that period. From *Moravia*—especially *Bruun*, which every one was well assured would be besieged and *Nickolsburg*—and the whole of *Austria* north of the *Danube*, every one who could, fled away in the hope of saving their lives and property—in fact so great was the panic that the whole *Moravian Land Tafel* (nobility who had a vote and voice in the Council of the Circle), among whom were the COUNTS OF *LICHTENSTEIN* and *DIETRICHSTEIN*, were also fugitives,

Wonderful as it may appear this fear which thus pervaded all classes extended itself even to the southern shore of the *Danube*, where no enemy had yet appeared, so that the peasants and inhabitants in general fled in great numbers towards *Vienna*

carrying with them their most valuable portable effects.* The population of the several districts however could scarcely be blamed for their trepidation, when we remember the abominable treatment they experienced alike from friend and foe, since the general *hegira* was augmented not only by the dread of what the Swedes might do, but what the Imperial soldiers did; more particularly by the conduct of 400 troops belonging to the different beaten regiments who were transported across the *Danube*—whither others were expected to follow in greater numbers—and distributed in winter quarters around that city. These debauched and disorganized troops, robbing and plundering, wasted one after another every town, mansion, hamlet and village on the other side of the *Danube*, roving daily even to the redoubt upon the *Viennese-Danube-Bridge*. They had already even dared to set fire to several places, behaving on all occasions as if they were in the enemy's country and would scarcely permit any one to exercise the least command over them. The Imperial troops stationed north of the *Danube* likewise did great damage, plundering and behaving with the greatest insolence, desiring to be transferred and join their comrades beyond the *Danube*, in a district where there were no generals[†] to restrain their excesses; but the authorities, there, were amply satisfied with those already present in their midst, and all who had not been permitted to cross were prohibited from doing so.

Among the many instances of the mutinous conduct of the Imperial troops—another striking proof of the truth of the proverb, that those troops who behave the worst in battle are always the most insubordinate in quarters—the following are selected to show how completely **TORSTENSON** had knocked into pi, to borrow a printer's saying, the Austrian army, its discipline, in fact every thing connected with it. A detachment of Imperialists attacked and maltreated their Generalissimo, the Arch-Duke **LEOPOLD WILLIAM**, traveling by post from *Lintz* to *Vienna*;^{*} of whom a captain of cavalry and a lieutenant were hung and another chief actor in the outrage made prisoner. Field Marshal **GALLAS** was likewise set upon, at a post house, and would have sustained much injury had he not been fortunate enough to recognize the assailants. Another party, by the careless use of fire, in one of their crazy freaks, half consumed the place of *Blindemark* and yet another at *Bruck*, in Styria, set upon, plundered and ill-treated the servant of Count **TSCHEERNIN**, the Imperial Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and carried off the dispatches with which he was charged. Well might it be recorded in the annals of the times that the Imperial troops, in their own land, for the defence of which they were in arms,

* Extract of a letter from *Vienna*, dated 16-26 April, 1645.

behaved exactly as if they had been enemies. Immediately after the battle of *Janikau*, Field-Marshal Count GALLAS, whose misfortunes in the Danish campaign were forgotten in the more recent disaster which had almost in as great a degree annihilated or dispersed the forces confided to his successor, was recalled to active service and had the duty assigned to him of reassembling the broken regiments and endeavoring to reorganize another army as food for the Swedish artillery and sabres. When invested with command he found or rather mustered some 1500 infantry at *Prague*, whither some 20 to 30 stragglers came in daily and reported themselves in order to be reassigned to the regiments to which they originally belonged. After giving due attention to the troops collected there he left for *Budweis*, there, also, to establish a rendezvous and form new corps; whither came a body of 800 soldiers, who had marched all the way from *Magdeburg*, and passed through *Prague*, to report themselves at the depot of the popular old Marshal. The ELECTOR OF SAXONY, likewise, notwithstanding the active hostilities of KÖNIGSMARK, within his territories, in the month of March, dispatched 2,000 Infantry and 18 pieces of Artillery, to the farther assistance of the Empire.

From *Silesia*, about the 15th March, 5 Regiments—Bassompierre, Tapp, Lutich, Wharloffsky, and Namdorff—marched by *Glatz*, on the *Neisse*, to *Königsgratz*, on the *Elbe*, to join the general rendezvous in *Bohemia*. In the same district (county), the Cappen regiment was likewise remounted; so reduced in numbers, &c., that it inspected only 192 horses, 142 pairs of pistols, and 152 saddles and sets of equipments. Field-Marshal Count MONTEUCULI remounted the *Geissenburg* regiment, and distributed it in winter-quarters, to afford the new recruits an opportunity for drill before they were called upon to take the field.

At this date an Imperial rescript arrived at *Prague*, decreeing that throughout *Bohemia* every tenth man should be drafted for the infantry, and every twentieth for the cavalry—the mounted men to serve six months; likewise that every 20 citizens should provide a cavalry-horse, with all the requisite equipments, a pair of pistols and a carbine. This edict also applied to *Vienna*, the *Circles of Traun* and the *Aland-Muhl-Hausruck* District (Upper Austria). In *Austria* every fifth, in *Moravia* every tenth man was levied.

While GALLAS was thus occupied at *Budweis*, Count SURS traveled to *Pilsen* to draw together, at that point, what cavalry he could rally to their standards, so as to bring a reliable corps into the field as speedily as possible.

In the mean while the battered Imperial Cavalry, the wrecks of those brilliant squadrons which had fought at *Janikau* gradually assembled near *Prague*. Upon inspection they were found to be the skeletons of some 53 ensigns or troops, some of them

comparatively strong while others comprised scarcely 10 to 15 men each. With three kettle-drums at their head they marched through the city and rendezvoused on the *White Hill** or *Mountain*, thither also came COLONEL SPORCK†—an officer of great merit, who had commanded the advanced guard previous to the late battle—at the same time with JOHANN VON WORTH—with some 200 horse. As they were almost completely used up they were distributed in winter quarters to afford them an opportunity to recruit and reorganize; the *Imperial horse* in the *District of Pilsen*, the *Bavarian Electorate* cavalry in the *Upper Palzgravate* and the *Saxon Electorate* troopers in *Silesia*.

On the 19th of March the EMPEROR and EMPRESS‡ reached *Vienna* where the Imperial court was reassembled; those who had remained behind at *Prague*, having made their way thither, in pursuance of orders, under an escort of 200 musketeers. FERDINAND's first business, a most agreeable duty, was to ratify every article of a truce or treaty of peace§ which had been concluded with RAGOCZY by which it was stipulated that he was to have the seven *Arries* (Provinces) he demanded during his life-time, that no more Jesuits, besides those already therein, should be introduced into his territories, and that in the countries, under his dominion, religious opinions should be free. At the same time the Emperor learned that his, the Imperial, envoy to the *Ottoman Porte*, the COUNT OF TSCHERNIN on his return had arrived at *Ofen*, (*Buda-Pesth*) in Hungary, having so well succeeded in his mission that a Turkish Ambassador was on his way to *Vienna*. Nothing could be more comforting than this intelligence, for it would have been impossible to conceive the whole extent of his misfortunes had not the Turks and Transylvanians been willing to enter into an armistice and lay aside their hostile intentions at a time when not only *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Austria*, but also the surrounding countries in alliance with him, were almost paralyzed with the terror, consequent on the complete overthrow, the Confederate

* About three miles from Prague the road from Troplitz passes near the *White Hill*, where, in 1620, the Imperialists, under BUOQUOY and TILLY, gained the memorable battle which decided the fate of Protestantism in Bohemia, and the loss of which drove FERDINAND son-in-law of James I of England, from his throne, and transferred his dominions to his opponent, FERDINAND II. A pilgrimage church was erected by the conqueror on the spot to commemorate the event.

† JOHN, Baron SPORCK, Major-General, Field-Marshal-Lieutenant and Colonel of Horse JOHANN: LIEBANO A. SPORCK SAC: CAES: RESICE MAI: GEN: CAMPT: VICE MARSHALL EQUITUM COLONELL.

‡ His first wife, daughter of PHILIP III of Spain MARIA (MARIANNE). She had come from Lintz, by the Danube.

§ Almost every history makes this Treaty, between FERDINAND and RAGOCZY, a transaction much subsequent to this date. This will be easily understood if the unreliable, selfish nature of the Transylvanian Waiwode is taken into consideration. He hoped to make better terms by resuming hostilities, and accordingly did so immediately afterwards, but finding that his alliance with the Swedes would benefit him but little, however great results they might derive from his cooperation in furthering their conquests in the Empire, he eventually again made peace on the very conditions he previously violated.

Forces had just sustained and the unintermitting activity of **TORSTENSON** and all who were under his command—who, **KÖNIGSMARK** for instance, seemed by the influence of the **GENERALISSIMO**'s example to outdo themselves and become capable of double what they had accomplished previous to his advent as Commander-in-Chief.

Had **TORSTENSON** taken advantage of the panic inspired by the complete destruction of the Imperial army at *Janikau*, he might, without a struggle, have made himself master of *Prague*, which must have thrown open its gates, had he with his victorious forces at once appeared before its walls. But higher aims filled the soul of the Swedish **GENERALISSIMO**; and had not Fate's immutable decree determined otherwise, his lofty plans would have been crowned with the success they merited, and by one decisive blow the human race would have been spared two centuries of miseries inflicted by the intolerant House of Hapsburg. It has always been a marvel to the human mind, why the Almighty Ruler of the universe has ever permitted the omnipresent existence of evil, and allowed its terrible influences, so long and so successfully, to militate against the happiness of mankind. The future alone, the future of another world, can reveal the mystery which has perplexed the wisest brains and furnished such sharp arguments to the skeptic and the Deist.—The very existence of the Austrian Empire, one of the most prolific sources of sin and sorrow, for Continental Europe, seems an inexplicable marvel, when we review the history of its rise, progress, and present condition. How often have we seen it, the very embodiment of mind-and-body compelling tyranny, trembling upon the verge of destruction, and yet rescued from the very jaws of annihilation by the generous efforts of some far nobler people—themselves destined to be the victims of its sleepless and insatiable ambition—or by what seems the direct interposition of the hand of Providence. Already had the victorious army of the "Turkish **ALEXANDER**," **SOLEIMAN I.** the Magnificent, the most glorious sultan of the Turks, melted away as it were before the walls of the Austrian capital even at the very moment when triumph seemed to sit upon the turban of the Ottoman Emperor—300,000 Musselmans invested the city of whom 800,000 perished in sight of the walls. No efforts of man could have saved *Vienna*. The unseen sword with which the Almighty smites, smote the invading host in 1529. It was not his good time. Now, in 1645, once more, an enemy menaced her gates; no follower of a false prophet or apostle of a superstitious creed, but one who drew his inspiration from the Book of Life, and when he bared his trusty blade unsheathed it in the cause of a regenerated Faith, and struck in behalf of his oppressed fellow creatures and to promote their happiness. It would seem as if the hour and the man had both arrived. Not so; an over-

ruling power, not of Earth but heaven, interposed a buckler between the sword of **TORSTENSON** and the heart of the Empire.

Yes, the sword of the "irresistible" Swedes was at the throat of Austria. Why was the fatal blow then put aside by fate? The pallid shades of butchered millions echo the interrogatory and, to the hoarse murmurs of the past, replying, the reverberating voices of the present repeat the question, "Why?"

From the ashes of the martyred protestant subjects; from the blood-stained valleys of *Galicja*, wherein a noble race of gentlemen was sacrificed to the policy of **METTERNICH**, atrocious assassinations, worthy a pupil of **MACHIAVELLI**; from the ensanguined plains of *Hungary*, those human shambles, whereon a glorious people were decimated for no other crime but seeking to be free; from the fields of *Lombardy*, the theatre of tragedies, worthy a **CÆSAR BORGIA*** or a **VISCONTI**†; from the rich meads of *Tuscany*; from *Leghorn's* mart and *Brescias* pit of torment; from *Naples*, *Rome*, and all the varied lands, the *Danube*, *Po*, and their vast tributaries drain, or the phosphoric *Adriatic* laves, the victims of 200 years of persecution, crimes and tyranny uplift their voices in the question—Why was the *House of Hapsburg* spared when **TORSTENSON** triumphed upon the ramparts of the *Wolf's-Bridge-Head*?

If the stifled groans of one human being, expiring beneath the dagger of the assassin sets in motion, as some philosophers assert, the circumambient air and like the circle in the placid lake

* Which ever seeketh to enlarge itself,"

until it break against the shores—spreads even to the utmost verge of space, until it reaches the ear of that **JUST ONE** who sits upon the eternal throne; what a peal of mingled shrieks and groans and imprecations, of widows' wild despair, of orphans' touching sighs, of brave mens' agonies—must, with the wild commotion of the fiercest tempest, have swept heavenward for centuries from the whole vast arca over which the Austrian Vulture broods! And had not Providence shielded that Vulture's breast, the Swedish Lion's Whelp had torn apart its bosom and slaked the thirst for retribution in the dark fountain gushing from its flinty heart.

But methinks the dusky curtain of the future is lifted by an armless hand and through the veil within a ray of consolation steals forth with cheering radiance. A mutilated figure filled with gaping wounds lies prostrate in the dust, its sceptre broken, crown dispoiled, and regal robes in tatters. Over it stands, exultant, a gallant form breaking the fetters with which its limbs were laden, one foot upon the neck of that beneath, the other on

* It is needless to say more of **CÆSAR BORGIA** than that he was a worthy son of Pope **ALEXANDER VI.** Who has not heard of the crimes of the Borgias?

† It is sufficient to remark of the **VISCONTI** that the last of their race has been compared to **LOUIS XI** of France. The French monarch is wronged by the comparison.

a mass of violated constitutions and broken pledges; while on its brow the star of liberty glows like a planet. It is the Genius of the People free. The curtain falls again.

God never made man in his own image to writhe upon the rack like the poor victims of the Ephesian artist,* to please a Dynasty. Let us hope that punishment commensurate with its mighty guilt awaits the House of Hapsburg and its satellites on earth.

What but the inspiration of the Deity led JOHN SOBIESKI from the plains of *Poland*; that JOHN, of whom Pope INNOCENT exclaimed in the fervor of his gratitude for the magnitude of deliverance and shuddering remembrance of the imminence of the peril, misapplying the words of sacred writ, "There was a man sent from God and his name was JOHN"—to drive back the Musselman and Tartar hordes, when stalwart STAREMBERG wrote in bitterness of spirit to DUKE CHARLES OF LORRAINE, "No more time to lose my lord, no more time to lose," and the Austrian people felt that only a few hours could elapse between *Vienna's* extremity and capture did not relief—almost miraculous if rescue did arrive—present itself meanwhile.

Ungrateful *Austria!* Unhappy *Poland!* What long and sorrowful decades of years would have been averted from trampled Italy and Hungary, what miseries would the Magyar race been spared, had the magnanimous TORSTENSON been permitted to work his martyred Master's and his own will upon the Imperial House, or had the Polish sabre slept within its scabbard, when the despairing cry of LEOPOLD prompted its magnanimous wearer to draw it thence and hasten to his rescue. How was the generous impulse that saved Austria and perhaps all Europe from the Moslem yoke rewarded? By the basest ingratitude!

The black Eagle of Austria at the first opportunity hastened to rend the white Eagle of Poland, which had flown across the Carpathians to wrest her from the fangs of the Ottoman Lion.

Would that the writer may live to see the perfidy, the haughty baseness of Austria requited to the utmost, and rejoice with enslaved millions in the happy intelligence that her sceptre has been broken, and the poisonous cup which she has forced upon the lips of so many people, struggling to be free in mind and body—to worship God in spirit and simplicity, and stand erect like men in Cæsar's presence—emptied to the very last fatal dregs down her own throat.

And should that hour arrive, may then no pitying nation extend a hand to her relief, or astute diplomacy, ranging earth above and hell beneath, for aid, compound an antidote. It would seem the hour was hastening on; the Russians who once raised her when

* PARRHASIUS bought wounded captives and exposed them to the rack while he was painting the TORMENTS OF PROMETHEUS that, witnessing their agony, he might be enabled to depict, to the life, the extremity of suffering.

trembling beneath the upraised sword will soon be impotent to lend their aid again in her necessity.

And with the fall of Austria, down goes the chiefest pillar of the Papacy,* and those martyred millions, which the Swedes but partially avenged, may peal forth "Jubilate!" at the overthrow of Freedom's deadliest enemy, Protestantism's inveterate antagonist, and Civilized Europe's greatest oppressor.

As all our readers might not take an equal interest in a detailed account of mere military operations, we will endeavor to present a succinct and agreeable narrative of what occurred between the 25th February and 4th December, 1645—although at some future date we may yet furnish an almost daily Journal of what transpired between those dates.

TORSTENSON, as stated, had higher aims than the mere capture of Prague, which (the capital of a tributary province) was but a secondary object. He had every reason to believe that the hour of his triumph and the moment of retribution had at length arrived, to crown his hopes and richly compensate him for all his toils and sufferings, and that, at the head of his victorious army, devotedly reliant on their leader, united with the forces of RACOGZY, he could enter Vienna as conqueror and an avenger. His intense desire to bring down the head of the Empire to the very depth of humiliation, and plant his heel on the head of the serpent of Austria, completely absorbed every other feeling. The expectation of thus entering the Metropolis of the enemy, aroused all his energies for the accomplishment of such a glorious termination to his unrivaled career. Every thing seemed to justify the undertaking; nothing was wanting on his part to insure success; and if he did not achieve success, none but the most prejudiced can deny that as far as his plans, his combinations, his operations, his untiring energy, indomitable courage, and undespairing perseverance, were concerned, he richly deserved to triumph. As far as depended on himself, in no single measure, at no single moment did he prove unfaithful to his work. Obstacles beyond his, or mortal, control, prevented the fruition of his plans.

Such a day's work as that of Janikau, following such toils and privations as the Swedes had undergone since they broke up

* The foregoing was already prepared for the press when the Baltic brought the intelligence that a new "CONCORDAT has been concluded between Austria and the Holy See, which gives most important privileges to the latter." Of this Concordat—we reject the man and his projects, loving Absolutism as well as Red Republicanism, while we honor his talents and respect his learning—in his communication to the *N. Y. Daily Times*, December 1855, makes the following observations: "The most remarkable fact in foreign politics—a fact 'dark as Erebus'—is the Concordat of FRANCIS JOSEPH of Austria with the Pope. The imbecile resigned cowardly all these rights of independence to which all his ancestors, whatever else their crimes may have been, adhered with unrelenting tenacity. The fact proves clearly how that man must himself despair of his tomorrow, when with such a staff he should try to prop his faltering existence. It will not save him, to be sure; quite the reverse; but could it even save him, is it not sheer madness! "*Propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas!*"

their camp at *Zeitz*, in *Misia*, demanded a short breathing spell. Having accorded the brief repose necessary to recruit his troops and prepare them for the labors and perils they had to encounter anew, **TORSTENSON'S** victorious forces poured like an inundation on *Moravia*, directing their march for *Olmütz* which had been invested for the last 16 months. On the 6th of March *Major General* **WITTENBERG**, with some regiments belonging to the vanguard, appeared before *Iglau*—an important town on the *Iglawa*, which constitutes a portion of the *Bohemia boundary*—which surrendered by capitulation, whereby many Imperial officers, who had fled thither after *Janikau*, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Meanwhile the **GENERALISSIMO** took *Letetsch* (*Ledetsch*) *Deutschbrod*—both on the *Zasawa*—the latter famous as the spot where *Ziska*, in 1422, defeated the *Emperor* **SIGISMUND**—towns upon the road from *Prague*. *Olmütz* now, no longer, needed aid, for the **COUNT OF WALLENSTEIN**, who commanded the besieging force, had no sooner received intelligence of the disastrous results of the recent battle than he precipitately abandoned the blockade he had so long maintained and, without awaiting the arrival of the Swedish forces hastening to its relief, retired with all his forces in good order upon *Pruhn*. Immediately on his retreat the Swedish garrison made a sortie, destroying the besiegers' works and redoubts while, at the same time, a body of 4,000 horse replenished the magazines, so that the place might be amply provisioned in case the Imperialists should again attempt its capture when the Swedish arms were subsequently engaged in some more important operation at a distance.

After he had thus made himself master of *Iglau*, **TORSTENSON**, for a moment, acted as if he had decided to attack *Tabor*, wherein **HATZFELD** had left the Imperial baggage for security before the battle of *Janikau*; whither also 2,200 sick and stragglers of his beaten army had retreated. *Tabor*, seated on a precipitous eminence, washed on three sides by the waters of the *Luschnitz*, is remarkable as having been the stronghold of the Hussites, who, under the command of **WANCZEK** and **HROMADA**, founded a town in 1420 on this height, which had been previously called *Hradiestie*, and gave it the Scripture name of *Tabor*. It became the citadel of the *Taborites* and a place of great strength and importance in the *Hussite* wars; *ZISKA* himself having fortified it, anticipating, it is said, in its outworks the science of modern permanent fortification, although he has been more properly styled the Father of Modern Field-works. The walls, in places double, and the towers which he built for the protection of this, the citadel of the Bohemian Protestants, still in part existed and served to shelter their founder's foe and his brethren's oppressor, when, near its termination, another and a fiercer religious war over a century subsequent to that which led to their construction, rolled its ensanguined torrents through the valleys of *Bohemia*.

Whether **TORSTENSON**, who was deficient in infantry, did not feel that his forces were sufficiently recruited to justify the loss which must have ensued in case that he attempted to carry the place, at once, by storm, or, for the same reason that he turned aside without assailing *Prague*, he did not consider its capture of sufficient importance to waste the time necessary to make himself master of it, he advanced upon and occupied *Neuhaus*—a strong town of *Bohemia*, defended by a castle, in the circle of *Bechin*—23 miles S. S. E. of *Tabor*, where he halted for three days—during which time Major-General **DOUGLAS** compelled the surrender of the fortified mansion of *Leibnitz* which had been occupied by the enemy. His army at this time increased by the embodiment of disbanded soldiers—attracted to his standard by the assurance of better pay and the hope of farther victories and the booty consequent thereon—amounted to 16,000 men with 125 pieces of artillery—3,000 prisoners were likewise with him under guard.

After this, having levied very heavy contributions upon *Iglau** and raised very large sums of money therein—over 60,000 Rix dollars having been paid as the ransom of the numerous rich and aristocratic families who had taken refuge in the town—established abundant magazines and left four regiments as a garrison, for their defence, and provisioned *Olmütz*, he (9th March) marched upon *Znaim*, on the left bank of the *Teya*, a large and strong town of *Moravia*, with a handsome though ancient castle famous for the numerous Pagan antiquities stored therein—which was taken at the second assault. At the same time his flying corps burst into the *Arch-Duchy of Austria* and penetrated even to the Wolf's Bridge—by which the road from *Moravia* and *Bohemia* traverses the *Danube*—making many rich prizes from, and inflicting great injury upon, the enemy. Great booty accrued thereby to the Swedes—for every Bohemian Colonel who fell into their hands was forced to pay a ransom of 50,000 Rix dollars—likewise much credit, for the four Imperial regiments which had been previously employed in the blockade of *Olmütz* were overtaken and defeated about 4 (German at 8 to 20 English) miles from *Vienna*, with the loss of 13 cornets or troops of horse, taken prisoners, and all their baggage. The next day **TORSTENSON** advanced upon *Crems*—on the left (north) bank of the *Danube* at the confluence of the river of the same name which washed the eastern defences of the place, which, forming an irregular ellipse, was surrounded by a wall, double on the side of the *Danube*, strengthened and flanked

*At *Iglau*, the stipulated ransom—amount not stated—for Field-Marshal-General **HATZFELD**, and General-Wachtmeister **ZARADETSKY**, was paid to **TORSTENSON**. Subsequently the Imperial Auditor-General **GROSEN** made a contract with the Swedish **GENERALISSIMO**, by which the latter, on the receipt of 120,000 Rix Dollars, released all the Generals, Colonels, and other officers, he held as prisoners—among whom were Generals **ENKESFORD** and **FREHEMUND**—which being done, he delivered them up to Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Count of **BUCHHEIM**, on or about the 9th of April.

by numerous towers; the gates protected by half-moons or ravelins—which he immediately invested on all sides, occupying an island in the Danube and pouring therefrom and the surrounding heights a complete rain of bombs and balls.*

Meanwhile the indefatigable DOUGLAS, with some regiments, made a foray up the *Danube* and near *Durrenstein* fell in with a large portion of the Imperial baggage which had fled from *Tabor* whereby, again, the Swedes acquired much booty.†

At the same time TORSTENSON, with a part of his army, marched from *Crems* against *Stein* about one German mile farther up the *Danube* which, its garrison resisting stoutly, was stormed forthwith and, as is usual in the case of places taken by assault, every one encountered by the Swedes in their first fury was cut down at once and the town completely pillaged. After this conquest the Swedish GENERALISSIMO resumed the attack on *Crems* with greater earnestness than before and opened such a furious cannonade that a breach was soon effected, upon which the Commandant-Colonel RANFFT, satisfied that he could no longer hold out, beat a parley, and capitulated. The greater part of the garrison were compelled to take service with the Swedes; those who refused were treated as prisoners.

After the fall of *Crems*, TORSTENSON captured the above name *Durrenstein* (*Durnstein*) 3 1-2 miles W. S. W. of *Stein*—by storm, and burned the town. The strong castle of *Narkenberg*, situated on an eminence immediately adjacent, he fortified strongly and furnished it with artillery by whose fire he obstructed the passage of the *Danube* and compelled all vessels descending the river to bring to; in the same manner, that, among other craft, he had stopped an Italian bark, loaded with fruits, which had come down the *Inn* or the *Enns*. The master of this last attempted to force his way but was soon brought to his senses, for the Swedish artillerists shot at it with such effect that they killed and wounded 11 persons on board. Apparently

*This must be an error, confounding the Swedish with a subsequent siege, when the Imperialists retook *Crems*; for, when TORSTENSON first invested the place he had with him only *light field pieces*, suited to his rapid operations, which accounts for his not making himself master of it at once, since, not being able to effect a breach with such guns, his troops were repulsed in their first attempts to carry the strong defences of the town by storm. Strange, PUFFENDORF says "he carried that place (*Crems*) with a great deal of ease."

† On a high rock near this town are the ruins of the fortress in which RICHARD COEUR DE LION was imprisoned on his return from *Palastine* in 1192 by LEOPOLD, Duke of Austria. LEFFENCOTT's *Pronouncing Gazetteer*.

‡ Thus the Swedes did their pleasure in most parts, for the remaining Imperial troops had returned to the south side of the river, having been pursued to the last by TORSTENSON, who captured 300 baggage wagons, whose loss created fresh confusion. By this time the Imperialists could have saved but little of their baggage, which they had either secured in *Tabor* or subsequently collected, for DOUGLAS took a portion at *Welskirchen*, more again near *Durrenstein*; another party captured a number of chariots striving to escape across the *Wolf's Bridge*; and now the above valuable train fell into the hands of the Swedes.

not wishing to weaken his main army by leaving behind him too many scattered garrisons, TORSTENSON, when he marched towards Vienna, blew up the defences of Durnstein, and threw the shattered gates into the Danube.

TORSTENSON, by this time, was undisputed master of the whole of the Districts of *Manhartzberg*, constituting the northern—separated from the southern—part of *Lower Austria* by the Danube—lying between that river, *Hungary*, *Bohemia* and *Moravia* and *Upper Austria*, wherein, as well as in *Moravia*, he acted in accordance with his own good pleasure, capturing one place after another, as to him seemed best. Nearly all the noble families of the *Manhartzberg* had abandoned their homes and castles and fled away for safety; numbers however of the aristocracy, with their wives and children, had taken refuge in *Stein* and *Crems*, wherein they were captured by the Swedes, whose swift pursuit rivaled their hasty flight.

Once in possession of the fortified town of *Crems* and its dependent, *Stein*,—*Mautern*,* not occupied, being still completely commanded by his guns—TORSTENSON seems for a moment to have determined to attempt to penetrate thro' the *Weiner-Wald* into that part of Upper Austria beyond the *Enns*—a river which rises in the *Archbishoprick of Salzburg*, traverses *Upper Styria*, and, then, forming part of the boundary between *Upper* and *Lower Austria*, falls into the *Danube* near a place of the same name—in order to unite with the oppressed peasantry, persecuted for their devoted attachment to the Protestant faith. As PUFFENDORF (XVII § 9) states that the want of vessels rendered his passage of the *Danube* impracticable, in the absence of any information to the contrary, it is to be supposed that the Imperialists had not neglected to destroy the means of transit by burning or otherwise destroying the bridge between *Stein* and *Mautern*.† Whatever may have been the reasons which induced the Swedish GENERALISSIMO to

* *Mautern*, on the south, connected with the long single street of *Stein*, on the north bank of the *Danube*, by a wooden bridge, erected in 1445, the only one between *Lintz* and *Vienna* and *Crems*, famous for mustard and gunpowder, may be said to constitute one place. Between *Crems* and *Stein* is a solitary building, once a monastery, now, in 1844, a military hospital, called *Und*, which has given rise to the riddle, “*Crems* and (German ‘und’) *Stein* are three places.”—MURRAY'S *Southern Germany*.

† The following statement is furnished for no other reason than to prove to the reader the immense difficulty attending the reconciling of so many conflicting statements. SPORCHL says that TORSTENSON did not pass the Danube at *Stein* or *Crems* because vessels were wanting to transport his troops. PUFFENDORF gives the same reason but adds that “he had no great desire for it” and yet the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* expressly states that he not only repaired to the bridge at *Stein*, but that he actually sent strong parties over who made several important captures, etc. It is the author's opinion that TORSTENSON could have easily passed over with his whole army but that it was neither good strategy nor policy to do so. The Wolf's-Bridge was the point at which he designed to effect a transit and assail Vienna where its fortifications were weakest and the city most exposed to his artillery. He made the attempt and failed, but his army was unhurt; whereas had he crossed above and failed before Vienna, his retreat might have been cut off, his whole forces ruined and himself and many other valuable officers captured.

abandon a project which must have been exceedingly attractive from the very fact that it awakened his liveliest religious sympathies, the same historian sets the whole matter at rest and dismisses the subject with the declaration "that to the peasantry in *Austria*, above the *Enns*, no human being could penetrate."

To relieve the tedium of this narrative of military operations, and afford some insight into the manners of the times the following anecdote may not prove devoid of interest. In the near vicinity of *Crems* was a moated mansion, called *Graveneck* or *Wilfersdorff*, belonging to the COUNT OF WERTHENBERG, father-in-law of Field-Marshal-Lieutenant ENKEFORT, who, taken prisoner in the cavalry action at *Niemeck*, on the 23d of November, 1644, by TORSTENSON, had begged him to grant a safeguard covering all the possessions of the said Count. This safeguard, having been signed by the GENERALLISSIMO, was placed in the hands of Quarter-Master-General CUNRAD, after the capture of *Crems*, for execution, who, when he arrived before *Graveneck*, found it occupied by a Lieutenant-Captain,* with his command. This foolhardy fellow having been notified of the object of the detachment accompanying the Swedish general, nevertheless refused to respect the safeguard of the GENERALISSIMO, and, although earnestly urged to evacuate in the premises, quietly replied by asking "if they took him for a loafer (*cuyon*) or some such fellow, by asking him to surrender on such short notice." Whereupon the Quarter-Master-General distributed his forces about the house so that those within could see the impossibility of holding out against them, and, then again, sent a drummer, once more, to summon the garrison to surrender, who, contrary to orders, having gone in, the Lieutenant-Captain began to make free with him, using not only impertinent but even much indecent language. "The Swedes must be very hungry, indeed," said he, "when they undertake to get possession of a place in so

*He must have been a German, who had taken service with the Swedes. A Swede would have been afraid and ashamed to behave thus.

†Meanwhile TORSTENSON'S pontoneers were engaged in constructing or repairing the bridge at *Stein*, which was no sooner completed than he sent over some troops who appeared before the *Oloister of Kettwein* which speedily surrendered. After that a corps marched up the right bank of the *Danube* to the rich *Oloister of Molk* (*Molk*) just beyond the *Bielach*, midway on the road between *Enns* and *Vienna*, and another down the river towards the capital. About this time the Swedes discovered a body of Imperialists, who were in the last combat, and having safely escaped therefrom had again collected, among whom was Count KURTZ, with his own and much other baggage, who were about to attempt to cross the *Danube*, near *Archutsin* above *Crems*. The Commandant at the latter place at once sallied forth, surprised and routed them, cutting many to pieces and capturing almost the whole remainder. The news of this defeat was brought in by the young Count of ZEIL, who was in the action and came wounded from *Lintz* to *Vienna*. * * * * * Subsequently the Swedes built a block house near *Stein* and tried to cross the *Danube* on several points by open force, but the troops of BUCHHEIM, kept such vigilant guard between *Vienna* and *Mautern* and those of GALLAS, thence to *Lintz* that TORSTENSON up to this date (16th April) had not been able to accomplish his purpose. Meanwhile a portion of GALLAS' force passed over to the north side near *Crems* to reconnoitre.

short a time ; they will have to be satisfied with partridges and not with such houses," and with this impertinent speech he sent out two live partridges, with their wings cut off, and a pitcher of wine with a tumbler to drink out of, which nobody could use, since the bottom had been broken off. Out of patience with such insolence, General CUNRAD planted two small pieces against the bridge which gave access to the place, and then, being loth to injure the Count's property, again sent a flag to exhort the besotted officer to yield, who, notwithstanding he must have seen the preparations, called out to those below, "the Swedes appeared to be most d—d hungry, since they had already devoured those partridges, and that they must wait until the young rabbits were sufficiently grown when he would send him some." Seeing good words were of no avail, General CUNRAD ordered the guns to open their fire against the entrance, likewise the musketry, whereupon the officer within, having received a shot in his shoulder, became frightened, perceiving that he could hold the place no longer, and more particularly dejected as he had no surgeon within, and cried for quarter, and strove to make terms which, as may well be supposed, were refused, and he was ordered down at once. When, having surrendered at discretion he made his appearance outside, the Quarter-Master reproached him for having made such indecent and impudent speeches against the Swedish General and his victorious army, and bade him make his peace with God for he must die forthwith. After this two sergeants were ordered to execute him, who, with their swords cut him to pieces. All his soldiers, except the cook, and a boy, who had been killed by the musketeers in their first attack, were then made prisoners. But the trouble did not end here, and COUNT WERTHENBERG came near losing his property by those who had been sent to preserve it ; for such was the mutinous conduct of the musketeers, who, when they had stormed the house, considered they had a right to plunder whatever they had taken by assault,* that the Quarter-Master-General had as much as he could do to keep them from pillaging. The next day the remains of the Lieutenant-Commandant were hung before the entrance as an example. This conduct of the musketeers and all concerned shows what a lax state of discipline existed at the time notwithstanding the prompt and terribly severe punishment meted out on such occasions.

Having furnished some little information with regard to the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery Organizations of the Swedes, it appears pertinent to the occasion to present some few facts with regard to their disciplinary regulations. One of the most remarkable and brilliant characteristics of the Swedish army under

*This was strict military law at that date. Whatever was taken by storm belonged to, or could be pillaged by, the victors.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, was its discipline, which, as long as that monarch lived, was maintained in all its purity. After his death those regulations which he had enforced with stern but equitable severity, were observed under his successors only in proportion to their ability to fulfill the obligations which they had assumed with regard to the pay and subsistence of the troops. TORSTENSON in the maintenance of military order approached nearer to his illustrious monarch than either BERNHARD of SAX-WEIMAR or BANER, who preceded, or WRANGEL, who succeeded him, not that he was more severe than they were but he was one of those rare men whom subordinates and even equals instinctively respect and obey. Any one who has studied his physiognomy must have remarked that massiveness of jaw, which indicates unflinching determination—a quality which he possessed to a degree that had it not been tempered by unusual judgment might have been productive of evil. No one dared to trifle with him, even the most unruly spirits bowed to his; and yet, while he was feared, he was greatly loved. TORSTENSON was one of those quiet but firm characters who can yet be condescending and fond of a joke* without losing their influence or weakening their authority. Severe toward the disobedient, he was nevertheless easily reconcilable, and retained no ill-will to any individual who from repentance or after the infliction of punishment acknowledged his errors and resumed the performance of his duties. As the best evidence of this, he, out of his own means, supported Colonel SKOKENBORF's wife and children, whose destitution, more than any thing else, troubled that officer at the time of his unhappy end at *Erfurt*, after he had been compelled to order their father's decapitation at *Cassel*. Nor is it just to assert those districts of Germany, in which the traces of his operations and actions may still be discerned, are witnesses of want of humanity on his part or any proof of his want of ability or will to restrain the excesses of his soldiers. On the contrary the unavoidable miseries of war during his administration of the supreme command assumed a milder type. Moreover it must not be forgotten that TORSTENSON never had at his disposal any thing like the same means for the maintenance of his army which GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS possessed and that in the majority of cases his necessities compelled him to carry on the war at the expense of the enemy, a mode of action, which, if it be reprehensible, will trouble the worshippers of NAPOLEON to excuse or palliate in their idol, since it was a maxim of that great Commander "to make war carry on war." That even foreigners and those, Germans, acknowledge the mildness of his temper is likewise proved by

* In connection with this trait, his relish of a joke, quite an agreeable anecdote, well worthy personal, is recorded in the *Svenska fästuren*, Opp. 1, Page 86.

the words of Baron JOHANN VON MULLER who in his *History of the World*,* admits "that in the art of war TORSTENSON was not inferior to any of the great commanders of the school of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, whereas as a man he was superior to almost every one."

In fact, nothing can demonstrate more conclusively the order which reigned in the armies which TORSTENSON controlled, than the unbroken chain of successes which render his command so glorious, and—under the circumstances attending it—unparalleled; and that, from the time he grasped the truncheon of general-in-chief, amid perils and privations, exposure to the extreme severities of the most rigorous seasons, incessant labor and excessive fatigues, irregularly paid, at times badly fed, and scantily clothed—in a word, under circumstances which would demoralize almost any army of the present day, and did demoralize and ruin the forces of his opponents—no mutiny is even charged to have occurred in any body of troops under his command; and what is more, never but once did any signs of disaffection manifest themselves, and that once, when as yet the unruly had not had an opportunity of judging of the stuff of which their new GENERALISSIMO was made. Sick or well; abed, on horseback, or in his litter; crippled so he could not write or pointing his Artillery; in all places, and on all occasions, TORSTENSON was master of all, both officers and men, over whom it was his duty to exercise authority.

The above are the reasons why a brief examination of the Articles of War, which regulated the armies of GUSTAVUS, however much they may have fallen into disuse or have been disregarded during the administration of other, intermediate, commanders is not out of place in a biography of TORSTENSON.

The Articles of War or Army Regulations,† established by the great Swedish King, are a perfect code or system, and were admirable in a moral and military sense. It is stated that he drew them up with his own hand, in 1621, in Livonia, at or during the siege of Riga, while he was as yet in his 28th year.—They were revised and corrected during his Prussian campaigns, particularly in the years 1626, '7; were subsequently modified and amended, from time to time, and rendered more and more complete by the addition of fresh enactments and new prayers,

*In HARPER & BRO.'s translation (*reprint*) of this work, the words used are somewhat different, but the rendering above is much preferable. "They (the commanders reared in the school of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS) were all equal to TORSTENSON as generals; but the latter was superior to most of them in private virtues." These words do not give either the force or intent of the author.

†The following Statement is compiled from HARTE's *History of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS*; HARTE's *Essay on the Military State, &c.*; the *Geschichte des Kriegswesens, &c.*; and GELZER's *History of the Swedes*.—(TURNER's Translation.)

‡They have been recently published by the *Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Krieges, Jahrg: 1847, Heft 7.*

the latter adapted to the vicissitudes and temptations of a military career, after he was engaged in the German war, according as the outbreaks, irregularities and insolence of his troops rendered fresh provisions necessary; thus, after the capture of *New Brandenburg*, in which affair his soldiers behaved unworthy of themselves and their reputation, 20* fresh Articles were inserted relative to that tumultuary affair. In many respects, they might serve as an example to later jurists, although they bear the impress of the peculiar character of the time in which they were drawn up, when a soldier was still treated as an "honorable" man, and not, as after the Thirty Years' War, as three-quarters a knave; thus, a private accused of a dishonorable action by his officer, could bring an action against him, and compel him to prove the charge, &c. When GUSTAVUS landed in *Pomerania*, for four consecutive days he had them published, calling the attention of all parties thereto by the beat of drum, and made all his officers personally responsible in seeing that they were obeyed. It cannot be denied that they were extremely severe in some cases; duelling, for instance, was punishable with death, and so certain were all the officers, both high and low, that the penalty would be enforced that it almost entirely put an end to the practice. All inquiries affecting a soldier's or officer's honor had to be tried by the Army Consistory upon due complaint and representation. Running the gantlet was a legalized punishment and it was expressly provided by regulation that it should not be undergone, for a consideration, by a substitute. Plundering was permitted after an engagement and every one could appropriate what he found in his quarters.

But by far the best summary is given by GEIJER, which is sufficiently concise and interesting to justify its quotation. "According to them (GUSTAVUS' Articles of War) the king as 'God's justiciary upon earth,' is the highest judge as well in war as peace. The troops were to be under the jurisdiction of special courts, superior and inferior, on march and during war. The lower courts were the Regimental Court for the foot, and the Cavalry Court for the horse. In the Regimental Court, the Colonel, or in his stead the Lieutenant-Colonel, presided. The Assessors, (inferior judges or assistant justices) were chosen by the whole regiment, namely, two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, two Sergeants, two Quartermasters, and two Lance-prisades (*forare*). In the Cavalry Court the Colonel, or in his stead the Captain of the King's troop of Guards, was President. The Assessors were chosen by all the squadrons of horse, three Cap-

*HARTZ speaks of other 18 Articles, of a more severe nature than those previously enacted, as having been added while the Swedish army lay near Berlin, when, his soldiers having become insolent and rapacious by uninterrupted success and prosperity, robbed some Hamburg and English merchants. On this occasion, while he provided against future outbreaks, the King compelled the marauders to restore all the goods embezzled, in the same state in which they were seized.

tains, three Lieutenants, three Cornets and three Corporals. In the superior court the High-Marshal, or in his absence, the Field-Marshal presided. The Marshal's Assessors were the Field-Marshal, the General of Artillery, the Field-Watchmaster (Major of the Field, or Major-General*), the General of Cavalry, the Field Quartermaster, and the Muster Masters, with all the Colonels (or in their absence the Lieutenant-Colonels); namely: first the Colonel of the King's Household Regiment, then the Colonels of the Upland, West Gothland, Smaland, East Gothland, Norrland, Finland, and Carolian regiments, lastly, the Colonels of all the other regiments embodied, according to the dates of their service. These courts had besides their clerks and apparitors (officers designated to serve process, and execute the orders of the judges, generally). In the Superior Court the 'Provost-General' was prosecutor; he had power to arrest and lodge in prison every man whom he held to be an offender, but not to 'justify,' that is to execute him, without the receipt of special orders. Whosoever resisted him, his lieutenant or sergeant, forfeited his life. In the Inferior Court, the Regimental Provost was prosecutor: he had the same power in his regiment, and the Battalion Provosts in their battalions, as the Provost General in the camps. Before the Superior Court were to be tried all treasonable and other heinous offences, with all civil-causes which were brought by appeal from the Lower Court. In criminal cases no appeal was allowed, but the sentence was to be referred to the Marshal, or to the King when he was present. In such as touched life, limb or honor the Court was to be held within a circle of troops under the open sky, but in civil matters within a tent. The penalties are, first, corporal inflictions on head or hand, with more or less dishonor. The most shameful of all was hanging, which every tenth man by lot must undergo if a squadron of horse or regiment of foot took to flight during an engagement, before they were disabled from using their swords; the rest in such case to serve without standard, to lie out of quarters, and to clean the camp, until they "had compensated their offence by manhood." Other punishments were riding on the wooden horse, imprisonment with fetters, bread and water, the gan telope (running the gantlet), pecuniary fines, deprivation and degradation for officers, ignominious ejection from the camp for privates. Caning was not permitted. (It was forbidden to punish the private soldier by beating; only for grave offences of insubordination they received blows with the flat of the sabre.) Courtesans were not suffered in the camp. (What a contrast to the Imperial service wherein, to a regiment of German *Landsknechts*, a troop of loose women was so unfailing an appendage, that they were placed under an officer called the Wenches' Beadle, and under the Duke

*Remarks in (), inserted by J. W. de P.

OF ALVA, they (the women) were organized in companies and subjected to regular discipline.) If any one chose to have his wife with him it was allowed. The Chaplain was to perform service every Sunday, and give one sermon in the week when there was opportunity; prayers were to be said morning and evening. (While GUSTAVUS lived this custom was regularly observed; afterwards it fell into disuse, but we shall see that TORSTENSON, with the army, publicly celebrated thanksgiving to the Almighty for his Divine assistance, and, before the bloody day of *Janikau*, even before the morning broke over the rugged *Moravian* mountains, and, although the troops had been manœuvring or engaged in preparation nearly the whole of the preceding eve and night, sufficient time was still found to unite in supplication, and prayers were said with all solemnity. What an imposing spectacle must the Swedish armies have presented, engaged in their religious duties, while, to the sound of kettledrums and trumpets, every military instrument pealing an accompaniment, the whole *armada* thundered forth one of their own or LUTHER's soul-stirring hymns. GUSTAVUS once said to his officers and men that "*though war might be their amusement, yet religion was their business*," and TORSTENSON had been strictly impressed with the comfort and necessity of religious observances.) All the field chaplains formed a Field Consistory, over which the king's court preacher or the general's preacher presided. These articles of war were to be read once a month before every regiment. The first time the High Chancellor read them to the whole army, which, consisting of nine regiments of infantry and ten companies of cavalry, in all 20,000 men, was arrayed in full order of battle on the meadow of *Aorsta*."

Another peculiar institution of GUSTAVUS was the *Collegium of War*, for the maintenance of order and unity in the army, whose President was at the same time President of the highest court-martial. This Collegium consisted of the Marshal of the Empire, and two Councillors of the Empire, who were either in active service or must have served previous to their entering upon their new duties. Four Assessors [of other military tribunals?] well versed in military laws and regulations established in orders, were assessors and a number of clerks, reporters, copyists and similar officials were responsible for the exactitude of the records of what transpired. This *College of War* regulated everything connected with the military forces of the kingdom, particularly their equipment, recruiting, concentration, levies, reviews, inspections and maintenance. Every commander, on resigning or otherwise leaving his command, was under the necessity of furnishing a statement, setting forth the duties which he had had to perform, and in what manner he had fulfilled them, or if he continued to hold his appointment such a report was incumbent every three years. Commandants of

regiments were obliged to present returns of everything connected with their corps, for instance, lists of those who had been discharged from and entered into service, accounts of moneys received and disbursed, reports of what punishments had been inflicted, &c., &c. Finally the *College of War* was the ultimate tribunal before which military cases could come on appeal.

From *Crems*, * * * * * TORSTENSON marched upon *Cor-Neuburg*—capital of a Circle of that name, on the left (north) bank of the Danube, 9 miles from Vienna—whose Governor, one Colonel LUCAS, surrendered the place on first summons, agreeing to deliver up, at the same time, the strong fort of *Creutzenstein*, of which he was likewise Commandant; which, having been effected, himself and the garrison were conducted to the shore of the river, and permitted to go free, according to the terms agreed upon. This capitulation still farther disconcerted the Imperialists, who had expected that *Cor-Neuburg* and its dependent, *Fort Creutzenstein*, would have made an obstinate defence, and caused much loss and delay to the assailants, since the Bohemians, at the commencement of the religious wars, had maintained themselves therein for many years, despite all the efforts made for their recapture. These places proved great acquisitions, not only as important strategical points, but on account of the large stores contained therein: thus, in the former—which paid a contribution of 12,000 Rix-dollars—the invaders found 20,000 eimers [a measure equal to a large bucket] of wine, 5,000 mutte (?) of grain, a great quantity of oats, 6,000 florins [1,400 to 3,200 dollars] worth of salt, and 22 guns; and, in the latter, additional artillery, much ammunition, and other articles of value. May not these very guns have constituted the batteries which sent their daily missiles into that city whose outworks they were founded to protect?

Meanwhile, Major-General MORTAIGNE made himself master of the fortified town of *Laab*, [Laa,] 36 miles north of Vienna, on, and *Nicholsburg*, near the *Teya* [Thaya]; and JORDAN, by a stratagem, of the strong castle of *Staitz* [Seitz?] which surrendered at discretion. In the two latter places, the Swedes found immense stores of corn, grain and wine, and in *Nicholsburg* a great number of metal guns.

On the 17th March, TORSTENSON, with his whole army, marched upon the castle* of *Ravensburg*, [Rabensburg]—on a lake communicating with the *March*, or rather at the influx of

*That it may not seem utterly marvellous, this *semi-vidi-vici* method of capturing castles and fortifications, it is but just to state that TORSTENSON had almost frightened the Imperialists out of their senses, and that with the demoralized troops whom he had defeated, most of these places were garrisoned. Thus, Colonel RANFT, who defended *Crems*, was sent shortly after *Janikau*, to bring the disorganized soldiery to reason, and had distributed them in the strong castle of *Greulenstein*, *Cor-Neuburg*, *Laa*, and the other places, only a few days before TORSTENSON appeared before them.

the Teya, near the point of junction of the boundaries of Hungary, Moravia, and Austria—and the head-quarters were removed to *Hohenau* [*Hochenau*]*—45 miles northeast of Vienna—where the GENERALISSIMO drew up all his forces in order of battle [battaglie], and celebrated a thanksgiving at once for the glorious victory which the Almighty had so recently vouchsafed to the Swedish arms, as also for the other numerous successes with which they had been so signally favored.* This act of Christian duty having been discharged, **TORSTENSON** distributed his troops for the investment of the stronghold, and commenced his approaches. Thereupon the Commandant, Colonel **VETTER**, set fire to the adjacent village, lest it should serve to cover the approaches of the Swedes ; but this sacrifice was of no avail, for the second night they had established themselves in the ditch under his walls ; whereupon the Imperialists surrendered at discretion. This was another lucky hit of the **GENERALISSIMO**, who seemed to know, as if by instinct, where his blows would most cripple, and exhaust the resources of, the enemy ; besides—for while some presumptuous writers blame him for leaving the country surrounding Vienna in quiet—he found ample indemnification, by laying the rich district of Ravensburg under contribution ; and, in the fortress itself, it is said, that he captured 200 pieces of artillery, great and small, besides acquiring such admirable fortified positions that therefrom he could not easily be ejected.

After this, having garrisoned, strengthened, and provided the captured strongholds with a care which conclusively demonstrated that he did not intend his present visit to be either hasty or fruitless, **TORSTENSON**, instantly, with renewed energy, returned to the main object of his campaign—to give a finishing stroke to the war—by the capture of the Imperial city ; and, like a thunderbolt, marched upon the fortifications which guarded the Wolf's Bridge, opposite Vienna, and opened his batteries on the massive works defending the bridge-head ; whence the reverberating thunder of his cannon carried dismay into the bosoms of the anxious population, who, with eyes and ears intent, watched the progress of the struggle, scarce two miles distant from the threshold of their homes.

To this point, no foreign General but he [**TORSTENSON**] had ever yet been capable of penetrating, throughout this protracted and bloody contest. "After a long and destructive circuit," says **SCHILLER**, "through every province of Germany, the stream of war had at last rolled backward to its source, and the roar of the Swedish artillery now reminded the terrified inhabitants, of those balls which, 27 years before, the Bohemian rebels had fired into Vienna. The same theatre of war brought again similar actors on the scene. **TORSTENSON** invited **RAGOTSKY**, the successor of **BETHLEM GABOR**, to his assistance, as the Bohemian rebels had solicited that of his predecessor."

Vienna, the capital of Austria, presented a far different appearance in 1645, from what it does at present. It is seated about 2 miles from the main stream of the Danube, on an arm or branch of that river, known as the "Viennese Danube," while another foul, and, in summer, insignificant stream, the *Wien*, from which the city derives its name, washes its eastern wall, emptying into the above-mentioned river. At that time, its suburbs (*vorstadte*) were not near as numerous or extensive as at this date, and all around the walls, between the city and the suburbs, there was an open space about 600 paces or yards wide—now covered with grass, planted with trees, and traversed by roads and walks in all directions, styled the *GLACIS*, a beautiful promenade, which may be regarded as the *lungs* of this great capital—in which no one was allowed to build. Whatever suburbs now encircle and veil Vienna from the approaching traveller, are not older than 1684, those which existed at the time we treat of having been destroyed on the approach of, or by, either the Swedes or the Turks, particularly the latter, at the time of their last siege. The city proper (*innere-stadt*), or body of the place, formerly a kind of circle, washed by the Danube on the north—on which side it was only protected by strong walls, flanked with large towers, the whole with a good terrace behind it—was fortified in the remaining part of its circumference, by ramparts from 30 to 50 feet high—entered by 6 gates well defended—flanked by 12 large regular bastions (*basteien*), revetted with masonry; the curtains were covered with good half-moons (ravelins?) but no other outworks; the ditch, partly full of water and partly dry; the counter-scarp much neglected. In 1645, the communication with Bohemia and all Northern Germany was by a more circuitous route than at present. After the main road had traversed the "Viennese," or southern arm of the Danube, by the *Fallbruck*, now Ferdinand's Bridge, it turned to the north and east, through the suburbs, styled the *Leopoldstadt*—then the residence of the Jews, who were expelled therefrom in 1670—and the Meadow of St. Bridget (*Brigettenau*) subsequently, crossing four other branches—constituting the main river—and the three small intervening islands, attained the northern bank by the Wolf's Bridge (*Wulfbruck*), much higher up the stream than the present noble structure known as the Tabor Bridge. The access thereto was protected by a strong TETE-DE-PONT or HORN-WORK, sometimes styled the Wolf's Bridge-head or redoubt—which last, perhaps, is the more proper appellation—consisting—if the plan drawn to illustrate the last Turkish siege is to be relied on—of an irregular semi-circular fortification flanked, by two small complete and two half bastions or lunettes. After a short but bloody contest, the Swedes (27-'8th March, 1645,) remained masters of the *tete-de-pont*.

To this point, as soon as the Swedish standards floated over the captured works, TORSTENSON was borne upon his litter, to reconnoitre the approaches to the metropolis of his country's most implacable opponent. What a moment of mingled pain and pleasure! The furious fire of the Archduke's batteries, enfilading the roadway, swept away his columns, ordered at once to the attack, as fast as they threw themselves upon the bridge, and after several gallant but ineffectual assaults, he recalled, and ordered his troops to shelter themselves from the fatal cannonade, which rendered any further efforts, for the present, a useless sacrifice of brave men, who, as they could not be replaced, were too valuable to be risked in any such a desperate enterprise as the previous efforts to effect a lodgment on the opposite shore had proved itself to be.

Immediately taking advantage of this check, the Imperialists, themselves, put fire to the bridge,* and severed the communication; and the Swedes commenced throwing up a breastwork (*brustwehr*) across the gorge of the Horn-work, to protect themselves against the fire of the Archduke's batteries on the other side. This rampart, in front of which rolled the broad Danube, which had thus stopped the progress of the GENERALISSIMO, constituting an almost impassable natural ditch, transformed the Wolf's Bridge-redoubt, which had been lately greatly enlarged and strengthened towards the land side, into a strong and easily defensible position, by which the Swedes could hold in check the troops which might be gradually concentrated in the Austrian capital. The redoubt, which had thus become a fort, received a garrison of 200 men under the command of one Colonel CALAW, whose guns effectually closed the passage of the main stream of the Danube.

There he stood, his gallant staff about him, with eyes rivetted on the tempting prize before him, a short two miles distant, lifting

The "Theatrum Europaeum," here seems to contradict itself, and all the different authorities do not serve to clear up the matter. After giving the statement of a Swedish Colonel, present throughout all these operations, it shortly after states that the Swedes blew up two arches of the Wolf's Bridge, to prevent the Austrians from attempting to recapture the redoubt or fort at its northern extremity, when TORSTENSON'S main army was operating at a distance. SPOROHL seems to favor this last supposition, for, after narrating how the redoubt fell into the hands of the Swedes, he adds, "but the passage of the bridge they could not force; the artillery which the Archduke had posted for the defence of the bridge, kept them at bay;" and yet VON LUNENBURG seems to read in opposition to this last: "But the Danube stopped his progress. TORSTENSON was sensible of the impossibility of passing this river, across whose deep and broad stream he found no bridge [which had not been destroyed]. In addition [to this impediment] the state of his health grew worse, [prevented a still more insuperable obstacle to his success. So sick was he that he [had already for a long time past] solicited permission to return home [to Sweden,] and was waiting with impatience for the intelligence that his government had acceded to his request."

*In the meanwhile he (TORSTENSON) still continued to lay all pieces north of the Danube under contribution, and also kept a strong guard in the Wolf's Bridge-redoubt, to prevent the Imperialists from crossing over; to which end he likewise blew up two arches of the bridge, and also fired from the Tabor against the city.

its battlements and palaces and spires amidst the fertile plain and just beyond the level islands interspersed with dwellings, clumps of wood and copses. From a picture, drawn about that period,* it appears the city lay in plain sight of the northern bank. Distinct and dangerous frowned the bastioned walls; behind them, in their vast magnificence, rose up the noble palaces which occupied so large a portion of the space those walls defended; over them again towers and spires, rich in architectural display, ascended high; and above all, matchless at once in altitude and sublimity, towards the clouds, soared the lone steeple of St. Stephen's *Dom-Kirche*, the loftiest in Europe—that masterpiece of Gothic marvels in construction, which, “diminishing gradually from its base to its summit in regularly retreating arches and buttresses,” terminated, 465 feet above the earth, with a Turkish crescent† placed there as a memento of its delivery from the false creed of Mahomet, in 1589.

What conflicting emotions must have struggled within the bosom of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO! That heart—a stranger to the first thought of any individual advantage, for, even in his hour of success, petition fast succeeding petition, had been dispatched, heseeching his gracious Queen to appoint and hasten a successor, to release him from the mighty burthen of his office—one long sacrifice of self, without one intermitting moment of relief from physical suffering and mental toil—was tortured with the idea, that now that he had hunted home the prey it might elude his grasp. He felt his genius‡ could devise the means to

**THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, 1619, Vol. I, Page 126, published at Frankfort, in 1662.

†*This crescent, after the second Turkish siege, in 1683, was replaced by a golden cross, which, three months after, was hurled from its lofty position by a storm. At present it displays a black spread eagle [the Austrian], surmounted by a golden cross.*

‡TORSTENSON was an excellent ENGINEER, and had improved to the utmost all his natural advantages by study and practice in the incomparable school he had passed through. That he understood that branch of engineering which enables a General to set at naught the insuperable barriers, which rivers present to an incapable Commander and unprovided army, his admirable roads, constructed through districts, considered impracticable, on account of their deep and extensive marshes and frequent water-courses, and bridges across the largest rivers of Germany, are all-sufficient evidence. And all this was accomplished without a regular pontoon corps, which, in the present understanding of the term, neither GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS nor his immediate successors possessed, notwithstanding their armies were generally accompanied by pontoons and all the other appliances for crossing rivers. The *materiel*—the pontoons, leathern bags for inflation, &c.—employed in bridging or passing streams, however, was not under the charge of a special corps, but placed in the care of the Artillery. The passage of many different rivers, but most particularly that of the Lech, “the most daring, as well as the *saughest*, action in the military life of GUSTAVUS,” offer abundant proofs that if his *Fians* did not enjoy the name of “Pontooners,” their admirable performance of the appropriate duties justified their designation as such (IV. 51). The *Finslanders*, who constituted his bridge-wrights, “could all exercise the business of carpenters, inasmuch as in their native country each man among them was his own mechanic.”

THE PASSAGE OF THE LECH (20th, 21st, 22d, March, O. S.; 3d, 4th, 5th April, N. S., 1632.) is so remarkable an exploit, that a detailed account, of the highest interest

transport his army even beyond the impetuous currents of that mighty stream, rolling its vast floods towards the Euxine, which

to a military reader, will likewise, doubtless, prove agreeable to a civilian. When GUSTAVUS, after the capture of Donawerth, prepared to invade Bavaria, the Emperor's Generalissimo, TILLY, destroyed the bridges by which the Swedes were considered likely to cross; and cantoned his troops along the banks of the Lech, erecting huge batteries to prevent their King from establishing a military bridge at the point selected for that enterprise, where, near Rain, the river forms an entering angle, whose west bank, occupied by the Swedes, 11 feet higher than the other, commanded the opposite ground. HARTZ, speaking from ocular examination, says that few rivers of the same size, present so many difficulties as the Lech, especially in the spring—the very season the Swedes crossed—when, swollen by the melting of the snows—in 1632, as is always the case, it was greatly increased by previous heavy rains—it rushes from its source, the Vorarlberg, in the Tyrol, rather with the fury of a torrent than the force of an ordinary stream. When once he had determined to pass, GUSTAVUS first raised earthen parapets, behind which he posted 1,000 commanded [see Note *, page 132] i. e. picked musketeers, on each side the space wherein he intended to commence his work, and then, beyond them, established 72 pieces of artillery, divided into 4 batteries, connected with trenches, whose tremendous cross fire completely swept the obtuse angle of land—tearing every obstacle to pieces within a range of 600 feet—on which he intended to debouch from his bridge. On Thursday morning, 22d March (5th April), under cover of a dense smoke from enormous fagots of pitch pine, mingled with straw, set on fire, to conceal his tirailleurs, after frequent unsuccessful attempts, some chosen engineers, pioneers and soldiers were conveyed across in two boats who made a lodgment and threw up several breastworks, one to protect the head of the bridge from the direct fire of the Imperialists' artillery, and two forming a redan,* to guard its flanks. At the salient or point of the elbow, formed by the river—where it measured 120 feet in width—GUSTAVUS built a bridge on tressels—of various heights adapted to the unevenness of the bottom of the stream—secured to strong piles driven into the bed of the river. The planking and all other materials were obtained in the neighboring villages. As soon as the bridge was finished the Swedish army marched across, despite the efforts of the enemy, who were completely routed and fled after an action of six hours, much hotter than that of Leipzig, their generalissimo TILLY, mortally wounded, by a three pound shot which smashed his knee-joint, and ALDRINGER, the General of Artillery, senseless from a cannon shot which grazed his temple. The armies on this occasion were nearly equal although the Imperialists had all the advantage of position and river, likewise the trains of siege artillery—GUSTAVUS had 72—TILLY 70 pieces. *“But in point of management the Swedish ENGINEERS were greatly superior: and it was in this respect that TORSTENSON, then General of the Ordnance, gained that reputation which he maintained afterwards in every other branch of military knowledge.”*†

The science of fieldworks likewise assumed another entirely new phase among the Swedes when GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS assumed the command. In constructing entrenchments that monarch chiefly imitated the *Netherlanders* and utterly despised and abolished the long continuous lines in common use. His entrenchments consisted on all occasions of nothing but redoubts connected by a simple rampart except when—

the works of Nuremberg afford a remarkable example—his position was protected by isolated redoubts which, within a certain range, had to defend each other and the intervals between by their own cross fire. This was more practicable as GUSTAVUS had abandoned the old method of encamping in a square, previously customary both in Sweden and Germany. Thus near Werben—of which more anon—he encamped according to the locality, at Nuremberg in one line and near Furth in two lines*—which innovation was soon generally imitated (IV, 60—51).

After the complete overthrow of SAVELLI, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS advanced to the Elbe with 18,000* men and 200 pieces of artillery—of these two-thirds were siege

* According to HARTZ: LOUIS NAPOLEON says—“The bridge was scarcely completed, when GUSTAVUS ordered 300 Finlanders to march across and throw up a redan forming a bridge-head.”

† The Swedes generally marched in but two lines, or with an advance guard and main body (*corps de bataille*) without a rear guard. In action the distance between the two lines was—as contemporaries express themselves—*sufficient*; this would lead to the belief that the second line was out of range, probably musket range or 300 paces.—*G. des K.*

‡ According to LOUIS NAPOLEON: HARTZ says that GUSTAVUS had 12,000; TILLY, 24,000.

barred him from that triumph for which he had toiled and prayed and fought and planned, with all the might of his extraordin-

guns and were transported by water. TILLY, whose army was double in number that of the King of Sweden, marched to attack him. GUSTAVUS, unwilling to expose his forces to such odds (17th & 30th July, 1631), entrenched himself in the rear of Werben, at the confluence of the Havel with the Elbe. The latter river at this point forms a sharp elbow so that the Swedish camp occupied a site, the segment of a circle, of which the Elbe constituted the arc and the entrenchment—of which the city of Werben was the key and centre—the chord. The Swedish soldiers were so accustomed to labor with the pick and shovel, that in fourteen days the whole town of Werben was surrounded with a rampart of earth forming a bastioned *enclente* or regular modern fortress, while on both sides of the place, a dyke, which extended thence to the river above and below, was, in four days, transformed into a parapet for the whole distance. In front of this, above Werben, were a succession of breast works with small intervals, flanked on the right by the fire of one of the town bastions and on the left by the Elbe. These appear to have been mere outworks, perhaps an earthen breastwork protected with palisades, lined with *commanded*, i. e. picked musketeers.

From point to point along the rampart, cannon were posted (*en barbette*), behind wooden mantlets, or blinds, to conceal them from the assailants. Two bridges of boats, thrown across the Elbe and protected by a simple bridgehead-redoubt, flanked by a square bastioned fort, on the farther shore, assured a safe retreat in case of reverse.

What is somewhat remarkable, about the very center of the camp the King's tent, forming a cross, was pitched in a large square, surrounded by a ditch and parapet, and in a similarly defended smaller area, immediately in the rear, were a number of superior officers' tents, and apparently a reserve park of artillery. This was the ancient plan, and is interesting as it shows the transition from the ancient to the modern system: it is almost identical with the ancient Egyptian method. TILLY, finding the King to be too sagacious to be enticed forth, determined to attack him in his lines and established a battery of 82 guns against them, in the expectation of making a breach; but with little effect—as is almost always the case with batteries directed against earth works.* A general assault was then ordered, but when the assailants had advanced to within a short distance of the ditch, they were saluted with a general discharge whose effect—GUSTAVUS had commanded his artillery to fire all at once with grape—was perfectly terrific. Profiting by the disorder thus occasioned the Swedes sallied forth by numerous outlets or sortie passages and charged the Imperialists, who retired, leaving 6,000 dead and wounded on the field. TILLY a few days afterwards (10th August), broke up the camp and marched towards Saxony, where, at Leipsic, 7th September, he sustained another and complete overthrow at the hands of his great adversary. The foregoing is well worthy consideration and reflection.

Few individuals are aware how much the military art and science owes to GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. In originitive genius, he was as far superior to NAPOLEON as the latter was to all other modern military leaders. The writer can attribute the deification of NAPOLEON at the expense of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS—and, in a less degree, of FREDERIC the Great, and perhaps of MAURICE of Nassau—to nothing but the recitiveness of his appearance, and ignorance of the achievements and conceptions of the others. In purity of soul, the Swedish King towers as far above the French Emperor as the mountains rise above the plains; as a General, he was certainly his equal, if not his superior; as a Monarch, certainly his superior. If the world would only read attentively, not cursorily, the records of the past, it would not be so prone to NAPOLEONIC idolatry. It was a great misfortune that all the instructive and interesting details respecting Sweden, her Great King, and the Thirty Years' War, have been preserved [not in French and English, but] in German, Dutch, and Swedish; which rendered them, until very lately, sealed narratives to us, in the United States: whereas, the history of NAPOLEON has not only been written, again and again, in French—which is generally understood by the educated—but we have hundreds of works on the same subject, true or false, garbled or reliable, in English.

But to return: In the entrenched camps at Werben and Nuremberg, we find the very principle which enabled TODOLAN to render Seewasastopol almost impregnable, and the Russian Engineer, had he studied the plans of those works, would have required but little more than boldness in applying what, to almost all, was a new idea:—

*Seewasastopol has demonstrated this truth so conclusively, that the superiority of earth-works, wherever practicable, must be hereafter conceded.

ary intellect, and, trampling on his own endless agony, struggled on and on to sieze.

At that moment he must have recognized that with all his vast endowments how impotent was mortal man to execute the wisest, noblest projects. The vascillation or worse the treason of RACOEZY, wanting at the decisive moment, might wreck all his well-founded hopes and close the door, whose fastenings he had riven asunder, that portal of escape which he was on the point of throwing open to the oppressed of his, the réformed, religion. Faithless, the TRANSYLVANIAN had delayed and yet might ruin all. To exalt his country's glory, elevate his faith, relieve his brethren from their yoke of iron and execute strict, retributive justice on the oppressor, bigot, tool of the Vatican, had been his aim for years; and now, now that his iron messengers were bearing his defiance to the stronghold of the tyrant to fail.—What torture of the body, what torments human ferocity could imagine or inflict, could equal the belief that the foe who trembled on the farther shore might escape without other additional distress than that which sprung from its own terror-stricken heart. Alas! alas! ring out artillery, deservedly renowned, and if your bombs and balls cannot overwhelm the guilty city they can at least accelerate with wildest terror the fluttering pulses of its population. Baffled but still hopeful—nay triumphant—for had not the Swedish hero humbled an empire and frightened from his capital the family of the haughtiest despot who ever waved a sceptre—TORSTENSON was borne into his camp. It is some satisfaction to feel the *Austrian* EMPEROR trembled for his sanctuaries and fled the presence of that decrepid soldier whose ensigns insulted his ramparts, while an hundred guns roared their defiant challenge.

And in the sight of ramparts, towers and spires, crowded with attentive thousands, blazing hamlets, palaces and homesteads, proclaimed with tongues of fire how heavily the iron hand of the WESSTROGOTH had fallen upon *Austria*. How many hundred *Magdeburgs* cried out for vengeance on that despotic brood whose lips had ratified the horrors they endured. TILLY in the ferocity of a priest-incited savage, exulting in the dreadful ruin of unhappy *Magdeburg*, boasted no such conquest had been made since the centurion TERENTIUS RUFUS ploughed up the foundations of *Jerusalem*. How many thousand victims had the Swedish steel since sacrificed, upon the altars of Nemesis and

General ROGNIAT, former Chief of the French Engineer Corps, proposed a system of defence, "the spirit of the arrangement of which partakes both of the bastion line with double flanks, and the line with intervals"; the writer thinks he can discover the development of this very system in the Swedish works undertaken in 1631-'2.

While writing this note, the author had lying before him the plans, engraved from the originals, of the entrenched camps of Werben and Nuremberg, published, in 1678 in the IInd Vol. of the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, and his descriptions are corroborated by MARTIN'S *History of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS*, and *Études sur le Passé et l'Avenir de l'Artillerie par le Prince NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE*.

Ate, throughout the circles which paid allegiance to old TILLY's sanguinary masters; how many thousand towns and castles, villages and cots had blazed in expiation of that horrid boast. Mundane justice would have given lordly *Vienna* to the Swedish torch—a justice Heaven denied.

After years have brought some further punishment in their train. Within 40 years another *Austrian* EMPEROR besought a *Polish* KING to save him from a *Moslem* conqueror, and the *Vien-nese* prostrate in dust and ashes lay trembling lest, before another hour had struck, they might be the slaves of Turk and Tartar. Twice within the present century the *Gallic* standards waved triumphant on those battlements which had repelled the power of two Sultans. Scarce seven years since a *Maygar* army threatened and the People mastered them. The past has offered some amends for TORSTENSON'S miscarriage and the future promises still better satisfaction—deeper retribution.

SPORCHIL remarks—the German historian is perhaps unwilling to concede any further triumphs as possible to the Swede than that which he actually achieved and could not be denied—even had TORSTENSON with all his forces attained the southern shores of the Danube and invested *Vienna*, it does not follow that the city would have fallen any more in 1643 than it did in 1683, when invested by the immense army of the Turks, 235,000* strong amply supplied with every kind of siege—in all 300 pieces of—artillery. As mentioned once before, what might have happened is mere speculation, but it is not a necessary sequence that if the *Grand Vizir* KARA-MUSTAPHA could not succeed that TORSTENSON would have experienced the same bad fortune. In the first place, no comparison could be drawn between the troops or between the majority of their respective leaders. The greater portion of the Turkish horde were entirely destitute of discipline, and the most satisfactory proof of this is the exclamation of the JANIZARIES, infuriated at the blunders of their own, and alarmed at the renown of the approaching enemy's commander—"Come on infidels, the bare sight of your caps will make us run away!"

Moreover, TORSTENSON was not only an engineer without a superior in his field of action, but also unequalled in the use of

*The General of the Ottoman forces was the Grand Vizir KARA MUSTAPHA, the same who had already tried his fortune against JOHN (SOBIESKI) at *Tremboela* and *Leopol*. He still continued in favor with the Sultana VALIDE (Dowager); and having also gained the affections of MAHOMET, had lately married his daughter. The Sultan does not give to every Vizir his *Hatti-cherif*, that is to say, a full power; but the present had that honor conferred upon him. Never had ambition and pride, two passions that devoured him, a more extensive field to act in: 140,000 regular troops, consisting of Janizaries, Spahis, and others; 18,000 Wallachians, Moldavians, and Transylvanians, commanded by their respective princes; 15,000 Hungarians led by TEKELI; 50,000 Tartars commanded by SELIM-GHRAI, their *Chan*; and if we include volunteers, officers of the baggage and provisions, workmen of all sorts, and servants, the whole must amount to more than 300,000 men, 31 Bashaws, 5 Sovereign Princes, with 300 pieces of cannon: and the object of this mighty army was equally great—the conquest of the western empire.—COYNE'S *History of the King of Poland*.

his artillery, and had with him at this time at least 125 pieces, the finest at that time in Europe. The Turks, it is true, had double that number, but one good piece well served is worth a dozen ill-directed. His 16,000 Swedes were all-sufficient for the main siege-operations; the *Transylvanian Waiwode* who would have joined him, heart and hand, in such an undertaking, with 50,000 men,—among whom were some good troops, as GOETZ learned to his cost, at the siege of *Cassovia* in the campaign of 1644, would have been able to keep at bay—if not to defeat, with the assistance of the military talent of able Swedish officers—any army the EMPEROR could, at the juncture, summon to the relief of his capital. Besides these allies the GENERALISSIMO could have raised some valuable recruits in *Austria* itself, where there were many secret Protestants, who, altho' they did not dare to show themselves openly would not have neglected such an occasion to assert their rights and revenge their bitter wrongs. In truth, within *Vienna* a similar element still smouldered, soon after the peace of 1648 entirely extinguished, and the scanty garrison, by no means the elite of the Imperial troops, could not at once have put down an insurrection within the walls and defended those walls against a vigilant enemy watching intently for a favorable opportunity to launch his columns against them.

What is more, SOLYMAN the "Magnificent" failed in his attempt upon *Vienna*, because he did not dare to contend against the *fortune* of CHARLES V, who marched to its relief with an army of 80,000 men, and what the *fortune* of the Great Emperor effected, in 1529, the *genius* of SOBIESKI, who was the soul of the Christian army, 74,000 strong, accomplished in 1683. But if the *Turkish* miscarriages are adduced as strong arguments against the probability of TORSTENSON'S success, the blockade of *Vienna* in 1619, by Count THURN, at the head of 16,000 Bohemian Protestants, is strong rebutting evidence. At that time the balls of the besiegers were already raining upon the roof of the Imperial palace and battering its walls, when a disgraceful panic paralyzed their efforts and induced them to abandon their position in precipitate retreat. Neither TORSTENSON, his subordinates, nor his troops were likely to be affected by a sudden fright, which was all that saved *Vienna* 27 years before. All that can be said with certainty is that it was God's will that for some wise purpose *Vienna* did not fall in 1529, 1619, 1645 and 1683. That it should have been invested twice by the Turks and plunged into consternation by the threatening attitude of such a comparative handful of Swedes is an almost sufficient and an indelible disgrace. As the Abbe COYER* remarks, ironically, as it would appear, "The Germans are undoubtedly a brave people; but they have never appeared before the gates of *Constantinople*, as the *Turks* have before those of *Vienna*." Nor of *Stockholm*!

* His History of JOHN SOBIESKI, King of Poland, Page 297, London, 1763.

On the 28th of March—the same day, or the next day after, the Swedish GENERALISSIMO captured the Wolf's-Bridge-redoubt—the whole Imperial establishment, with the Empress Dowager,* ELEANORA, daughter of VINCENT, DUKE OF MANTUA, with all the children—two sons and one daughter—of the reigning Emperor, fled from Vienna to Gratz, on the Muhr—the strongly fortified capital of Styria, whose population was devotedly attached to his House—followed by all the principal nobility and 1,000 loaded wagons, freighted with such furniture as was regarded as peculiarly valuable. The EMPEROR, however, would not quit his post, and, animated by the same spirit, the EMPRESS remained at his side, preferring to allow her children to depart without her, than to abandon her husband; resolute to remain and share his fate. Although to the populace, affairs seemed desperate, the EMPEROR, now that TORSTENSON had been prevented from crossing the Danube, entertained hopes that his onward career was arrested. Thus far he proved to be correct, in that the Swedish GENERALISSIMO was unable to attain the goal his hopes flattered him with winning; but FERDINAND was sadly in error, and under-estimated the indomitable energy and vast resources of his enemy, if he dreamed that the Swede would not renew the attempt with redoubled energy, from which nothing but the utmost exertions and wisest measures, promptly undertaken, could preserve him. The greatest point gained was delay, which the EMPEROR determined to make the most of, to prepare for a vigorous defence, well aware that although so much of his dominion was in the power of his enemy, now that he was relieved from all danger on the side of Transylvania, he could draw together his veteran forces, relieved from the duty of watching against and repelling RAGOCZY, and those corps distributed throughout the Hereditary States; likewise the wrecks of his regiments dispersed in Bohemia and Silesia.—Wherefore he addressed an Imperial Rescript, dated 29th of March, to all the Electors of the Empire, animating and calling upon them to exert their utmost powers, and furnish all possible aid to him, their Imperial head; and also took prompt and efficient measures to concentrate a new, perfect and sufficient Armada, of which, when created, his brother, the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM,† was to be the Generalissimo.

*Here is another almost irreconcilable discrepancy, for the *Theatrum Europæum* states that on the 5th she travelled to Bruck, a town on the Muhr—on the road from Vienna to the Gulf of Venice—in Upper Styria, where General, the COUNT OF BUCHHADM, who—at that time—should have been at his post in Hungary, presented to her some military standards captured from RAGOCZY.

†LEOPOLD-WILLIAM [the second son of FERDINAND II, and brother of FERDINAND III, was] born in 1604, and devoted to the ecclesiastical profession. He was educated by the Jesuits, and like his father imbibed from them a singular degree of superstition and bigotry. He acquired a taste for the arts and botany, and made collections of paintings, curiosities and rare plants; but, from a principle of mortification, he denied himself the indulgence

Many of the historians who treat of this era have attempted to depict the EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA as a recreant in the time of danger. While no person can detest more thoroughly the intolerant bigotry and unrelenting cruelty which involved* the empire in such a terrific and exhaustless contest and heaped such misery on his brethren of the Protestant faith, the writer feels that his pen would be guilty of injustice if he did not endeavor to relieve the character even of an enemy from an unfounded charge. It seems scarcely possible that FERDINAND III could have been a coward. While King of Hungary he had acted as Generalissimo of the Imperial armies, and it proved that he was not deficient in military skill; and, although his successes are mainly attributable to the experience and ability of his distinguished Lieutenants, still it has never been charged that he acted in any manner unworthy his lofty position. *That he did not continue with the army was owing to feebleness of constitution, suffering as he did at an early age from the gout. Few, if any, men can compare with TORSTENSON in this respect, but, while we should not suffer the EMPEROR's inability, the result of physical infirmity, to depreciate the Austrian monarch in our estimation, should not that fact exalt the more, in our opinion, THAT INDIVIDUAL who brought such mental strength to the assistance of his physical debility as enabled him to overcome an incalculable greater access of the same disease which wrested the baton of the general from his enemy and forbade him those laurels which the very circumstances attending his triumphs rendered the more glorious and imperishable on the brow of the Swedish hero?* VON LUNDELDAD asserts that while his army was fighting and being defeated by TORSTENSON, the emperor FERDINAND was riding from one church to another,

of smelling to his flowers, and, from rigid notions of continence, shunned even his own sisters. From this turn of mind, he obtained from his father the surname of "the angel"; and the courtiers at Vienna believed, or affected to believe, that his prayers contained a peculiar sanctity. The son of an Emperor was not likely to want preferment, and accordingly ecclesiastical benefits were heaped upon him at an early age. Before he had attained his 11th year, he was nominated *Bishop of Strasburg and Passau*, and *Abbot* of the rich foundations of *Maurbach and Neiders*. About his 16th year, he received from the Pope an appointment to the Sees of *Bremen, Halberstadt and Magdeburg*, of which he was deprived by the Swedish invasion, and renounced all, except *Halberstadt*, in the peace with the ELECTOR OF SAXONY. He was appointed *Bishop of Olmütz*, Grand Master of the *Teutonic Order*, and finally nominated successor to the *See of Breslau*.

Neither his sanctity nor the disorders of a weak frame prevented him from occasionally exchanging the crozier for the sword; for he appears with distinction among the great military characters in the reign of his brother. On the death of FERDINAND III, the Crown of the Empire was offered to him by the Electors, who opposed his nephew LEOPOLD; but he refused it, from attachment to the interests of his House, and became a guardian to the children of his deceased brother. He at length relinquished the career of politics and arms, which he had reluctantly entered, and hastened to that retirement which had been the object of his early and constant wishes. He died in 1662.—(Cox's *House of Austria*, vol. II, pp. 299, 300.)

[A pretty story told by an Austrian panegyrist. He was bigoted, haughty, revengeful and cruel, but brave, very brave. J. W. DE P.]

*More properly speaking his father, FERDINAND II, involved the Empire in the war which he, for the same motives, prosecuted.

striving to gain the victory by masses and prayers. This was not the evidence of cowardice but rather the unfortunate results of the doctrines inculcated by his Jesuit preceptors; and RUSSEL wrongs the Emperor when he hands him down to posterity as terror-stricken and unworthy his crown. It has become a favorite weapon with the vulgar, especially in this country, to charge men occupying elevated positions with cowardice, as if physical bravery was the highest and noblest quality with which a human being can be endowed. Many a man destitute of brute courage has by the force of mind achieved heroic deeds, and better the force of character, which rules the body, than a mere animal instinct, fleshborn and soulless. Crimes enough and meanness enough are chargeable to the Imperial House, but want of courage is not susceptible of proof. Whatever field the Austrian blood has watered bears everliving testimony that the scions of the House of Hapsburg have never shrunk from danger, and wherever the Austrian Vulture has gloated over the carnage of a battle, wherever the conflict was fiercest, if present at Death's revel, an Austrian prince has confronted man's arch-enemy with an unblenching eye.

* * *

The suburbs were pulled down, the bastions, ramparts, and counterscarps repaired, the rubbish removed from the ditches, and the whole population, capable of bearing, summoned to arms. In fact, every preparation possible was made. The servants and journeymen, 4,000 in number, were furnished with proper weapons; a citizens' corps, 2,000 strong, was organized, the students embodied, and the whole, 5,000 in all, were reviewed by the EMPEROR. Every one who was unable or unwilling to bear arms, was sent out of the city, and all disposable troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march upon that point, at the first summons. All the different corps on the south side of the Danube were ordered to rendezvous within the next week, on the Tulnerfield [*Tulnerfelde*]. From the country along the *Enns*, many thousand men came together.*

In the meanwhile, the new levies were hurried forward with all dispatch, while the old troops remained concentrated in their cantonments, on the south side of the Danube. In Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria; every twentieth man was raised, and so difficult had it become to find recruits, that every one who would volunteer received from 20 to 40, and even 50, Rix dollars, as bounty money. In the country along the *Enns*, many thousand men came together, and since peace might be consid-

*March 28th, Count ZACHY who came from Thurna to Vienna, reported that peace had been actually concluded in Hungary, that the several articles had been signed by the Commissioners, that RACOGNY had already departed for Transylvania, and that the Envoys of both the Christian and Turkish Emperors were soon expected on the Hungarian frontier.

ered as concluded with the Turks,* and RAGOCZY, for the articles had been signed by the Plenipotentiaries on both sides, General, COUNT OF BUCHHAIM marched his division of 4,000 veteran troops into the city,* so that it was estimated in a short time that 35,000 men—including the remains of the regiments which, under the COUNT OF WALLENSTEIN, had lain before Olmutz, and the expected Italian corps, could be brought into the field in the Hereditary States, without counting the army which Field-Marshal GALLAS was collecting in Bohemia.

From the Wolf's Bridge, on the 4th April, TORSTENSON marched to *Mistelbach*, on the *Laya*, 27 miles N. N. E. of Vienna, where he remained for some time, to recruit his forces and await the result of his negotiations with RAGOCZY, by which he hoped to induce that fickle, but—still to him at this time—valuable ally, to tear the articles of peace he had just signed and join him once more in his crusade against the EMPEROR. From his head quarters at *Mistelbach*, the Swede was more the master of the surrounding districts than its anointed monarch; in fact, from the first time his flying parties appeared opposite Vienna, early in March, until he finally retired from the Hereditary States in December, the environs of the Austrian capital were at no time free from the incursions of the invaders; and to translate literally the language of the THEATRUM EUROPÆUM, "the successes of the Swedes continued even from *Regensburg* (Ratisbon?) to the frontiers of *Hungary*.† TORSTENSON caused the fortifications of some of the captured places to be still farther strengthened, others again he razed or partially destroyed; a few towns were burned. As we shall not return to this subject again it is as well to state that while his soldiers were gratified with abundant plunder, his military chest was replenished for over seven months with contributions levied on the fertile districts he had conquered and on their wealthy inhabitants and aristocracy wherever he was fortunate enough to lay hands upon them or their riches. It may be asked with reason why TORSTENSON did not transfer his army to the southern shores of the *Danube*, when small parties were continually crossing over for predatory purposes or reconnoissances, and while he was master of the river and the enemy not prepared to oppose him. PUFFENDORF asserts that he had no desire to do so until united with RAGOCZY, fearing perhaps that if he ventured across that false prince might treat him as he had served and was serving the EMPEROR, and at the decisive moment leave him unsupported with so formidable a barrier to safe retreat as the *Danube*, defended by the troops

*BUCHHAIM actually arrived 12th April, bringing with him 3 Regiments of Infantry, 5 Regiments of Horse, and 2,000 Hungarians.

† A POLISH ENVOY who had traveled under the protection of a strong escort, from Rome to Regensburg, designing to visit Vienna, learning the actual position of affairs in that city, abandoned his intention and went over to Prague.

which could be concentrated along its bank from Bohemia and other southern Circles. On or about the 11-12th April* TORSTENSON suddenly made a feint of throwing a bridge across the *Danube*, near *Durenstein*, and made a reconnoissance upon the south side. To meet this the Imperial General Count BUCHHAIM, who had just reached *Vienna* from *Hungary*, did not halt a moment but, hurrying through that city, marched up the river to *Mautern* to repel the Swedes, who had no sooner drawn him thither than, leaving the *Landgrave* FREDERICK OF HESSE at *Spitz*, about 15 Eng. miles west of *Crems*, to occupy the attention of the enemy,† they marched with their accustomed celerity towards the water called the *Vischa* to cut off communications and thus intercept all provisions coming from *Hungary* to *Vienna*, wherein—the Swedes occupying and levying contributions on the northern shore from *Spitz* to the *March*, were enabled to close the *Danube* while the partisan corps even intercepted convoys on the southern shore—provisions already scarce and enormously high-priced became even yet more difficult to procure. On this account and the increasing danger of the enemy's attack the EMPRESS, with the whole court, under a strong escort, repaired to *Gratz*,‡ in which town, also, the scarcity had become so great that no more persons were permitted to take up their abode there.

About this time a Swedish corps, grown bold by success, crossed the *March* into *Hungary*, of whom the inhabitants, aided by what soldiers were at hand, killed 350, and the hunters (riflemen) likewise shot down a number on the meadow near the "*Kott-lacker*" bridge, so that the Swedes were forced to retire,

* About this date the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* says that he had conquered *Grafeneck* and hung up its commander, and tried to cross the *Danube* near *Crems*, with eight vessels, which were driven back by the fire of the Imperialists. Shortly afterwards he also conquered the outer redoubt of the *Viennese Danube Bridge*, and set fire to three beautiful places on the other (south) side (with shells or fire balls?) This language of the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* would certainly look as if TORSTENSON had succeeded in making his way across the *Wolf's Bridge*, or in some other manner transported his troops across the main stream of the *Danube*. As this is not corroborated by any other author, we have not presumed to credit him with this success.

† The *LANDGRAVE* FREDERICK occupied the shore between *Spitz*, about 15 English miles W., and *Grafenwahrt*, about 5 English miles E. of *Crems*, between which points the *Danube* forms an almost right angle, so that he stopped several vessels and was able to make a foray on the south shore crossing at *Dornstein*.

‡ About the 15th of May a plot was discovered at *Gratz*, in *Styria*, against the life of the young Prince Ferdinand, the eldest son of FERDINAND III, born in 1633, chosen King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* and elected King of the *Romans*. Had he not died in 1654, before his father, he would have been the fourth Emperor of that name. A Frenchman is reported to have disguised himself as a pilgrim and repaired to the garden where the young prince was recreating himself together with his instructor and a few others. Some of those who were by, thinking that the man's actions and appearance were suspicious, demanded what was his object in that place; on which, giving no explanation or reply, he was seized and searched, and the following deadly weapons, 2 rifles (pistols!) a stiletto and a long knife, were found concealed about his person. He subsequently confessed that he had four accomplices pledged to the murder of the young Prince, of whom two were taken and the others escaped.—*THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, V. 500.

leaving four small pieces in the hands of the bold peasantry. What a contrast to the Austrian inhabitants who, paralyzed with fear, submitted to every exaction without an idea of resistance.

At that favorable juncture RAGOCZY threw off the mask and determined to join the Swedes.* Already 6000 men were on the march to unite with TORSTENSON and 15,000 were preparing† to follow with as little delay as preparations would admit.

Siege of Brunn.

Having refreshed his troops with a repose of four weeks, TORSTENSON—who had some time previous ordered his movements as if about to invest *Brunn*, the capital of *Moravia*, and only place in that circle which had not submitted to his arms, and again concentrated them about him on the Danube—invested that town expecting to be able to make himself speedily master of it; but, in the same manner that he was deceived, in 1643, with regard to the strength of the defences and resources of the garrison of *Freiberg*, the chief city of the Saxon Mining district, he likewise erred as to the resistance he was to experience on the present occasion. †

In fact it was a perfectly parallel case. His spies had either deceived him, or his own officers had been remiss in their investigations. Thus, as it was reported that *Freiberg* could not hold out 8 days, *Brunn* was said to have an insufficient garrison within its walls, consisting of only 200 soldiers under Colonel DE SOUCHES, who, by his resources and courage, proved a host in himself—and Lieutenant-Colonel ENGEL,

Brunn‡—or as it is often written in old works, *Brinn*—the chief town, or, as some say, the capital of the *Margraviate of Moravia*, was the only place in that circle which had not fallen into the hands of TORSTENSON. The circuit of its walls presented the outline of an egg with the point (north), flattened or broken in, with a quadrangular bastioned exterior work to the north-west, and the city was built, partly, in a pretty valley, watered by the rivers *Schwartza* and *Zwittawa*, which unite just a little south-east of it, partly, on the slope of two hills the last two members of a range, which, stretching from the north-west corner of *Moravia*, here subsides into the plain.

* On the 9th of April the Swedes were still in almost undisputed possession of the Hereditary States, when they received the gladsome intelligence that RAGOCZY would not after all (*eventualiter*) subscribe and ratify the conditions of the treaty with *Austria* and that his troops were already advancing upon *Pressburg*, which led many to suppose that the Emperor would yet be obliged to fly from Vienna.

† SPENCER says that TORSTENSON, menaced by the Hungarian Cavalry on the side of the March, quartered his troops around *Mistelbach*, and caused the places which he had taken on the left bank of the Danube, to be fortified, which indicated his intention of a continued occupation,

‡ This description is compiled from MURRAY's *Southern Germany*, several old and new *Gazetteers* and the ground plan in the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, Vol. V., published in 1707.

The most westerly of these two elevations, presenting very deep acclivities on all sides, was the site of the *Castle of the Spielberg*, formerly, particularly in 1645, the citadel of *Brunn*, but, since 1809—when its fortifications were destroyed by the French, in accordance with the orders of NAPOLEON—converted into a prison, in which state criminals, conspirators, and political offenders are confined. “As the *Prigione* of SILVIO PILLOO, who was shut up within its walls for eight years, it possesses a melancholy interest. By the clemency of the late Emperor, the tenants of its dungeons, on account of political offences, have all been set free. MACK, the *incapable*, who surrendered *Ulm* to the French, was confined here for some time, but was at length released by the Emperor, who was convinced that the disaster had arisen, not from treachery on his part, but incompetence. TRECK, the savage leader of the Pandours, the wild vanguard of the Austrian Army in the War of the Succession, ended his days here,” and was buried in the church of the Capuchins.

The *Spielberg* presented a striking union of the old feudal castle and primitive bastioned fortress such as could not, despite its strong natural position, withstand, as it were but for a moment, the effects of a battery of siege guns and mortars of our time, which would, almost at once, shatter its defences and bury those defenders, who escaped the missiles themselves, beneath the ruins of their apparent stronghold,

Within an oblong square fort with bastions at the corners, the entrance towards the town protected by a circular redoubt and exterior lunette, answering to a *cavalier* and *faussebraie*—the whole apparently without a ditch—rose the lofty walls of the ancient castle, which now alone remain. These, consisting of a very high, four-sided keep and tower, towards the east, and smaller tower at the south-west corner connected by lofty walls, constitute a strong quadrangle of massive masonry within another parallelogram of lesser altitude. A covered way connected the citadel with the town, and a stockade or palisade, farther down the hill presented an additional obstacle to any attack directed against the lunette.

Such is a succinct description of that fortress which was **TORSTENSON'S** *St. Jean d'Acre*, and even as the Syrian fort arrested the career of BUONAPARTE, the inexpugnable position of the *Spielberg* frustrated the plans of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO. Its chief strength lay in its elevation, at a period when the use of shells were not well understood, since it was only in 1634 that the regular employment of bombs was definitely adopted; nor was it until a century subsequent to the period of which we treat, in 1751, “that LEDUC proved that the inflammation of the charge of the mortar would communicate fire to

the fuse of the shell.*" The town itself was built at the foot of the second, more easterly, hill whose crest was crowned by the Cathedral of St. Peter, remarkable for the height of its nave. The Bishop's palace, near it, and the plateau on the summit of the elevation command a beautiful prospect, extending for 30 English miles over the Moravian plains, even to the Carpathians. The *Jacobs Kirche*, the most elegant religious structure, built in the Gothic style, in 1215, whose tower rises to the height of 276 feet, contains the monument of *Colonel*, afterwards *Field-Marshal Count Louis RATUIS DE SOUCHES*,† who directed the defence of the place at the date of which we treat.

Colonel DE—or as the Germans wrote it VON—SOUCHES, was a French Protestant, a fugitive on account of religious opinions, from *La Rochelle*, formerly in the Swedish service, who, having been deeply offended by his superior, Major General STALHANSKE, resigned his commission, in order to be at liberty to challenge him to a duel, and then, to his shame be it said, entered the service of the mortal enemy of his faith and brethren of the reformed religion. He was the great, if not the sole means, of saving the capital of Austria from the Swedish sword, for had *Brunn* speedily fallen, there is little doubt but that Vienna would have likewise succumbed. As it was the Huguenot defended his charge with the most desperate courage, and baffled all the efforts and inventions which the genius of TORSTENSON made or devised for its reduction. In vain the Swedish GENERALISSIMO threatened DE SOUCHES with death if he fell into his hands, unless he presently surrendered; with equal obstinacy the besieged answered his threats with proud defiance.

DE SOUCHES was quite a handsome man, with a bold, determined expression of countenance, bright, intelligent eyes, and long, curling hair, falling in thick masses on his shoulders. His is one of the most striking of all the portraits which we have of the heroes of the Thirty Years War.

Again and again has the writer taken up his pen to endeavor to present his readers with a portrait of LEONARD TORSTENSON and as often laid it down in despair, so difficult did the task appear of transferring the likeness, by means of type, from the canvas or engraving to the "historic page." That he was not a handsome man is undeniable; but never did a manlier face—betokening cool courage, astute and solid ability and iron determination—look down from the wall upon the spectator. Hi-

* "Previous to that time mortars were discharged with a double fire; the fire was communicated to the fuse of the shell and to the charge of the mortar at the same time, and to prevent the explosion of the charge before the inflammation of the projectile most earth was placed between the exterior surface of the shell and the interior of the mortar." "This method, though productive of serious accidents, was practiced for a long time."—KINGSBURY'S *Artillery and Infantry*, Page 83.

† ILLUSTRISSIMUS DUS L. E. BARO DE SOUCHES SA'CRÆ CES'Æ MA'JIS GENERALIS VIICILLARUM PRÆFECTUS, COLONELLUS & GUBERNATOR MARCHIONATUS MORAVIC IN MILITARIB.

head—very near what is termed bullet-shaped—must either have been small or his breadth of shoulder very great to give it that appearance; his face was, as the expression is generally understood, thoroughly (Holland) Dutch, but very expressive; round rather than oval, the forehead fine and high enough, his hair slightly curling, or more properly speaking, wavy, carelessly thrown or brushed aside, falling over it, made it appear much lower than it actually was; his eyes, deep set, were small but fairly twinkling with sagacity; his nose, rather long and broad, was indicative, as some physiognomists assert, of a clear, “long head;” but the most striking features were his mouth and jaw—the former shaded by a rough, sturdy moustache, which looks grim enough in itself, the latter, apparently somewhat undershot, terminating with an imperial, equally innocent, with the hair upon his nervous upper lip, of a barber’s artistic touch—in fact, the distance from the base of the nose to the point of the chin, was unusually great and the face remarkably massive, not only in length but breadth. With a laced kerchief carelessly tied round his stalwart neck, the ends falling without arrangement, on his cuirass, in one engraving, the best in our possession, he looks the indomitable soldier, one, who, if forced to yield a position, recoiled with his point to the assailant’s breast, feeling his weapon continually, ready to renew the attack as soon as an opportunity presented itself. Any one would exclaim, as he looked at this picture, “What a fierce, determined countenance!” And then, after dwelling on his traits, “What a sagacious eye!” In another illustration, which depicts him gazing at Vienna from the northern bank of the Danube, his features, shaded by the broad-brimmed, slouched beaver and floating plumes, so generally worn at that time by those military men who rejected the helmet, assume a fierceness which only seemed to play about them on other occasions, as the summer lightning is wont to flash athwart the horizon, about eventide, lighting the distant mountains and bringing out their inequalities in strong relief. No discrepancy however exists between any of the GENERALISSIMO’s likenesses. **TORSTENSON** is recognizable in one and all.

There can be no finer grouping, than in the picture last alluded to; it tells its story as clearly as if an elaborate explanatory text accompanied it. In front, **TORSTENSON** on his couch or litter, raised on his right elbow, has fixed his eager eye upon the Imperial city beyond the river, studying its defences and revolving in his mind the means at once to attain the farther shore and with his forces carry the place as gallantly as he had swept away the enemies who ventured to obstruct his thither march. Near him stood his bearers or attendants in their picturesque costume, with trunk-hose, gathered with a rosette at the knee, doublet richly laced, full sleeves, felt hat, high-crowned and broad-brimmed, one flap looped up so jauntily. Beyond

these, gallantly mounted, their horses admirably drawn, 3 officers are also observing the distant city—two, in complete suits of armor, upon their heads the steel skull-caps—very similar to an English steeple-chase or hunting-cap—peculiar to the time, with 3 ostrich plumes rising from the centre of the hind-peak, and nodding gracefully over the casque, distinct therefrom, like an Italian Campanile belonging to, but separate from, the church; the third clad in the rich habiliments, hereinbefore described, sumptuous in lace, material and embroidery, with ample boots which swallowed up the leg, and plumed sombrero. In the rear, leaning upon their long and mortal halberts, a group of iron-clad infantry guard their leader, and watch with interest his every movement, wondering what achievement next his genius contemplates—a genius which had furnished ample theme for gossip round their camp fires.

Thus as seems appropriate brief sketches descriptive of the personal appearance of the courageous HUGUENOT and great SWEDE, confront each other, even as in life they met as adversaries. The former looks the brave intelligent soldier, nothing more; but in the other's countenance those qualities can be discerned whose possession serve to raise an individual far above the ordinary leaders of the masses, even as the writer, looking forth from his study window, beholds the *Round Top* rise majestic above the other tallest peaks of the *Catskills*—glorious at all times, but never more than now, when, in the clear December evening, sharp and distinct their outline is defined against the western sky, while the reflection of the sun, which, about an hour previous, sunk to rest behind them, still lingers on their summits like the smile that often lights with happiest expression the features of the dead.

The siege of *Brunn*, which was the first undertaking which he set about in earnest, in which TORSTENSON may be said to have actually failed, and failing in that, the prize of his whole life, on which his fingers seemed almost about to close, eluded his grasp. From the 24th—it might almost be said from the 1st for about that time his troops began to draw together for the investment of the place—April until the 16th August, 1645—four months of terrific struggles and privations for both besiegers and besieged—the Swede and the Huguenot tried and exhausted every means which the art of war at that time presented, for the attack and defence of a fortress. Fortune, fickle fortune, seemed tired of favoring the hero she hitherto appeared to have adopted as her own, and to him, she had as yet refused no success, however extravagant its conception, denied the last, the greatest boon.

"'Tis not for mortals to command success,
They can do more, deserve it,"

says the poet. If that be any consolation, and it seems cold com-

fort in this world, whatever it may prove in another, it can not be denied that as far as TORSTENSON'S own individual endeavors were concerned, he did deserve the triumph which Providence, for some wise reason, saw fit to determine should not be added to his other famous—nay, wonderful—achievements.

The operations of the Swedes before *Brunn* was more worthy the name of a regular siege than any other they had recently undertaken, for, while they established batteries against certain points of the town and castle, by taking advantage of the natural difficulties of the surrounding country, and connecting them with parapets, they enclosed quite a large extent of country with a pentagonal line of circumvallation in order to prevent all succor from reaching the garrison. These exterior works were thrown up or rather occupied by the *Hungarians* serving under Young *Ragoczy* at a later period of the siege, and extended from a hamlet—the head quarters of two Brigades of Infantry, and four Regiments of Horse—north east of, to the top of an elevation, whereon a square redoubt was thrown up, north of, overlooking the town; thence to a marshy pond, which with two other large similar sheets of water, completed the lines to the north; thence from the head of the westernmost pond to a range of hills, directly west of the *Spielberg*, crowned with three square redoubts, on the west; thence along the slope of the most southern elevation, having, midway, a pentagonal redoubt, covering an interval, or sortie passage, to the bank of a small stream falling into the *Zwittawa* and another village a little south-west of the citadel. This completed the three sides; the other two, in close proximity to the town and castle, were occupied by the Swedes; the fourth consisting in a great measure, between the point last referred to and a hamlet—the head quarters of five brigades of Infantry and the greater part of the Swedish Cavatry—of the approaches of Colonel PAÏCKELS (Paykull, the same who defended *Olmütz* with such vigor and ability?) the other, the fifth, side, on which the majority of the Swedish forces were quartered, was without any other protection than a large stream whose farther bank was constantly patrolled by strong corps, both horse and foot.

Against the quadrangular outwork to the north-west of the town, the efforts of TORSTENSON'S own regiment, Major-General MORTAIGNE'S and Colonel AXELSON VON LINDEN were directed but without success, although the city-defences-proper were breached, on the north, by a battery of nine siege guns and, on the south, by another of seven siege guns. Colonel AXELSON VON LINDEN, who appears to have been the most active engineer employed in the siege likewise directed the approaches against the two western bastions of the *Spielberg*; Colonels COPY and JORDAN those against the south east bastion, on the side of the

town; the majority of these cost the Swedes an enormous amount of labor, as they had to be made in hard rock and occupied such a length of time that the besieged had time to repair damages while the besiegers were constructing each successive parallel. Besides the breaching batteries the Swedes established several others, admirably located, for the annoyance, from time to time, of the Imperialists and by their mines, at different periods of the siege blew up portions of the defences; thus, after the south-west bastion had been ruined by the Swedish guns, they discovered that DE SOUCHES had erected a new and complete inner work, which was, in turn, entirely destroyed by the explosion of three mines. Colonel von LINDEN likewise completely ruined the northwestern bastion, within which again he encountered a strong work constructed of timber ---styled in the plan the *wooden bastion*. This he partially consumed with fire, then undermined and blew it up. Meanwhile Colonel VOLCKMARS twice undermined the Imperial works which connected the castle with the town; but all in vain, for although the counter-mines of the besieged were sprung with but little effect, the natural strength of their position and the vigilance, resources and determination of the Huguenot Colonel set at defiance the valor, superior engineering and genius of the Swedish Commander-in-Chief, and his able and enterprising subordinates—whose works were marvels of skill and courage in their conception and of patient industry and determination in their construction. Some of the covered approaches thrown up when the *boyeaux* had to be carried forward through or rather upon the rocky ascent to the citadel are worthy the study of any engineer—consisting of a trench with a parapet on either side, protected by a sort of timber revetment or close palisading of light timbers on the side most exposed to the enemy, forming a gallery roofed with stout timbers covered with earth, or earth and raw hides. This roof was raised sufficiently high above the earthen breastwork to afford room for a line of loopholes through which the musketeers could fire, standing upon a banquette, on either side, raised within. The entrances to these galleries were closed with gates of heavy timber, likewise loop-holed.

Having thus endeavored to give an intelligible explanation of the Swedish works all the additional information in connection with the siege and the operations undertaken, at different dates, during its progress, both by the Swedes and their Allies and by the Imperialists must assume somewhat the shape of a diary, wherein, from time to time, the attention will be directed, hither and thither, according as the scene of action changes from before *Brunn*, to the vicinity of *Vienna* and to the frontiers of *Hungary*. By this means alone can the reader acquire a thorough comprehension of what transpired.

OPERATIONS OF THE SWEDES AND TRANSYLVANIANS and of the Imperialists at and before Brunn, in the Hereditary States, and in other Quarters.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF APRIL TO THE END OF AUGUST, 1645.

While TORSTENSON was yet at *Mistelbach*, and as he found that he could not count upon the immediate cooperation of RAGOCZY for the attack upon the Imperial Capital, he despatched several regiments to observe *Brunn*, which town, it is asserted, he had made preparations to besiege even before he marched towards, and captured the fortified places on the *Danube*, and afterwards changed his mind. This is all susceptible of easy explanation. When he first marched southwards from *Iglau* he trusted, as he had every reason to do, in the promised junction of the Transylvanians, and his first captures were all preliminary steps towards that great final effort to which all his preceding operations tended. Finding himself bitterly deceived by the WAIWODE and the present opportunity lost, he determined, while he was negotiating with RAGOCZY and until the actual arrival of the Transylvanians—united with whom it was his plan then to cross the *Danube* below *Vienna*, whereby the city would have been indeed exposed to a siege; for he had by no means abandoned his intention of besieging that capital—(S—h)—to occupy his forces in the reduction of a place which would at once afford a strong rallying point in case of disaster, not only for himself, during the present campaign, but for the Swedish flying-corps while he or his successors might be absent with the main army, and would, together with *Olmütz* and the other strongholds already in his possession, insure *Moravia* to the Swedes and greatly facilitate all future operations in the *Hereditary States*. Moreover it was the only place of the least importance in *Moravia* or in his rear which remained to the enemy or could in any manner effect his operations on the *Danube* and, taken in connection with *Olmütz*, *Great Glogau* and other posts occupied by his subordinates, it assured his communications with KÖNIGSMARK and with *Pomerania*, the *Baltic* and *Sweden*.

At the same time that he ordered a corps to march on *Brunn*, TORSTENSON made such dispositions as would facilitate his junction with RAGOCZY and detached a strong corps towards the Hungarian frontier with orders to throw a bridge across the river *March*,* near *Pressburg* and effect a junction with the WAIWODE, 6000 of whose troops had already passed the *Waag* near *Thirna*—*Tyrnau*, *Tirnava*, 27 miles N.E. of *Pressburg*—and were posted near the latter city.

On the 18th of April, as soon as the Imperial Generalissimo, the Arch Duke LEOPOLD WILLIAM, received intelligence that RA-

* TORSTENSON'S flying parties took the Pass of *Angern* (*Anger*) on the *March* or *Morava* midway between the *Danube* and *Moravian* frontier, drove back the Hungarians stationed there and effected a junction with RAGOCZY.

GOCZY, in accordance with his renewed promises to *Sweden* and *France*, had once more invaded Hungary and menaced Austria, he repaired to *Pressburg* to provide for its defence, whither also BUCHHAIM's regiments hastened with all speed and crossed the Danube to defend the two redoubts and fortifications on the left bank of that river. The Imperialists were just in time for about the first of May BACOUS GABOR with several thousand Transylvanian horse endeavored to make his way across the country to join TORSTENSON; but was repulsed by BUCHHAIM.*

On the 21st of April the park of artillery, consisting of fifty pieces, which GALLAS had been obliged to leave behind, or rather to abandon, in *Magdeburg* and *Wittenberg*, when his army was destroyed by TORSTENSON and KOENIGSMARK, arrived at *Dresden* whence they were brought under strong guard to *Prague*, where they arrived about the 20th of May, upon which point, but more particularly *Budweiss*, in which large stores of provisions were collected, all the troops which had been cantoned in Silesia and the neighboring districts were ordered to concentrate, so that when joined by the ARCHDUKE and his numerous commands a respectable army might be able to take the field about the first of June.†

On the 20th of April the investment of *Brunn* was completed. At first, in order to afford his men a better opportunity to work in the trenches TORSTENSON left the city almost unmolested by day and fired against it both with artillery and musketry by night. The town all but upon the first attack offered to capitulate, but the GENERALISSIMO would not accept the surrender unless the *Spielberg*, whose guns rendered the place almost untenable, was included. To this DE SOUCHES, who had made up his mind to resist to the last drop of blood, would not consent, but by sorties and all other available means, continued to annoy the besiegers and thereby occasioned them great loss.

About the 3d of the next month, May—when Colonel RANFFT and his officers, captured at *Crems*, whose ransoms had been paid, returned to *Vienna*, where great preparations were on foot to enable the ARCH-DUKE to take the field again in force—a most remarkable conference was held between the Swedish Major-Generals WITTENBERG and DOUGLAS and certain Imperial Commissioners from *Vienna*, concerning the prisoners taken and the free passage of the Danube. Although the negotiations were without result, and the Emperor's Envoys returned "*re-infecta*," without having accomplished any thing, TORSTENSON,

* Another account says that this did not occur until the 15th of May, BUCHHAIM being ordered to the Hungarian frontier on the 8d, "since Ragoczy, although he had received all he asked nevertheless again renewed hostilities."

† So completely cut up and disorganized had some of the Imperial Cavalry been at *Jankow* that it was not until the 27th April that 300 stragglers of *Mina's* and *Bassano's* regiments were again assembled.—*THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, V. 585.

notwithstanding, permitted vessels to pass on the payment of toll or tribute and even restored to the inhabitants what cattle had been taken from them, in return for which generous concessions the Swedes were permitted to enter the city to buy whatever articles they stood in need of. (V. 584, 1st.) The invader must have indeed been master of the Imperial river and sorely galled the population of the capital to induce the EMPEROR to grant such a humiliating license.

By the 15th,* the Swedish approaches against *Brunn* had made great progress, and on that day **TORSTENSON** opened a furious cannonade from four heavy batteries; nevertheless the garrison defended themselves with so much resolution, that nothing of consequence was effected by the besiegers. About this time the Swedish **GENERALISSIMO** received the unsatisfactory intelligence that on the 5th of May (N. S.) **TURENNE** had experienced at the hands of the Bavarian General **MERCY**, "the check"—for it can scarcely be termed a defeat—"of *Mariendal*, the only one which that great leader, while Commander-in-Chief of the French armies, ever had reason to regret."† If the Bavarians, in return, had not been defeated on the field of *Allersheim* near *Nordlingen*, on the 3d August following, where **MERCY** fell, the consequences might have been most serious to **TORSTENSON**, since the **ELECTOR**, victorious on the *Rhine*, and relieved from danger on the side of France, would have been enabled to detach a portion—shortly—of his veteran troops to the assistance of the Emperor.

After having held a council with the Representatives of the population of *Presburg*, and exhorted the inhabitants, both citizens and officials, to remain loyal to the Emperor, which they promised faithfully to do, and also to hold out to the last man, the Archduke returned to Vienna, on the 24th May. Before his departure he garrisoned the castle with 400 and the city with 1000 men, ordered that the entrenched camp, which **BUCHHAIM** had occupied, should be abandoned, and brought back with him the greater part of that General's forces, since the Imperialists could no longer prevent the junction of **RAGOCZY**'s forces with the Swedes, and therefore needed all their strength on other more important points.

Immediately on his return to Vienna **LEOPOLD WILLIAM** held a council of war with Field-Marshal **GALLAS** and several other distinguished officers, who had been assembled in the capital, in which it was determined at once to attempt the recapture of the *Wolf's-Bridge-Redoubt*, and then, when sufficient reinforcements

*On Sunday the 30th, there occurred at Prague a violent storm of rain and lightning, sufficiently remarkable to be the subject of a special record, in which the lightning killed a corporal and a private of the garrison. On that same day a woman gave birth to a child with two heads, four hands and four feet, which, although born alive, died shortly afterward.

†The remarks in " " translated from the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique des Sieges et Batailles Memorables*, &c., Paris, 1809."

had arrived, proceed to attack the Swedish garrisons on the left bank of the Danube, and thus set free, once more, the navigation of that river. On the third day (27th) after his arrival from Hungary, accompanied by GALLAS and a number of Imperial Colonels, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief marched across the Viennese Danube and encamped on the Danube Meadow (*Donaue*) before the Wolf's Bridge, and established his batteries against the Swedish fortification on the other shore. While occupying this position an incident occurred which gave another name to the locality, so that the Danube Meadow became known thenceforward as the Meadow of St. Bridget (*Brigittau* or *Brigettenau*). On the festival of St. Bridget, the Austrian Archbishop-Generalissimus was occupied in prayer within his tent, when a Swedish cannon-ball passed through the canvas, in close proximity to his person, without doing him the slightest injury. Grateful for the escape—which, like a Roman Catholic, he attributed to the interposition of the saint to whom the day was dedicated, instead of acknowledging the protection of the Supreme Being, who alone can save—the ARCHDUKE caused a chapel to be erected in honor of, and styled the island the Meadow of, St. Bridget, as which it is still known. Moreover, in remembrance of the event, a public feast was celebrated annually that day; a custom, however, in consequence of the manifold disorders which it occasioned, it became necessary to abolish at a more recent date. On the 28th the Austrian artillery opened a very heavy fire on the Wolf's-Bridge-Redoubt, from which the Archduke's troops had been ejected on the 27—'8th (GEIGER says the 30th) of the preceding month, and kept up a furious cannonade throughout the succeeding day. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 30th they renewed their fire, with shot, shell and fireballs, with such effect, that, by nine o'clock, a wide breach had been effected in the outworks. Seeing this LEOPOLD WILLIAM sent over a trumpeter with a summons to surrender, to which the Swedes returned an obstinate refusal, whereupon the batteries resumed their fire, under cover of which three large vessels full of soldiers were ferried across. These troops made the assault, with such success, that the redoubt was carried by storm and the greater part of the garrison (150 privates) together with their Commander, a Swedish-born Lieutenant-Colonel, were taken prisoners and carried into Vienna. The Imperialists at once occupied the captured works—in which they found 40 peasants, who, for a long time, had been compelled to labor therein, much wine, flour and ammunition, also 4 pieces of artillery—and commenced their reconstruction (V. 585, 599); they likewise, without delay, restored, as well as circumstances would admit, those portions of the bridge which had been blown up or burned.

The day succeeding this triumph (31st) the population of Vienna were gratified with the return of the Imperial En-

voy to the Sublime Porte, accompanied by a Turkish Ambassador, who entered the city with great pomp and ceremony, in whose honor there appeared an exceedingly handsome and well mounted corps of citizens and soldiers.

The Turkish Envoy, as instructed by the Divan, had notified RAGOCZY that he must respect the treaty which he, so recently, had entered into with the Empire, and lay aside his arms, and added that, in case of disobedience, the Sultan IBRAHIM would compel him to maintain the peace with Austria even should it become necessary to resort to force and substitute another WARWODE in his place. The wily Prince at once arrested his advance, and even on some points withdrew his troops in order to propitiate the Sultan's Representative; but well aware how feeble a monarch sat upon the throne of OTHMAN, contented himself with this assumed respect, and almost the very same day resumed his operations.

Here the question might be asked, and with reason, how it was that the Sovereigns of Transylvania, whose territory, from 1002 to 1526, had been united to the Magyar kingdom, which, in 1547, became the heritage of the HOUSE OF HAPSBURG, could be in a situation, almost throughout the XVIIth century, to keep the EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA in a constant state of apprehension and make war and peace against him at their pleasure? A few words will suffice to make the matter clear.

Transylvania, at one time styled the Bulwark of Christendom, lying as it did along the Turkish frontier and first exposed to the invasion of the Ottomans, derives its name from the Latin, and signifies the "land beyond the Carpathian forests." The Magyars called it *Erdely*, meaning the "mountainous forest," or as some say, the "woodland," and the Germans knew it as *Sieben Burgen*,* "seven cities" or "castles," a title derived from its seven walled towns, supposed to have been built, and in a great measure still occupied, by Saxons who founded the capital *Hermanstadt*.

From the Vth Century it had been successively occupied by different nations; in 1002 or '4 it became a Province of Hungary. In 1535 (1547?) JOHN ZAPOYLA, the unsuccessful competitor of FERDINAND II, of Austria, for the crown of Hungary, was acknowledged by the latter sovereign Prince of Transylvania. He and his successors—often supported by the Turks against the power of Hungary and the Emperor of Austria—were elective princes, tributary to the Ottoman Empire, holding positions very similar to those of the *Hospodars* of Wallachia and Moldavia, previous to the present eastern war. This explains why the Sultan should have threatened to remove RAGOCZY in case of noncompliance with his orders, as the WARWODE held

* The ENCYCLOPEDIA states that the name of *Siebenburgen* was given by its first German colonists, who came from a place of that name.

his crown from, and almost at the mercy of, the Musselman Emperor.

Throughout the period of which we treat, and the whole of the XVIIth Century, the WAIWODES of Transylvania galled the side of the Emperor and resisted all his efforts to subdue their fertile land, whose riches the Princes of Austria never could forget, nor relinquish the hope of repossessing. But the courage and astuteness of BETHLEHEM GABOR—the son of a poor Calvinist gentleman who, in 1613, dethroned his patron, GABRIEL BATHORI, reduced Hungary, and invaded Austria and Moravia. After his decease the government was first assigned to his widow, CATHERINE OF BRANDENBURG, and afterwards to his brother-in-law, STEPHEN BETHLEHEM. Neither of these possessed sufficient force or influence to control so turbulent a people. GEORGE RAGOCZY, a native noble, cousin of BETHLEHEM GABOR, and one of the most distinguished generals of SIGISMOND RAGOCZY—who had for a short time (1630) possessed the precarious dignity previous to the election of BETHLEHEM GABOR—was elected Waiwode, whose elevation was opposed by the Emperor FERDINAND II, by whom the Palatine ESTERHAZY, with a body of troops, was despatched to overawe the action of the Transylvanians. But RAGOCZY, or RAGOTSKI—the same whose name occurs so frequently in this biography—supported by a Turkish corps, frustrated the efforts of the EMPEROR, who, hard pressed by GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, was glad to acknowledge his opponent's election to the sovereignty, and concluded a treaty by which RAGOCZY recovered the 7 arvies or provinces of Hungary, formerly ceded to BETHLEHEM GABOR, with almost all the fortresses except *Mongatch*. These provinces—*Zatmar*, *Zabatsch*, *Ugots*, *Bereg*, *Zemplin*, *Bervel* and *Abaiwar*—were those which the Emperor had agreed to cede to RAGOCZY, after the battle of *Janikau*. This brings the historical sketch of Transylvania down to 1645, when its troops extended their ravages to the environs of *Vienna*. GEORGE RAGOCZY I. was succeeded by his son, GEORGE II, whose administration at home and abroad was alike glorious, until, in an evil hour, he was tempted to enter into an alliance with the Swedes and invade Poland. Overwhelmed by an united force of Austrians, Poles, and Tartars, he was expelled as a refractory vassal by the Turks, irritated by his irruption into Poland, who forced the States to elect two successive princes, REDEI and BARTZAI. George II left a son, FRANCIS,* who had been appointed his successor; but, notwithstanding, BARTZAI recovered possession of the throne only to lose it, for JOHN KERMEY—to whom, as

* Another prince of this name, FRANCIS RAGOTSKI, may be said to have freed Hungary from the tyranny of Austria, and, in 1704 he was proclaimed Prince of Transylvania and Protector of Hungary. His success, however, was but temporary, and he died in exile.

one of his most skillful and faithful generals—the legitimate prince had been entrusted by GEORGE II, who was killed in the moment of victory near *Clausemburg*, 17th May, 1660—seduced BARTZAI's army at the same time that he gained RAGOCZY's adherents, accomplished his own election by the states, 24th December, 1660, confirmed it by the murder of the abdicated prince, and attempted to insure his possession of the dignity and power by calling in the Austrians. Thereupon he was expelled by the Turks and Tartars, despite the efforts of his allies, and MICHAEL ABAFFY was appointed by them in his stead. KERMENY attempted to regain his authority, but was killed in a skirmish with the Turks, 23d January, 1662, and ABAFFY found himself once more in possession of his nominal authority. After a long and bloody contest between the Turks and Transylvanians and the Austrians, this ABAFFY betrayed those to whom he owed his elevation, renounced the alliance of the Turks, and, although a native of Transylvania, resigned in favor of the Austrians, and admitted Imperial garrisons into his fortresses.

This was in 1688—'9. The next year the famous TEKELI was created Prince of Transylvania by the Porte and conquered the country; but, within a month, MICHAEL ABAFFY, a youth of 14 years, son of the preceding prince of that name, was reinstated, with the consent of the States, by the Emperor's Lieutenant, the MARGRAVE OF BADEN. This may be said to have terminated the contest. Still it was not until the Peace of Carlowitz, in 1699, the result of Prince EUGENE's brilliant victory of *Zenta*, in 1697, that the Turks renounced their claims and recognized the transfer of ABAFFY, by which the whole country passed as a principedom to Austria, which was, however, governed by its own princes until the extinction of their line in 1714, when it was incorporated with Hungary.*

Meanwhile, BACCOS GABOR, repulsed a short time previous, had, with his 1,000 horse, at length effected a junction with an equal number of Swedish Cavalry, and advanced to the vicinity of Poson, where 3,000 Swedes were posted under Major-General DOUGLAS, and the Palsgrave, CHARLES GUSTAVUS. Thus reinforced, about 3d June, the Swedish General at once made himself master of *Thirna*, but permitted the Imperial garrison to retire with all their effects, and caused them to be safely escorted to Presburg. DOUGLAS then placed a Transylvanian garrison in the town, and retired. The Swedes had scarcely disappeared, when the Roman Catholic citizens rose up in arms, placed themselves anew under their former Governor, the Imperial General, ADAM FORGATSCH, and, with the assistance of a por-

* The preceding statement is compiled from COXE's *HOUSE OF AUSTRIA*, STILES' *AUSTRIA* in 1848-'9, the *ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA* and several of the best *GAZETTES*.

tion of BUCHHAIM's force, after plundering, dismissed the WAIWODE troops.* As may be well supposed, DOUGLAS, as well as RRGOCZY, was very much annoyed at this mishap, and threatened speedy vengeance.

On the 4th of June, 2,000 Imperial Cavalry, and a small body of Infantry passed over the Wolf's Bridge and attacked the main redoubt, whose outer work had fallen into their hands six days previously. Having received intelligence of the preceding disaster and the projected attack, the Swedish Major-General, WITTENBERG, with a large body of Swedish Cavalry, marched thither, on the night of the 4-5th, hoping to be able to take the enemy by surprise, but came up too late, since the Austrians had already carried the entrenchments. As this point was one of great importance, and commanded the direct communication with Moravia, the Imperial Generalissimus at once caused the erection of four new redoubts, and sent his Cavalry across the river to beat up the Swedish quarters, and, if possible, attempt to drive them from the places they had occupied.

Meanwhile, on the 6th, the Imperial Field-Marshal-Lieutenant POMPEO, who had behaved so ill at Janikau, crossed over into the island, in front of *Crems*, occupied by the Swedes, and took by storm their strong redoubt therein. In this affair he had 6 killed and 14 wounded, and captured 2 captains, 1 ensign, 1 corporal, and 29 privates, also 2 handsome metal pieces, 4-pdrs. 4 half-falconets, 1-pdrs., and 6 wall pieces, 1-2 pdrs. After this, POMPEO passed over with his whole force to the north shore, took *Stein*, and invested *Crems*.

We now (3d June) return to *Brunn*, against which TORS-
TENSON had not relaxed his efforts; above ground, keeping up a continuous heavy cannonade, beneath, working, without intermission, at his mines. In fact, so near were his approaches to their defences, that the besieged could no longer bring their cannon to bear upon his working parties, but could only damage them with hand grenades. Nevertheless, the garrison resisted valiantly, animated by the hope that he would not succeed, since they had repulsed several attempts to storm, inflicting severe losses upon the assailants. On the other hand, TORSTENSON steadily persevered, for he had learned with certainty the junction of DOUGLAS with BACCOS GABOR; also, that the Government of France was in continual communication with RAGOCZY, urging him to increase his army and prosecute the war in Hungary with vigor; in consequence of which the WAIWODE sent a dispatch to TORSTENSON, advising him that, for a small consideration, he would furnish him as many horses with saddles and all the necessary equipments as might be needed for his army. (V. 595.) All this gave him every rea-

* Another account states that they took 500 prisoners.

son to believe that at length he could rely upon the earnest co-operation of the Transylvanians, and he determined, by every available means, to press on the siege. Accordingly, in order to spare his own men, whose experienced soldiery he needed for ulterior operations, he collected 2,000 citizens [Burghers], and peasants from the captured towns and conquered country, and compelled them to advance to the assault of the place, in order that the efforts of the garrison might be exhausted upon their own countrymen, over whom his veterans could march to the assault. This also failed, and almost all the peasantry and many soldiers were slain. Such a slaughter forced the **GENERALISSIMO**—if he would escape a pestilence from the presence of the multitude of unburied corpses piled within the narrow space between the walls and his lines—to request an armistice to bury the dead, which was acceded to by **DE SOUCHES**, who, then, while the Swedes were engaged in that duty, violated his pledges, made a sortie, and captured several pieces of artillery and ammunition wagons from the Swedes, unsuspecting of such a breach of faith.

Such a dishonorable act would have exonerated **TORSTENSON** for hanging him, as he had threatened to do should the place be taken, had not the Frenchman alledged as his justification that the Swedes had violated all military usage by driving such a crowd of peasants, like cattle, to the attack, in which the greater part were killed. Nothing could excuse **DE SOUCHES**'s treason, and, although history is silent as to the excuse for such a desperate measure, it must be hoped from his, **TORSTENSON**'S, well known generosity and humanity, that he had ample reasons for resorting to such an unchristian and unusual mode of action.* After this, the Transylvanians, who had joined him

* **VON LUNELAD** quotes the same authority, the "*Theatrum Europæum*," from which the above was derived; but **GIEJER** is entirely silent on the subject. Let us hope that a German historian, by an exaggeration or misrepresentation, has availed himself of the only opportunity to blacken the character of **TORSTENSON**.

TORSTENSON was by no means a cruel general, even according to the ideas of the present day. He was magnanimous and God fearing: witness the closing paragraph of his report of the victory of *Breitenfeld*: "From the foundation of my heart, all thanks be given to the Most High and Gracious God for this glorious victory, and oh, may he still be pleased to vouchsafe one victory after another to Her Royal Majesty and the crown of Sweden and their allies' just arms; that, thereby, the Lord's honor may be magnified and the peace, so earnestly desired, obtained for the [benefit and blessing] of all Christendom." (IV. 781, 2d.) This one of many similar examples of his deep religious feeling and manner of expressing his grateful sense of the Almighty's goodness and protection, ever following him. **TORSTENSON** abhorred the wholesale conflagrations and devastation sanctioned by his predecessors, **BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR** and **BANNER**, and, when he assumed the command in Germany, he lost no time in checking such barbarian acts, by timely and extreme severity. The *THEATRUM EUROPEÆUM* (III. 866, 2d), in express terms sets forth his treatment of incendiaries. Thus, when he advanced into *Lower Lusatia*—April, 1642—he despatched an envoy to *Dresden* to treat respecting his prisoners and express his desire for an amicable understanding with the **ELECTOR OF SAXONY**; also, to declare his deep displeasure against the incendiarism (burning) of his troops, and to announce that he had ordered such outrages to be discontinued under pain of capital punishment. What is more, he had already

—perhaps having no stomach for such hard fighting, or fearful that they might likewise be forced on to the conflict—ran away from the Swedish camp, alledging as their excuse, that they had not been regularly paid. Notwithstanding **TORSTENSON** did not despair a moment, but recommenced an active cannonade, particularly against the *Spielberg*. Meanwhile, the Imperial Troopers of *Eberstein*, who had volunteered to carry 200 leathen bags of powder into *Brunn*, returned without success, stating any such relief was an impossibility.

Meanwhile, by the 3d of this month, 7 Imperial regiments, numbering 5,000 men, arrived at *Budweiss*; from Silesia and at the rendezvous near *Prague*, 4,000 to 5,000 Imperial Cavalry had been drawn together. On the 16th (26th), the **EMPRESS** and the **EMPRESS DOWAGER** returned to Vienna. Shortly after, news arrived that on the 19th, the Transylvanian army was again in motion, that **RAGOCZY** was approaching with 30,000 men, and that he had retaken *Thirna* and blockaded *Filleck*—a fortified town of *Hungary*, in the county of *Novigrad*, on the river *Ipol*, 60 miles northeast of *Gran*. Coupled with this was the intelligence that the Imperialists had been frustrated by a citizen in an attempt to surprise the town of *Cremis*, and had sustained considerable loss. Thereupon Field-Marshal **GALLAS** immediately left Vienna and proceeded to *Budweiss*, thence to make a diversion and attempt to force the **GENERALISSIMO** to raise the siege of *Brunn*, whose garrison, though hardly pressed and short of ammunition, still kept the Swedes in check by frequent vigorous sallies.

By a report from the Head Quarters before *Brunn*, dated June 25th, it appears that the Swedes were still lying before the place, and continued their operations as well as circumstances would admit; that they had several times encountered the Imperialists in the mines, and fought hard with swords, pistols, hand-grenades, and other weapons, so that several were killed within the subterranean passages, of which the Swedes remained the masters. Moreover, the countermines of the besieged were no longer pushed forward with the same activity as before, which led the Swedish Engineers to suppose that their best miners had been killed. The Swedes now hoped that succor could no longer reach the town without the greatest difficulty, because the trenches almost entirely surrounded it,

punished those who had been guilty of setting *Calau* on fire, by burning (branding ?) and hanging. Moreover, he requested the **ELECTOR** to release the [Swedish] prisoners in his hands, particularly one of Major-General **PAULS'** (see note † page 79, supra) Captains of horse, who, the preceding year, had burned many places between *Dresden* and *Freiberg* [that he might deal with them according to their guilt].

After he raised the siege of *Brunn*, **TORSTENSON**, it must be admitted, seemed—whether he was exasperated beyond control by his failure and the treason of **RAGOCZY**, or irritated by the acute anguish of his terrible diseases—no longer as merciful as he had hitherto shown himself on all occasions, as, in the proper place, will shortly after this appear.

when, all at once, a body of 400 Cavalry, coming from *Bardewitz* (Budwitz?), who, making their way over the mountains, and through the woods, had been enabled, with the assistance of the peasantry, to approach quite near to the fortress, and, passing unobserved by the Swedish outposts (*Vorwachteu*), came by surprise upon the main-guard (*Wacht*), which, relying upon the vigilance of the patrols, was attacked before there was even time to give the slightest alarm in the trenches. In the combat that ensued, one Colonel GALBRECHT, whose loss was much regretted, was killed, and many were wounded. Meanwhile, 300 horses, laden with powder, succeeded in making their way into the place by the road between the town and the castle, which the Swedes had left intentionally unobstructed by their approaches—in order that in case of a sortie their Cavalry, coming up to the assistance of the guards of the trenches, might be enabled to charge and manoeuvre with facility. The open space was consequently protected simply by *chevaux-de-frise*, easily susceptible of removal sufficient to afford a passage for the convoy. The success of this attempt is less discreditable to the Swedes when we consider the natural disadvantages which they had to encounter in maintaining a blockade, since to the Imperialists, once in possession of the road, no resistance could be offered with success, for a valley and dense thicket stretched almost to the walls of the castle. The troops which had escorted the convoy remained one night and day within *Brunn*, and the next day after their arrival came forth again, escaping across a morass considered impassable, in which a great number were bogged, and from 70 to 80 horses lost.

At this juncture the GENERALISSIMO, having learned the situation of *Crems*, dispatched a corps of 1,500 men to relieve that town, and marched himself with all the Cavalry towards *Meseritsch*,* 19 miles east of *Iglau*—leaving the Infantry to blockade *Brunn*. This movement of the GENERALISSIMO was no doubt prompted by the unusual activity which pervaded the Austrian camps. Eleven regiments of Cavalry had been collected together (28th June), several of which marched into Austria, while the others remained quartered in the circles of Pilsen and Prachend (Pisek). About the same time the Imperial Quarter-Master-General-Lieutenant arrived at *Schuttenhofen*, 27 miles southwest of Pisek—with orders to prepare for the reception of all the General Staff, since the whole of the Imperial army

* This town is distinguished from several others of the name as *Gross-Meseritsch*. There is another *Meseritsch* about 40 miles east of *Olmütz* near the Hungarian frontier; but TORSTENSON could have had no reason for marching in that direction and exposing his troops around *Brunn*, while so large a force menaced them from the directly opposite quarter, unless he found it necessary to cover the advance of the Transylvanians. Judging from what followed this may have been the case.

was about to encamp one-half mile around that place. No sooner had the quarters been assigned than three other orders were received, directing that all the different corps should direct their march on *Crumblau* (Krumau, on an island in the Muldau, 14 miles S. S. W. of Budweiss, or Krumlau, 16 miles S. W. of Brunn?) and then, a counter-order changed the rendezvous to *Uchtolitz*, whither, accordingly, the troops proceeded.*

On or about the 1st of July, the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, Generalissimus† of the Imperial forces—under whom Field-Marshal GALLAS served, nominally as Lieutenant-General or second in command, while, as at *Nordlingen*, and on other occasions, actually exercising the chief direction of the army, to whose assistance he had rallied, with energy and promptitude, the militia from all quarters—came to the determination of attacking the head-quarters of TORSTENSON; and, with that design, assembled, in a wood adjacent thereto, 4 regiments of Cavalry and 1,000 commanded musketeers, with 3 pieces of artillery. The Swedish GENERALISSIMO, as ever, on the alert, divined his intentions, surprised the enemy, and so completely frustrated his plans, that he was enabled, without fear of any further attempt, to march to *Iglau*, and even *Thabor*, leaving *Brunn*, but more particularly the *Spielberg*, as he supposed, sufficiently blockaded. The *Spielberg* is thus specified, for the Swedes might have long since occupied the town itself, but deemed its possession of no utility without the castle which commanded it, and, in a military point of view, constituted its chief value. Another reason, perhaps, that TORSTENSON ventured on so distant an expedition, while his enemies were gradually drawing their forces together and threatening an attack, was, that BACCOS GABOR and his Transylvanians, together with Major-General DOUGLAS and the LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, also Colonel HAMMERSTEIN, and their united commands, were posted

* This is the account on Page 602, Vol. V., THEATRUM EUROPAEUM. On Page 630, (see P. 621 also) (about 1st July) we find a somewhat contradictory statement. In the meanwhile, the Imperial forces were collected at *Schuttenhofen*, at which point 10 pieces of artillery and a small number of ammunition wagons arrived from *Prague*. Field Marshal GALLAS, who had arrived at *Crumau* (Crumau!), proceeded thence to *Schuttenhofen*, where the ARCHDUKE likewise was expected; it being their intention to organize there an army of 20,000 men with 70 pieces of artillery. July 3d, the EMPRESS, with the Imperial family, arrived at *Vienna* on their return from *Styria*.

† The highest military rank in Germany is the "*Feld-Marschall*" or "*General Feld-marschall*" (field marshal), and if, as during the late war it occurred, that many such were present, the senior was called "*GENERALISSIMUS*" (generalissimo), a term not much used by the English, but still implying the supreme commander of an army in the field.* The title GENERALISSIMO is given throughout this work to TORSTENSON, because the author finds the title used and applied to him in the translations of PUFFENDORF, the greatest and most accurate Swedish historian. On the other hand *Generalissimus*, a German title, is appropriate to an Austrian Commander-in-Chief. *Generalissimus*, however, is equally a Swedish word.

* Captain GEO. F. DUCKETT's *German-English-French Technological Military Dictionary*, London, 1848.

on a river 2 (German, 8 to 10-English) miles from *Brunn*, beyond which point stood (young ?) *Ragoczy*,* with his corps.

But, although the enemy's attempt, when he, at length, had mustered courage and deemed the moment opportune, had as usual miscarried, it soon became apparent that the vigilance, energy and genius of *TORSTENSON* constituted the great superiority of the Swedish army.

Notwithstanding *Brunn* was really strongly and closely blockaded such was the nature of the environs that the besiegers could not prevent the Imperialists from introducing ammunition and provisions. Taking advantage of the *GENERALISSIMO*'s absence, as soon as his march to *Meseritsch* was known, two wagons loaded with powder were sent from *Prague* to *Podicbrad*, on the *Elbe*—about 40 English miles distant, N. by E. of that capital, and at least 100 miles N. E. from *Brunn*—where the Imperial Quarter-Master-General-Lieut., Colonel *PASSUE*, with 800 picked Cavalry and Dragoons, anticipated their arrival. Thereupon, the powder was packed in leather bags, which were slung across the horses of a certain number of selected troopers, who, escorted by their comrades and guided by 16 [60] mounted Wallachians, avoiding the main roads and thoroughfares, made a forced march through the fields and woods, across the rugged Moravian mountains, until they reached a plain about 2 [English] miles from *Brunn*, where they halted in a wood until evening. At 9 o'clock they were again in motion, and approached the Swedish leaguer by a pass through the mountains, until they were observed by a vedette. Finding that they were discovered, *PASSUE* gave the preconcerted signal and charged the advanced guard (*Unterwacht*), consisting of 300 horse, with such fury that he was enabled to cut his way through them before the main

* The reason for supposing that this was Young *RAGOCZY* (or *RAGOTSKI*, as it is more frequently written) is that the reports from Hungary, up to the 25th June, represented that *Ragoczy* himself, the father, who was advancing towards Austria with 20,000 men—no longer affecting to conceal his purposes but as an avowed enemy—had experienced vigorous resistance before *St. Andreas*—about 22 English miles E. by N. of *Trenschin*—in North Western Hungary, while one division of his army was still engaged in the siege of *Filleck*, and another in that of *Neuhausel*, on the *Neutra* river. The next news announced that, 3d July, he was besieging *Schintz* (*Trenschin* ?), and that he intended, as soon as circumstances would permit, to march into the *Schutt District*, lying along the Danube between *Presburg*, *Raab* and *Comorn*. July 8th *RAGOCZY*, "in person," was said to have advanced beyond *St. Andreas* and *Filleck* with a large army and numerous artillery; that his advanced guard had already arrived at *Venebel* and *Neuhausel*; also that General *BUCHHEIM* had been ordered to march to meet him with 6000 Imperialists. Thus far the advance of the Transylvanian sovereign was only known by reports to either *TORSTENSON* or the *EMPEROR*. July 12th, however, rumor became certainty, for one of *Ragoczy*'s Captains of Horse, who had formerly served in and deserted from, the corps under Count *BUDIANI*, was captured; also two cavalry standards, and—his troopers having been all cut to pieces in the affray—carried into Vienna. Intelligence likewise was brought thither, daily, of the atrocities committed in Hungary by the Transylvanians, who destroyed many detachments of the Imperialists, and, according to the custom of the Turks, cut off 200 heads of those who fell into their hands. In fact, so great was the ruin they occasioned, the Hungarian Diet had already moved the *EMPEROR* to endeavor to make peace with such a ruthless enemy as the *WARWOLF*. (V. 620, '1)

guard (*Haupt-Wacht*) could come to their assistance ; so that 400 Dragoons were enabled to reach the town at a rapid gallop, and make their way in carrying with them 100 Centners [110 pounds each] of powder. Colonel PASSUE, meanwhile, with his remaining 400 troopers, kept the guard engaged and at bay, until he saw the Dragoons with the powder safely arrived under the guns of the place, and then made off as speedily as possible. On the last of June, this enterprising officer returned safely to Prague, where he made known his success, and in addition reported what he heard from his Wallachian guides—who, doubtless, had obtained their information either by mingling with the Transylvanians serving with the Swedes, or passing themselves off as stragglers belonging to RAGOCZY's army—that a great storm had raged around *Brunn* and in the besiegers' camp, accompanied with lightning, and such hail that pieces of ice, as large as a man's hand,* had fallen, killing both man and horse ; likewise, such floods of rain, that the musketeers stood, in the trenches, waist deep in water ; by which the whole Swedish army, but especially the musketeers, had sustained very great damage. In fact so excessive were the hardships and exposure experienced by the troops before *Brunn*, that, daily, 10, 20, and even 30 soldiers deserted to the Imperialists, who received them gladly. Such wholesale desertion would be deemed inexplicable at the present day, but was nothing strange when we consider the modes resorted to throughout this war for filling up the ranks of either army. The very system of forcibly incorporating persons, justified desertion, and what could be expected from stragglers, who, after a defeat enlisted with the victors, allured by hope of booty or more regular pay, and were restrained by neither patriotism nor honor, but simply by the fear of summary punishment, or dread of something worse. As long as everything went on well they might be relied on, and, as experience showed, fought bravely for the side beneath whose banners they were marshalled ; but when reverse occurred, or great privations and fatigues had to be undergone without the excitement of actual fighting—such as the siege of *Brunn* presented—they were accustomed to disband and seek their fortunes under different auspices and even the opposing colors.

By the 1st July, 800 musketeers, runaways from the Swedish camps, had arrived at Vienna, to each of whom the Archduke LEOPOLD WILLIAM gave two ducats as bounty money, and received them into the Imperial service. These, and the other deserters, concurred in stating that the Swedish infantry before

* Commodore PORTER related that, while he was Ambassador from the United States to the Turkish Court, he was exposed to a similar hail storm, during whose continuance, ice-balls, of an equal and greater size, fell with terrible, and, in many cases, fatal effects in the neighborhood of Constantinople.

Brunn were so reduced in numbers, that they could scarcely muster 2000 men,* in consequence of which the GENERALISSIMO had collected together the unfortunate neighboring peasantry, men and women, young and old, whosoever was capable of laboring, with spades, pickaxes and what other tools they had, to labor in the trenches. Some were even sufficiently wicked to assert that TORSTENSON was about to employ these miserable wretches in another assault like that in which he had failed in the preceding month. This conjecture seems improbable, and stands without corroboration. It should be borne in mind that women are equally, if not even more than the men, accustomed to perform the heaviest field labor, throughout continental Europe, and this levy of both sexes was most likely intended to relieve his troops from their fatigues in the trenches, in the same manner that the English government organized a corps of railway laborers to excavate the trenches before *Ssewasstopol*. The peasantry, habituated to digging and the use of implements peculiar to a country life, could accomplish more with their appropriate tools, than the best troops in the world; and thus the soldiery, spared all unnecessary labor, would be the more capable of resisting the insidious attacks of disease, exposure and privation, and discharging their peculiar duties with renewed vigor, when it became necessary to march to the attack.

But whatever may have been his intentions with regard to the peasantry, thus driven into his camp like cattle, his indignation was excessive against the two Swedish regiments, which, during his absence, and while he was engaged in a conference with Prince RAGOCZY, had suffered themselves to be surprised by the Imperialists, who, through their negligence, had been enabled to throw supplies of men and powder into *Brunn*.

In Gneral Orders he proclaimed them "infamous," and declared they should be held unworthy the name of soldiers, until such time they, by their valor, discipline and vigor in a general assault upon the town and the *Spielberg*—should have redeemed their character, and win the right once more to be considered honorable men.

Having sent out the greater part of his cavalry to scour the country and reconnoitre the positions and depots of the Imperialists, TORSTENSON pressed on his siege-works with the Infantry, who, by mining, had succeeded in drying out and destroying the well which supplied the *Spielberg* with water. This

* This is scarcely possible, but GIERKE states that, in August, when TORSTENSON raised the siege of *Brunn*, his cavalry did not exceed 8000 men, without horses, and his infantry had dwindled down to 2,500. Were these statements true, and they do not appear to be contradicted, what must have been the estimate the Imperialists set upon the GENERALISSIMO himself. We have seen that they considered his presence equivalent to 10,000 men: but under these circumstances it would appear that they valued it at nearly double that number.

would have ended the siege had not the besieged possessed a secret communication with the town, through which they procured all what they needed.* Meanwhile, the siege-batteries had completely ruined the three salients of the N. W., S. W., and S. E. bastions of the *Spielberg*, and the approaches had even reached the foot of the castle and town defences. But, notwithstanding, DE SOUCHES, fighting with a halter round his neck, kept up the spirits of the garrison, and constructed new and available defences within, and even often rebuilt those which had been battered down; so that when the Swedes again attempted a general storm (15—18th July), they were repulsed with heavy loss. A countermine at this time likewise was successful, and the besieged succeeded in removing the powder from one of the mines. Nevertheless, the Commandant knew that things could not go on thus favorably much longer, and by a soldier—who made his way through the besiegers' lines—acquainted General, Count COLLEREDO, Governor of *Prague*, with his desperate position, and requested instant succour. These unwelcome news were, without a moment's delay, transmitted with the greatest possible expedition to Vienna, and, once more, the Austrian generals were in motion,† ostensibly for the relief of *Brunn*; but, whatever were their reasons, they made no actual attempt to raise the siege.

There is no question but that, about this time, DE SOUCHES despaired of preserving his charge for the Emperor, or his life for himself, for when TORSTENSON had established a new battery, armed with six very heavy guns and two mortars, against the *Spielberg*, by which he was enabled to open a hot fire of shot and shell upon the town and castle, from two quarters at once, the besieged drove out many of the inhabitants, who were partly shot down and partly forced back into the place by the Swedes. By the 26th July the Swedes constructed such lofty field-works that from them they could easily see into the town. Nevertheless, the besieged, to their honor be it said, held out with resolution.

Nor did TORSTENSON, himself, doubt, but that he would

* This seems to confute the repeated statements of the THEATRUM EUROPEUM that TORSTENSON refused to accept the surrender of the town; for if the castle was supplied from the town, the possession of the latter was of the greatest importance.

† One account states that GALLAS marched (on or about 18th July) from *Schuttenhofen* to *Budweis*, with 14,000 men, where he was to be joined by the ARCHDUKE, with 8,000 troops, from Vienna, while Count SCHWARTZENBURG was expected from *Oranienburg* with 10,000 men. This account says that only one-half the Swedish army was before *Brunn* and the remainder lay encamped around *Iglau* (V. 1st, Col. 622). According to another report (19th July) GALLAS reached *Freystadt*, in Upper Austria, with 20 regiments, which had been quartered in Bohemia and Silesia. He intended to assemble all his forces there, and march without delay (*recte*) to succor *Brunn* (V. 2d, Col. 623). Why, with such superior forces, did the Imperial Generals allow TORSTENSON to carry on the siege unmolested?

eventually succeed. Despite his losses and the increasing danger of his position, threatened as he was, N., W. and S., by greatly superior masses of the enemy, he felt the more relieved and sanguine when the young Prince SIGISMUND RAGOCZY* joined him towards the end (24th) of July with from 6000 to 8000 horsemen and two 40 pounders, two 30 pounders, and two fire-mortars [*feuermörsern*], and the requisite ammunition,† while the old Prince, RAGOCZY, was posted on the other (Hungarian) side of the *March*, with the whole force, 20,000 to 30,000 strong and a numerous artillery. He had recaptured *Thirna*, where the Imperialists lost 400 men, and from his central camp detached BACCOS GABOR with a strong division to attack *Pressburg*.§ United with Major-General DOUGLAS, and his Swedes, the Transylvanian leader threatened that city, and his movements occasioned such alarm therein that the sacred crown and regalia were removed*

* According to a letter* of the GENERALISSIMO, despatched from his head quarters before *Brünn* to Major General AXEL LILJE, Governor of Leipzig, the young Prince SIGISMUND RAGOCZY (or RAGOTSKI) had on the 8th (July) advanced with 1000 cavalry to *Ausnitz* (*Auspitz*, in *Moravia*, about 18 English miles S. S. E. of *Brünn*?) in order, since the ARCHDUKE was concentrating his forces, that he might at once maintain his communications with TORSTENSON and with the old Prince RAGOCZY, who was posted with his whole army on the other side of the *March*, so that in case of necessity they could join and mutually assist each other. * * * Meanwhile, the operations against *Brünn* were carried on with unremitting activity, and the Swedish COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF still hoped that they would have a favorable termination, unless the ARCHDUKE should attempt to relieve the place, and, by his movements, compel the Swedes to abandon their siege-works, and await the attack in some more favorable locality, since the besiegers could not maintain their present position if the Imperialists appeared in force. Though he could not divine with certainty the intentions of the enemy, TORSTENSON wrote, that he could not be surprised, for he had sent out scouting parties in all directions, so that he expected timely notice of the movements of the Imperialists. At all events, if they were drawing near, as was reported, he could safely risk a battle against their whole army with his Swedes and the Transylvanians.

*The date of this letter is given in the THEATRUM EUROPEUM, Vol. V. Page 621, as 12th June; but from the context, this would appear to be a misprint, and should be 12th July; because, first, it appears in the record for July, second, RAGOTSKI was not by any means as close at hand as this would make him in June, third, other circumstances and histories corroborate this opinion.

† According to VON LUNDBLAD, young RAGOCZY, who brought with him 7,000 horsemen, did not enter the Swedish camp until the month of August.

‡ Young RAGOCZY brought with him to the Swedish camp before *Brünn*, 2 complete and 3 three-quarter *carthouns* [a species of artillery]. As we find no translation or explanation of this word, it is omitted in the text.

§ At this point the THEATRUM EUROPEUM, which alone furnishes the details, seems to contradict itself in such a manner that the writer finds it impossible to reconcile the different statements. The movements of all parties, except the Swedes, appear to rest on mere rumor, so that it becomes necessary to give the statement, which appears most reliable and is corroborated by other works, in the text, and furnish the next most likely account in a note. On the 27th July, young RAGOCZY and BACCOS GABOR lay with 1200 Hungarians (Transylvanians?) at *Neumühl*, in the Principality of *Liechtenstein*, District of *Eugenott*. Old RAGOCZY, also, with 12,000 men, was 4 German miles below *Pressburg*. At this date the ARCHDUKE arrived at *Pressburg*, and made an expedition [with *BUCHHAIM* and *BUDIANI*'s forces] in the expectation of surprising RAGOCZY, who, advised in time of this movement [abandoned his position], marched towards TORSTENSON by the [Ulars and Hrozinkaver] Passes, [just north of *Mont Lopenick*] [across the *White Mountains*, which separate North Western Hungary from *Moravia*]. Thereupon TORSTENSON collected all his forces to march against the Imperialists, since *GALLAS* advanced as if to offer battle. (V. 622.)

to a more secure place of deposite, and (July 26th) Counts BUCHHAIM and BUDIANI having received strong reinforcements and additional artillery from *Vienna*, and collected all the troops that could be spared from other districts, succeeded in organizing a force of 12,000 men, who were encamped in and about, for the protection of Presburg.

Although, according to the *THATRUM EUROPEUM*, the conference between the Swedes and the Transylvanian leader resulted in a hearty agreement to thenceforward operate in concert for their mutual benefit, all other authorities concede that RAGOCZY acted with the greatest dissimulation, and from the very first was only influenced by his own selfish views.† He hoped to induce TORSTENSON to turn his arms against Hungary and conquer that kingdom for his benefit without regarding the ruinous effect such a campaign would have upon the future operations of the Swedes and their confederates. TORSTENSON, on the other hand, equally alive to the interests of the Swedish crown, but more magnanimous in his views, desired the assistance of the Transylvanians, in that quarter, through which the allies would be enabled to inflict the deadliest wound upon the Empire and clear the way for their triumphant investment of its capital. It is very questionable if at this very time, when the WAIWODE appeared most eager for the prosecution of the war, he had not already renewed his negotiations with the Emperor. At all events if he had not commenced to treat for peace, he did immediately afterwards, and all his urgency was to gain better terms for himself. The moment he found that TORSTENSON could not be duped by his artifices, or enticed away from that glorious object on which he had long set his hopes, RAGOCZY determined to take advantage of FERDINAND's necessities, and having made the best bargain that he could, conclude a peace to preserve what he had wrung from Austria's extremity. Destitute of honor, the Transylvanian sacrificed glory and religion for the enjoyment of temporary power, and thus saved Austria.

The month of August, 1645, which opened with apparently the most favorable auspices for the Swedes, was destined to close with the most depressing influences; and yet never, either on the fields of *Breitenfeld* or *Janikau*, or when master of the riches of Denmark, did TORSTENSON appear so glorious as,

* See COXE's *House of Austria*, Vol. II, page 319. At this date, the famous and sacred crown of St. STEPHEN was kept, the Hungarian Diet held, and the King of Hungary crowned, at Presburg.

† According to SPORSCHIL, TORSTENSON'S negotiations with RAGOCZY did not lead to any desirable result, for, while the former wished the WAIWODE to assist him in subjugating *Austria* [for the benefit of all parties], the latter demanded that the Swedish GENERALISSIMO should conquer *Hungary* for him [alone]. TORSTENSON having no intention to do so, RAGOCZY made his peace with the Emperor.

(Remarks in [], by Author.)

when, betrayed and bed-ridden, he defied the forces of the Emperor, and, by the powerful resources of his own intrepid genius, kept them all at bay.

First, let us consider the position of the different belligerents: Of the Imperial forces, greatly increased in numbers and *materiel*, one corps d'armee, under BUCHHAIM was watching RAGOCZY, while the main army under GALLAS was opposed to TORSTENSON. The ARCHDUKE, traveling from *Vienna* to *Pressburg*, and, thence, to whatever quarter demanded his attention, supervised the whole. Had RAGOCZY united cordially with TORSTENSON, triumph must have crowned their united efforts; their position was central, and they could have severed the different corps disposed in a wide circuit about them, and have defeated them in detail.

RAGOCZY, successful at *Thirna*, *St. Andreas*, and *Sendro*, had established his army of 30,000 men, with 30 guns, along the districts bordering on the *March*, his right this side *Willenberg*, *Eiszgraben** (Eisgrub,† 29 miles S. S. E. of Brunn?) his left adjacent to the *Schutt* District.‡ So that, on one side, he was covered by the Swedes, while, on the other, he menaced *Pressburg*, and held in check the Imperialists under BUCHHAIM, who, in a smart affair, had lost about 100 men. In consequence of this, the Austrian General retired from the open field and occupied *Pressburg*, placing 3,000 Infantry in the town and suburbs, and 500 in the castle, and quartered his Cavalry on the south side of the Danube, across which he threw two bridges, one above and the other below the place, to keep up his communications. The whole of Upper Hungary was inundated by the WARWODE's savage hordes, and not a day passed without skirmishes between them and the Imperialists. Meanwhile RAGOCZY sent his son, with upwards of 2,000 Light Cavalry, to make a foray into *Lower Austria*, who swept the left bank of the Danube, even to the Vienna Bridge, and *Cor-Neuburg*, which had been recaptured by the Imperialists, whence they brought large quantities of salt, and, meeting with no opposition, carried off a great and valuable booty.

GALLAS, from *Freystadt*, crossed the Danube, near *Lintz*, with 7,000 men and 40 additional pieces of artillery, received from *Prague*, to unite with the troops expected from *Styria* and *Carinthia*, under Count MONTECUCULI, and organize an army of 20,000 men. After that, he purposed to advance against the Swedes or Transylvanians, as circumstances promised the most prosperous issue.

*Another account states that RAGOCZY, with 30,000 men and 30 pieces of artillery, was encamped upon the river *Theiss*, to whom TORSTENSON had dispatched several squadrons of horse. This location is impossible.

†A fine estate and park of Prince LIECHTENSTEIN.

‡Compare PUFFENDORF, p. 534, and the THEATRUM EUROPÆUM, V. 622 and 655.

The Plague having made its appearance at *Vienna*, the EM-PEROR and EMPRESS, and the whole Imperial Court, took up their abode at *Pelten*—[*St. Polten*], a fortified town on the *Trasen*, 35 miles west of *Vienna*?

Before *Brunn*, the aspect of things remained unchanged, except that the pestilence had begun to develop itself with dreadful violence in the besiegers' quarters. Prince SIGISMUND RAGOCZY, after attempting an assault with 500 dismounted Hungarian Cavalry, [Riders,] which was repulsed with much loss, became completely disgusted with the siege, and deserting the positions which had been assigned to his troops, abandoned his allies and marched off to join his father.*

"These wild, undisciplined hordes," says SCHILLER, "instead of seconding TORSTENSON by any vigorous enterprise, only ravaged the country, and increased the distress, which, even before their arrival, had begun to be felt in the Swedish camp." In truth, their allies, the Transylvanians, had done the Swedes more real damage than the enemy, wasting the adjacent districts from which TORSTENSON expected to derive his supplies, and destroying more than was absolutely necessary for their own and his troops' subsistence. Devoid of discipline, these bands, worse than Cossacks, in 1813—'4, soon rendered a district which TORSTENSON could, by his superior management, have made an ample source of maintenance for both armies, a perfect desert, capable of affording sustenance to neither. Few Generals have ever understood the art of making war support war, better than the Swedish GENERALISSIMO; but what his genius could accomplish with his disciplined Swedes, became impossible while such savages plundered and wasted all the surrounding country without restraint, hastening from one scene of devastation to another under the impulse of their own blind fury and barbarian instincts.

Absolute scarcity of provisions forced the straightened troops—always too prone to such excesses—to indulge in unripe fruit, but more particularly grapes, for which Moravia was and is so famous. This excessive indulgence, together with the insupportable stench—which rendered the environs of the besieged town a perfect hot-bed of disease—soon bred dysentery and kindred maladies—which at once assumed their most virulent types—infectious as the plague and deadly as the cholera, in that age, when military hygiene, and, in fact, medicine in general, was comparatively so little understood. And then, as if these camp diseases were not sufficient for the work of death, the plague, brought in their train by the wild bands of Prince

*About this time, it would appear, that, while the Imperialists had a strong force in and about *Preseburg*, they detached BUCHHAIN, or one of his Lieutenants, with another corps d'armes, into *Transylvania*, who made such rapid conquests there, that young RAGOCZY and BACON GABOR were ordered home, if possible, to check their progress and recover the places they had taken.

RAGOCZY, broke out among the Swedes so violently, and in September it raged so fiercely in their quarters—not only there, however, but in the open country of Austria—that 2 regiments were cut off, not almost, but to a single man, and it forced the GENERALISSIMO to abandon a district so ruined and prolific of suffering and death.*

These enemies within, more than false friends and enemies without, must have satisfied TORSTENSON that *Brunn* must speedily be captured, or the attempt abandoned. This became certain, when the same Colonel PASSUE who had succored the fortress so adroitly in the last days of June, now repeated the same bold experiment with success. Having matured his plans, he sent forward 3,000 horses [Cavalry?] upon the *Bernstein*, [ancient castle of *Pernstein*, about 15 miles from *Brunn*, on the road to *Olmütz*?] each laden with one bag of powder and another of sulphur, and, at this point, surprised and captured a trooper of the Koenigstein Regiment, stationed there, as a vedette, to exercise his vigilance against the very stratagem or a manœuvre similar to that his culpable negligence was about to render successful. From his prisoner, the Imperial Quarter-Master-General-Lieutenant learned the weakest points of the Swedish positions, and even extracted from him the watchword. In the evening PASSUE approached the posts held by the Koenigstein Regiment, and, upon giving the countersign, was permitted to pass on, unquestioned, until he reached the main-guard, when, deeming farther concealment unnecessary, he displayed his colors, fired upon the Swedes, charged the troops before him, completely taken by surprise, and cut to pieces quite a number. Thus the convoy was enabled to reach and enter *Brunn* with provisions and ammunition, while PASSUE covered their movements with the rest of his corps, and then, as on the former occasion, as soon as he saw his purpose had been effected, the gallant Imperialist cut his way through the troops, aroused by the firing and tumult, and again escaped.

Had the lines of circumvallation been guarded by the Transylvanians, as they were in duty bound to do, this manœuvre could scarcely have succeeded twice.

Thus the perfidy of young RAGOCZY bore sudden, fatal fruit, and the Imperialists were able, through the withdrawal of his troops, a second time to supply the beleaguered fortress with men and ammunition.

TORSTENSON had scarcely time to realize the immense advantage that DE SOUCHES had obtained by this timely supply of all he needed most—which he had so pressingly besought

*PUFFENDORF says, "This reason [RAGOCZY's defection], jointly with the scarcity of provisions and insupportable stink which annoyed the Swedish camp, because of their long continuance in that place, obliged TORSTENSON to raise the siege of *Brunn*."

Count COLLEREDO to furnish—when reports were brought him that the Imperialists were advancing to relieve the fortress and that RAGOCZY,[†] having concluded a peace with the EMPEROR, was preparing to march homeward instantly. (V. 655.)

He felt the affair must now be decided without further dallying, and, at once, after the usual preliminary fire from his batteries, opened and maintained to sweep the breaches, ordered his troops to make a general assault. It failed. Once more his columns, driven back, but not disheartened, reformed their shattered ranks and rushed to storm these walls, slippery and blackened with Swedish blood, beneath whose shadows lay interred his bravest soldiers and his victims—the sacrificed Moravian peasantry and burghers, if report be true. In vain—the second like the first attempt was unsuccessful, and then the Swedish GENERALISSIMO RAISED THE SIEGE, and fell, with his armada, back on *Olmütz*, not deeming his position tenable, if, as was reported, GALLAS was at hand with the whole Austrian army. This movement on the part of TORSTENSON was unavoidable for many reasons, but more especially if he hoped to check the pestilence which was mowing down his troops, which could alone be done by placing them in healthier cantonments, and gathering fresh supplies of nourishing provisions.

Thus, on the 13th August (O. S.), ended the famous siege of *Brunn*, which covered the Imperial Commandant, DE SOUCHES, with such glory and rewards. Nor did TORSTENSON lose the slightest prestige by his failure. He had exhausted the resources of the time, and robbed the future of the military art to take the place. Strength of situation, and bravery and skill in the defence, on the side of the Imperialists; and pestilence among the Swedish troops, and treason on the part of their confederates, saved *Brunn*.

In like manner that the Transylvanian WAIWODE's utter faithlessness prevented TORSTENSON from crossing the *Danube*, and besieging *Vienna*, in March—at a time when almost every historian admits that the city, badly provided, weakly garrisoned, and panic-stricken, must have fallen*—RAGOCZY's tardy co-operation and eventual abandonment compelled the GENERALISSIMO to relinquish his attempt, having wasted four precious months and expended 4,000 soldiers, the elite of the Swedish army, in his vain endeavors. "But this accident," ex-

*BROKER remarks that after the battle of JANIKAU, TORSTENSON MADE HIMSELF MASTER OF MORAVIA AS IF BORN, FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY, ON WINGS, and advanced even to the Wolf's Bridge, before Vienna; so that every one was thrown into the greatest consternation. This is the general language of historians. The GESCHICHTE DES KRIEGSWESSENS, after mentioning the fortresses which TORSTENSON captured subsequent to the battle of JANIKAU, goes on to say "that even the Wolf's Bridge head or redoubt, opposite to Vienna, surrendered, and FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ROARING OF THE SWEDISH CANNON WAS HEARD IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF THE IMPERIAL CITY"

claims the Swedish biographer, "did not free Moravia." Nor Austria north of the Danube, nor Bohemia.

At *Götting*, the 9th of the month, the Imperial Light Cavalry had ventured to attack RAGOCZY's horse, united with the Swedish regiment commanded by Colonel DOUGLAS, and with 300 Hungarians. In this affair the assailants were completely routed, the greater number having been cut to pieces and many taken prisoners. Those who escaped saved themselves by precipitate flight. After this success, RAGOCZY, who had again approached the EMPEROR with proposals for peace, found the Austrian Cabinet willing to concede all that he asked, and after a short negotiation, he received the seven Provinces which BETHLEHEM-GABOR had formerly held—*Zemplin, Beregh, Zabolts (Szabolcs), Ugocs, Zathmar-Karmegye, Bervel, and Abauwar*, forming nearly one-half of the present kingdom of Hungary—being all that portion lying east of the river *Theiss*, as well as the province now known as the "Theiss District," north of that river and east of the river *Hernath* and *Hegyalla* Mountains—and the fortresses of *Tokay*, on the west bank of the *Theiss*, and *Regetz*. On the 16th August, the treaty had been concluded, and then, at once, to use the plain language of old PUFFENDORF, "RAGOCZY having obtained all his pretensions, turned his back immediately upon the Swedish army, and returned home." In fact, the EMPEROR, to relieve his territories from the presence of the Transylvanians, acted wisely in being willing to purchase their retreat at any price, if he hoped to repossess himself of any thing in the districts they had visited, except the mere soil. Moreover, he, with the usual Austrian faith, looked upon all his grants as mere temporary concessions, and, to rival the *WAIWODE* in duplicity, intended only to respect so much of the treaty as might be deemed expedient, when, freed from his more formidable enemies, the Swedes. Thereupon, the Austrian troops (under *BUCHHAIM*?) which had overrun the greater part of Transylvania, while its defenders were wasting Austria, returned through Hungary, and joined the *ARCHDUKE*, who was watching the movements of the Swedish main army, and RAGOCZY, regardless of the consequences his perfidious defection would have on *TORSTENSON'S* plan of operations, ordered the immediate withdrawal of his troops. This desertion, although anticipated in a measure by the *GENERALISSIMO*, came like a thunder-clap upon the Swedish soldiery, when announced to them in camp on the Festival of St. Bartholomew (14th O. S., 24th N. S., August)—a day already famous for the greatest perfidy and crime ever perpetrated by a monarch,* and applauded by a pontiff,† claiming to represent the God of Truth and Mercy.

*CHARLES IX. of France.

†Pope GREGORY XIII.

For a moment, if no more, they must have felt dismayed to contemplate their reduced numbers, left without support in the midst of the Empire, and their flank uncovered to a fresh and numerous army, relieved from an opponent by the retreat of their allies, who, as speedily as they had burst upon the Hereditary States, disappeared from the districts they had made almost a desert. Like the locusts they had come, destroyed, and gone.

At an interview at *Eisgrub**—in Moravia, 29 miles S. S. E. of Brunn, **TORSTENSON**, dissembling his dissatisfaction with **RAGOCZY**, demanded of the latter a declaration that his, the Swedish Queen, had fulfilled all the conditions of their alliance. The **WAIWODE**, not less astute, on this occasion, than the **GENERALISSIMO**, replied that he was perfectly willing to sign such a paper if **TORSTENSON** would furnish him in return with a certificate that he had kept his faith. **RAGOCZY**, by this request, completely got the better of **TORSTENSON**, who deemed it most advisable to break off the conversation with a prince so destitute of principle or shame.

No sooner had the Swedes retired than the garrison of *Brunn*—which had been blockaded sixteen weeks—sallied forth, destroyed all the extensive Swedish siege-works and camps, and at once commenced re-provisioning the town and castle, fearing lest the invaders should, when reinforced by **KÖNIGSMARK** or **WRANGEL**, again invest the fortress with renewed strength and energy. The valor, constancy and loyalty of those who, with such undesponding fortitude and vigor defended the Moravian capital, was gratefully acknowledged and rewarded by the **EMPEROR**. He granted many privileges to the town itself and bestowed rich presents on the Commandant and several of his brave subordinates and coadjutors. At the same time Major-General **ZARADETZKI**—as soon as the communication became free on the withdrawal of the besiegers—marched from the Imperial cantonments in Bohemia, with 300 horse and 50 dragoons, to assist in gathering in fresh stores, and brought with him large quantities of salt, to prepare against another blockade, and likewise that, which is ever the most gratifying to a common soldier, ten barrels full of money.

Having raised the siege of *Brunn*, **TORSTENSON** again established his head-quarters at *Mistelbach*, 27 Eng. miles N. N. E. of Vienna, whence he sent forward Major-General **WITTENBERG** with 3,000 horse, to make a reconnoissance at the Vienna Bridge, who, in a skirmish, lost 40 men, taken prisoners and carried into Vienna.

Torstenon again before Vienna.

On opening the third great period of **TORSTENSON'S** career, it was observed (at page 114) that, in his third campaign

***PUFFENDORF'S "SCHWEDISCHE KRIEGSGESCHICHTE,"** Book XVII, Page 148.

in the Hereditary States, the Swedish hero "excelled even himself, and, to the historian, afforded ample materials for an heroic ode of unsurpassed magnificence."

Even so—and as long as men respect the superhuman conquests of the heaven-born mind, subjecting, by the mighty exercise of will, rebellious matter, and compelling mere mortality, however frail, and, to the outward eye, unequal to the service, to undergo, with ultimate success, Herculean labors; as long as individual greatness, exerting a controlling influence on the destinies of nations and ruling by the force of intellect and energy, excites the admiration of mankind, so long these words can never justly be accused of flattery or hyperbolism.

It is true that victories as great and vast in their results as that of *Janikau* emblazon the escutcheons of many other generals, but few were the result of more intrepid and sagacious generalship, and none occurs to the biographer, won by a bed-ridden, confirmed invalid, who left his bed to seize his Marshal's baton, upon whose daily health or illness the safety of his army and the interests of freedom, faith and nationalities depended.

Although **TORSTENSON** twice annihilated the army of the Empire, and in the last great conflict may be said to have completely overthrown the military strength of Austria; although his fearless strategy enabled him to menace *Vienna* and govern with his Gothic sword one-third of the patrimonial territories of the Emperor from February to December—that Emperor who, together with his consort, family and court, was driven from his capital* to seek for shelter in stronger and more distant fortresses

* At page 196 it is stated that, "the Swedish hero had humbled an empire, and frightened from his capital *the family* of the haughtiest despot who ever waved a sceptre." This sentence was originally written without "*the family of*," but as it was a matter of question whether or not **FERDINAND** did fly his capital at the approach of **TORSTENSON**, the writer deemed it just to give him the benefit of the doubt. Since then the examination of other authorities leads him to suppose that the authors who have mentioned the **EMPEROR**'s flight, confounded dates, and were led astray by his absence from the capital, when **TORSTENSON** a second time advanced and menaced it. This will appear hereafter. Still **COXE**, the panegyrist and historian of the House of Austria, uses the following strong and unequivocal language, which he would scarcely have employed had he not been assured of its correctness:

"The Emperor, who had hastened from *Prague* to defend his capital, retired to *Ratisbon*; the empress, with the principal nobles, took refuge at *Gratz*, and preparations were made at *Vienna* for withstanding a siege, and defending the last bulwark of the Austrian empire, in the safety of which, as at the accession of **FERDINAND II**, the very existence of the family was involved."

RUSSEL, following **PUFFENDORF** (*Liber XVI*) and **BARRE** (*Tom. IX*) corroborates the foregoing; thus:

"The towns of *Krems* (*Orems*), *Stein*, and the fort of *Tyrnau* (*Diernstein*!); also the *Danube* on the side of *Moravia*, and all the towns in that province, surrendered at discretion, except *Brunn*, which **TORSTENSON** besieged, as the reduction of it seemed necessary to facilitate his junction with *Ragotski*, on which was supposed to depend the fate of *Hungary* and *Austria*.

This enterprise occasioned such alarm at the court of *Vienna*, that the emperor retired to *Ratisbon*, and the empress and her attendants fled for refuge to *Gratz* in *Stiria*. All the most valuable furniture was removed from the capital, the suburbs were pulled down and the bastions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themselves into the city; the inhabitants were armed; the magazines filled, and prepara-

—even such achievements do not constitute his greatest claims to hero-worship. Contemplating his position, reflecting upon all he had already done and what he subsequently did accomplish, was there not a something more connected with, but still distinct from physical success—a something which belonged to **TORSTENSON** himself, innate, not based on rank or number of adherents. Unquestionably, it was his moral superiority to all the generals who opposed him or who flourished throughout the Thirty Years War—and it might be asserted throughout the XVIIth century—with one sole exception, that of his great Preceptor. This is the crowning glory of his wonderful career. It is true that in spite of all his genius, dogged energy and courage, he had failed to capture *Brunn*—but, notwithstanding, he remained the master of the whole Margraviate of which it was the capital—beyond its bulwarks all was at the mercy of the **GENERALISSIMO**—that the corpses of his *bravest* and *best* troops enriched the valleys irrigated by the *Swartha* and its tributaries; that within his camp hydra-headed pestilence sat throned on daily swelling mounds of victims; that with diminished forces, feeble from want, despondent from disease, the treason and desertion of their allies, **TORSTENSON** stood, far from the base of his operations. Nevertheless, as if affected by magnetic repulsion, his enemies recoiled on all sides, leaving a wide circuit unoccupied about him, in which he could move hither, thither, as he pleased, as if, like Perseus, he bore Medusa's head to change to stone whoever dared assail, or, by the force of arms, attempt to consummate his ruin.

It is in this that **TORSTENSON** exalts himself above his warrior-peers—this is the fact, connected with his last campaign, which, viewed in any light, remains inexplicable, unless the only plausible reason be assigned, the Empire and the Emperor and the Imperial generals cowered beneath the glance of the physi-

tions made for supporting a long siege. **TORSTENSON**, however, had no thoughts of such an enterprise. He found sufficient employment at *Brunn*; which, by a gallant defence, afforded **FERDINAND** leisure to put his affairs in some order. The Archduke **LEOPOLD** was declared Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces, and **GALLAS**, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Danube." [63]

KOHLRAUSCH, in his history of Germany, justifies the evasion of the Emperor, by his acknowledgment of the critical position of the metropolis of the Empire:

"The victorious army now marched through *Moravia*, and advanced to *Vienna* itself, and had not the city of *Brunn*, by its most obstinate and heroic defence, arrested the progress of the Swedish General, there is little doubt but that capital must have been taken."

Still, notwithstanding all this, the writer maintains his opinion that **FERDINAND III** did not desert his post when **TORSTENSON** first appeared opposite *Vienna*, and thinks that the historians quoted above, err from not having critically examined and compared their authorities and data. The fact that he halted at *Ratisbon*, in his rapid journey from *Prague* to *Vienna*, after the battle of *Janikau*, has entirely misled them. But there is no doubt he had abandoned *Vienna* when, after the siege of *Brunn* had been abandoned, the Swedish **GENERALISSIMO** once more displayed his banners along, and "burned and singed" the districts of *Manhartsherg* bordering on, the *Danube*.

cally-crippled but mentally-gigantic Swede. The corruscations of his triumphs, whose lustre burned upon the brow of **TORSTENSON**, arrested the advance of the Imperialists, even as the blazing torches appal and check the charge of nature's strongest and wisest and, when infuriated, most dangerous quadruped.

We can well understand why **GALLAS**, who had so often measured his generalship with **TORSTENSON'S**, and always to his own utter ruin, was fearful of exposing what little credit he had left to another yet more desperate trial, which, if unsuccessful, could only shroud him with a deeper shame. **GALLAS** stands high among the warriors of his day, and *Nordlingen* is written down as one of the great victories of the Thirty Years' War—victories which are counted by units, not by tens. *Liepsic, Lutzen, Nordlingen, Wittstock, Brietenfeld, and Janikau*, (six,) complete the meagre list, all Swedish victories, save *Nordlingen*,* and that, the Empire owes to **GALLAS**.

BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN.

Fought 6th September, 1634 (N. S., or 27th August O. S.), between the Imperialists, commanded by **FERDINAND**, King of Hungary, the **CARDINAL-INFANTE**,† and Duke **CHARLES** of Lorraine—the first being General in Chief, under whom, while acting as his Lieutenant-General, Field-Marshal **GALLAS**‡ actually exercised the chief command, and Generals **PICCOLOMINI** and **JOHANN VON WERTH**—and the Swedes and their Allies, under Duke **BERNHARD** of Saxe Weimar, Field-Marshal **HORN**, and **LARS KAGGE**, the valiant and determined defender of Regensburg.

I. NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES.

Imperialists, troops actually engaged in the conflict :

Infantry, 20,000,	} Of these, 20,000 were Spaniards.	} Total, 40,000.‡
Cavalry, 13,000,		

Troops left to guard the Imperial siege-works before Nördlingen, 7,000.

Swedes and Allies :

Infantry, 16,000,	} Total, 26,000
Cavalry, 10,000,	

II. SWEDISH PLAN OF ATTACK.

It was the intention of the Swedes to force the Imperialists to raise the siege of Nördlingen—in Suabia, about 35 miles N. E. of Ulm—on the Goldbach, a strongly fortified place, which they looked upon as one of the most important bulwarks of the Reformed Faith, already reduced to the last extremity by the enemy. The Swedes were urged to attempt its relief, as the alliance of this as well as other towns had largely contributed to the success of their arms. No excuse would have availed, had they shown themselves indifferent to its fate ; and it would have been an indelible disgrace, had they deserted their confederates in their need, and abandoned them to the revenge of an implacable conqueror. In the council of war, held by the Swedes previous to en-

*This note was to have constituted Article B of the APPENDIX—(See Note, page 86, supra)—but after consideration, it seemed more appropriate here. It is compiled from 7 of the best authorities ; additional information having been engrafted upon **VON KAUSLER'S** description, which serves as the parent-stock.

†The Most Serene Prince **FERDINAND**, of Austria, *Cardinal-Infante* of Spain.

‡**WALLENSTEIN'S** death rendered necessary the appointment of a new Generalissimo ; and the Emperor yielded at last to the advice of the Spaniards to raise his son **FERDINAND**, King of Hungary, to that dignity. Under him, Count **GALLAS** commanded, who performed the functions of Commander-in-Chief, while the Prince brought to this post nothing but his name and dignity.—(**SCHILLER**.)

§According to the *History of the Art of War*, a Prussian military text book, the strength of the Imperial army was from 45,000 to 50,000 men. The reports, setting forth its numbers, are very conflicting, and vary in their statements from 33,000 to 60,000, and even 80,000.

|According to the most reliable accounts, the strength of the Swedes and Allies varied from 24,000 to 28,000. It must be borne in mind that less than half were Swedes.

But what could have so appalled the Imperial Generalissimus, the Archduke LEOPOLD WILLIAM, must have indeed been migh-

gaging, the prudent GUSTAVUS HORN* advised that the Swedes should select a strong position, in order to cover the besieged place, and cut off the enemy's supplies, and

Field-Marshal GUSTAVUS, Count HORN, Constable of Sweden. In addition to the previous biographical notice of GUSTAVUS, Count HORN (see note † pages 84 and 85, supra), the following interesting circumstances connected with the life of that great and good man, have subsequently presented themselves to the author and been compiled as well worthy the perusal of the reader :

HORN, from the very outset of his career, distinguished himself by the rare combination of the qualities of a soldier and of a christian gentleman. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS sent him the order of Knighthood on the evening of the same day on which he was grievously wounded in a most desperate and valorous but unsuccessful attempt to storm the Sand gate half-moon, an outwork of Riga. This was in 1621. In 1630 HORN, who commanded the Swedish camp at *Stetin*, gained great renown by out-generaling ERNEST, Count of MONTECUCOLI, uncle of the celebrated RAYMOND DE MONTECUCOLI, who was despatched with 10,000 picked men to surprise and cut to pieces the Swedes blockading *Colbergen*. In consequence of HORN's able dispositions the Imperialists were defeated. HORN subsequently assumed the command of the troops lying before *Colbergen*, changed the blockade into a siege, and soon forced the town to surrender.—He next added to his reputation by his successful negotiation of the treaty of confederation of *Berewald*, 13th January, 1631. As hereinbefore related, he distinguished himself to such a degree at the battle of *Leipric*, at the head of the Swedish and Finland horse, that his master bestowed upon him the highest encomiums for his conduct in that great conflict. From November 1631 until October 1632, HORN enjoyed an independent command. Part of the time he was engaged in the difficult service of watching and checking old TILLY, and, in this duty, he displayed such admirable generalship, that although defeated in the battle of *Bamberg*, his retreat from the field conferred upon him as much honor as if he had won the victory. Amid all the savageness which characterised his brother commanders, HORN was ever remarkable for his merciful disposition. No act of the enemy, however exasperating, could ever tempt HORN to indulge the passions of his troops or permit his own warmth of temper to hurry him into acts of retaliation. To conclude these remarks we quote a note from HARTS, sufficient witness in itself of his great worth both as a soldier and a man.

"This great man, GUSTAVUS, Count HORN, whom GUSTAVUS used to call his right arm, kept alive the glory of Sweden till the peace of Munster, and afterwards. His very enemies admired him for his extraordinary clemency to the perfidious town of *Bamberg*, and for his tenderness and humanity to the Romish clergy, inasmuch that the writers of that party give him the character of merciful, *quamvis hæreticæ superstitionis cultor*. He was an exact disciplinarian, and kept up the strictest religion among his troops.

At the siege of *Biberach*, near *Ulm*, 1634, he had been extremely ill-used by the governor, who had held out until resistance was a sort of madness. All things being prepared for a general storm, the fury of which it was imagined nothing could resist, a trumpeter made an offer of capitulation; but HORN, enraged beyond measure, declared peremptorily, he would sacrifice the commander and his garrison to their obstinacy. In that instant a crowd of young women of condition issued out of the town; one seized his stirrup, the others fell down on their knees, weeping and filling the air with their lamentations. HORN soon discovered signs of emotion, and changing in a moment the severity of his countenance into a look of graciousness, mildly desired, that one would be pleased to represent the requests of the whole body; upon which a young lady, bolder than the rest, took the legation upon her, and told him in that broken interrupted eloquence, which nature inspires on these occasions, "That they asked for the preservation of their honor, and the lives of their innocent relatives." His answer was to this effect: "I lay," said he, "my indignation, my resentment, my injuries, and revenge at your feet. Tell that blockhead and brute of a governor (Colonel STRASSHOLT), I respect your tears as much as I despise his sword. Let him send a trumpeter to me, and receive conditions. Heaven knows, I thankfully embrace the opportunity of saving the lives of the innocent instead of massacring an herd of barbarian soldiers." (*Bertius de Bellis Germanicis*, pp. 558, &c.) Nevertheless he disarmed the garrison, and would not allow it to march out with any one mark of military honor.

*From HARTS's History of the Life of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

ty in its dangerousness. The Imperial brother was neither destitute of courage of the highest grade nor of military ability

thus force them to raise the siege. The impetuous DUKE of SAXE-WEIMAR insisted, on the other hand, notwithstanding the numerical inferiority of his troops, that the attack

Benedictions were poured upon him in abundance, and it is probable the fair sex made this effort upon his resolution, as it was well known he had married OXENSTJERNA's daughter, one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in Sweden, and that he and his wife were a pattern of conjugal constancy and affection. He lost this excellent creature and two children (who all died of the plague), in the year 1681, and, what is more remarkable, held her in his arms for several hours till the very moment in which she expired. He then transported her body to Sweden in a silver coffin, and, though a young man, never forgot her so far as to venture upon second nuptials. (*Monro's Exped. Part II, 29.*)

He then pushed the Swedish arms as far as the town of *Constance*, the siege of which did him great honor; but he never showed himself a greater man, than at the council of war preceding the fatal battle of *Nardlingen*, 1684; and though the Duke of WERIMAR, in a transport of youthful rage, dropped some insinuations, which proved he did not then distinguish between calmness and courage, in a brother general, yet HORN neither gave him an unkind look, nor a severe answer, but submitted patiently to the opinions of the younger and more impetuous officers, behaved like a lion in the day of action, led his men on to fifteen several attacks, in order to possess three half moons in the enemy's entrenchment, stayed upon the field almost till the last man, and in cooperation with CRATZ, gave the Swedish army a decent retreat, which otherwise must have been made sacred without redemption.

This generous conduct pierced Duke BERNHARD to the very soul; for, after the battle was over, he tore his hair and beat his brain, like a person distracted. "I," said he, "am the ignorant soldier, and HORN is the wise man. Where is the brave and experienced camp-master general? Alas, he is a prisoner, he is a prisoner! and fortune hath cruelly reserved me, to be walking about the world in full liberty."

The Imperialists carried HORN directly to the King of Hungary's tent, where the Cardinal Infante then was. He politely made an offer to kneel and kiss their hands. They both raised him, and told him, they would accept the marks of his esteem, if he would perform the compliment standing. The King said, "he could not but congratulate himself upon overcoming, by any accident, the bravest and best man in the Swedish service." To which the general modestly replied, "That fortune had been kind to him in the midst of her severity, by consigning him into such generous hands." He then retired to a tent appropriated for him, where the principal Imperial commanders paid him a visit of ceremony. Yet in spite of these civilities, the House of Austria knew his merit too well to release him on a sudden, but kept him prisoner upon parole *for eight years only!* He was at length exchanged against JOHN DE WERTH, whom the French had taken, and two other generals.* HORN went directly to Paris, to return the King thanks, who treated him most magnificently, and made him a present of a sword set with diamonds, valued at £2,000 (\$9,700).

A genius like HORN could not live idle during a long imprisonment, for he composed a treatise in his solitude on the duties of a complete and perfect general. *SCHREFFER's Memorab. Suecicas Gentis, p. 49.*

Had OXENSTJERNA listened to this commander's advice, who flew to him at *Frankfort* on the occasion, it is probable that the Swedes had not lost the alliance of the Elector of Saxony; for that prince could not bear, that the DUKE DE WEIMAR (descended from the right Saxon line, which CHARLES V had displaced), should be a general in chief, and prescribe laws to him.

I shall observe, lastly, that it was always HORN's custom to observe the countenance of his men before an engagement, those near him with his naked eye, and those more

* GUSTAVUS HORN was exchanged in accordance with a treaty, entered into 30th January, 1682, for the Bavarian Field-Marshal JOHANN VON WERTH, the Imperial Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Count of BUCHHEIM, and my Lord VON HOFFKIRCHEN, whose title and rank are not given. With great pomp and interchange of courtesies, the exchange was made at 10 A. M., Monday, the 14th—34th—March, in an open place, in the village of Dumlingen, near the town of Lohr, in Alsace, upon a small stone bridge, by Colonel ROSEN, accompanied by two Captains of Cavalry and 100 troopers, on the part of the Swedes, and by a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bavarian Neunegg regiment and two Captains of Cavalry under a like escort. HORN was brought to the place of meeting from Ingolstadt, by the way of Lindau, and departed to Brisach, where he celebrated his deliverance with prayers and thanksgiving, and thence, amid firing of guns, traveled to Benfeld. (IV. 897-8.)

above the average guage. In after years, he measured swords with WRANGEL, no unworthy foe, and lost no credit by his

should be made at once, without awaiting the arrival of the RHINEGRAVE, who was advancing with numerous reinforcements to their assistance. HORN's remonstrances were disregarded by the majority, who, intoxicated by a long career of success, mistook the suggestions of wisdom for the voice of timidity.

III. POSITION* OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES.

1. Up to the 5th September the Imperialists remained in their camp before *Noerdlingen*. On the 3d of the month they had been joined by the CARDINAL INFANTA at the head of 20,000 Spaniards which raised the army of FERDINAND—at that time King of Hungary, afterwards III of Austria—to 40,000.

2. On the 5th September the Swedish army broke up their camp near *Bopfingen*—about ten miles W. S. W. of *Noerdlingen*—masking their movements under the pretence of marching upon *Ulm*. Scarcely, however had they gained the road which leads from *Noerdlingen* to *Ulm* than they made a movement to the left and debouched in complete line of battle from the woods on the right bank of the *Goldbach*.

3. The whole of the Imperial Cavalry and Infantry, with the exception of 7000—who remained to guard the siege-works against any sortie which might be attempted by the garrison of *Noerdlingen*—advanced with all possible promptitude towards the heights of the *Loendle* and of the *Tannenberg*.

IV. PROGRESS OF THE BATTLE.

1. The Swedish vanguard advancing on the road to *Ulm* had scarcely debouched from the forest, when it was vigorously charged by the Imperial Cavalry, which had galloped to arrest its march and deployment. The Swedes not only repulsed this charge, but drove the Imperialists back upon the heights of the *Loendle* and the *Tannenberg*.

2. The Swedish army extended its right into the valley of the *Goldbach* and encamped at nightfall in the rear of the village of *Ederheim* and *Hirnheim*. The Imperialists occupied the heights of the *Tannenberg*, *Loendle*, *Hafelberg* and *Allbuch*, on which last point they entrenched themselves. The infantry formed the first, the cavalry the second line.

3. After this, however, the same night, the Swedes made themselves masters of the *Hafelberg*,† whereon they established themselves.

4. On the morning of the 6th September (daybreak) the Allies (Swedes and Weimarians) commenced their movements in two columns of equal force and drawn up in like order; the left column was commanded by Duke BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR, the right column under Field-Marshal GUSTAVUS HORN.

The column of the left wing advanced as far as the skirts of the forest opposite, upon the *Hafelberg*. The Imperialists contented themselves with cannonading that height from the other elevations.

5. On the right wing HORN led his cavalry by crossroads to attack the *Allbuch*, in order, by this movement, to mask the deployment of his infantry. This cavalry, completely beaten, was repulsed, and retired behind the infantry to reform.

6. After this, the Swedish brigades advanced impetuously under a terrible fire remote by the help of a pocket glass; and if he discovered any marks of irresolution in their looks, he always marched them up briskly against the enemy; alledging for a reason, that this manœuvre gave a flow to their spirits, and infused into them a certain idea of superiority; a practice the late EARL OF PETERBOROUGH always copied in his Spanish campaigns (as he himself assured me), and from the same motive."

*The battle field was exceedingly broken. Approaching from the SSW. from *Ulm*, on descending the slope of the *Arnsberg*, the traveler finds himself on the banks of the *Goldbach* running about W. to E., which has its source in the *Tannenberg*, on the extreme left, next to which, beyond the stream, lies the village of *Ederheim*, in the rear of the *Loendle*, which thrusts itself like a salient into the plain; next, to the right, is the *Hafelberg*, and still farther on the *Allbuch*, S. of which, on this side of the stream, and W. of the *Arnsberg*, stood *Hirnheim*. From the *Allbuch*, a ridge extends N., terminating with the *Galgenberg*, whose northern slope reaches almost to the walls of *Noerdlingen*. Upon this ridge the Imperial camp was pitched: the left on the *Allbuch*, defended by 3 redans, disposed crescentwise, the front by a line of detached redoubts, and the right by a strong bastioned field work. The battle ground formed almost a right angled triangle, of which the road from *Ulm* to *Noerdlingen* formed the hypothenuse, the chain of heights between the *Tannenberg* and *Allbuch* constituted the base, and the *Galgenberg* the apex.

†SCHILLER's account is somewhat contradictory. "The fate of the battle depended upon the possession of a height which commanded the Imperial camp. An attempt to occupy it during the night failed, as the tedious transport of the artillery through woods and holloways delayed the arrival of the troops. When the Swedes arrived about midnight, they found the height in possession of the enemy, entrenched. They waited, therefore, till daybreak, to carry them by storm."

strategy, or manly bearing always, every where. But he had been at BREITENFELD, and there saw TORSTENSON in all his

of artillery, to storm the three works which the Imperialists had thrown up in the form of a demi-lune (crescent) upon the *Allbush*, and carried them gloriously. But, instead of halting there to reform and recover their strength, they allowed their ardor to carry them away and hurry them into a disorderly pursuit of the flying foe.

7. At this moment the Imperial cavalry threw themselves upon the Swedes, disorganized by this movement, and, penetrating into the midst of their broken ranks, made a terrible slaughter. At the same moment a large barrel of powder blew up in the neighborhood of the Swedish troops, already suffering so severely, and threw them into still greater confusion. A panic having seized the left wing it fled, and it seemed as if no human exertions could arrest the general flight.

8. While this was occurring, BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR, who had remained posted on the *Hoefelberg*, sent two regiments under Count THURN to the assistance of Field-Marshal HORN, and at the same time detached another part of his forces on the road to *Noerdlingen*, intending thereby to establish communications with the garrison of that place. These troops, dispatched upon a desperate service, were surprised midway, near *Klein Erddingen*, and completely routed.

9. Meanwhile, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which he labored, HORN succeeded in rallying his troops and leading them again to an attack upon the Imperial redoubts thrown up upon the *Allbush*. All their valorous efforts, however, proved unavailing; the Spaniards to whom their defence had been entrusted maintained their position. By this time the 2 regiments which BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR had detached to succor HORN, and had misad their way, came into action and likewise assaulted the works upon the *Allbush*, but, wanting in the necessary energy, they, too, were repulsed. After a useless combat, which lasted 6 hours, HORN found himself compelled, a second time, to retreat, and retired in good order, as far as the foot of the ascent.

10. BERNHARD, exposed to the murderous fire of 50 pieces of artillery, could no longer maintain his position on the *Hoefelberg*. The whole of his troops precipitated themselves, as fast as their legs could carry them, from the heights above into the valley of the *Goldbach*.

11. This decided the battle. HORN's cavalry, which had hitherto bravely and ably covered the retreat of his infantry, were carried away by the flying masses, and completely broken up. What remained of the Swedish and Confederate armies, took refuge in the forests on the *Arnsberg*.

V. RESULT OF THE BATTLE.*

Almost the whole of the Swedish and Allied Infantry, numbering 12,000 men, were either made prisoners or massacred (8,000 killed, 4,000 prisoners—COX). Among these, 4000 of the Landwehr (Militia) of Wurtemberg and of Durlach, lay dead upon the field of battle. One hundred and seventy Regimental Colors (SCHILLER says 300 standards and colors), 80 pieces of artillery, and all the baggage (about 4,000 wagons), fell into the hands of the Imperialists, whose loss did not exceed 1200 men. Among the prisoners were Field-Marshal HORN† and three other generals. The next day *Noerdlingen* surrendered at discretion.

*This terrible defeat, says the French account and not without some reason, would have completely destroyed the Protestant League had not LOUIS XIII., who, at this very time, was engaged in a cruel war against his own Protestant subjects—sustained the cause of the Reformed faith in Germany.

†HORN, after courting death in every shape, and receiving several wounds, was captured, with three other generals, and the Duke of WEIMAR himself narrowly escaped a similar fate.

In a conflict where all contended for the palm of glory, the most distinguished were JOHN DE WERTHE and the Duke of LORRAINE, who, with his own hand, took the standard of Weimar. The King of Hungary and the Cardinal Infante, exposed themselves with all the ardor of youthful heroism, and vied in displaying the characteristic bravery of the Austrian family. To use the simple expression of a contemporary warrior, "They won immortal glory in this battle; to the wonder of all men they were always among the musket shot void of fear, nor could they be drawn from thence by any representation, but replied, 'let such princes as are afraid keep themselves within their royal palaces, and not come to an army.'" Nor did they less distinguish themselves by moderation and humanity after the victory, than by gallantry in the hour of danger; they received the captives with the utmost respect and compassion; endeavored, by their conduct to HORN, to alleviate the sense of his misfortune; and the Cardinal Infante repairing to a petty hovel, relinquished his own quarters to accommodate the Swedish commander.

The victory of *Noerdlingen* produced scarcely less rapid and important advantages to the House of Austria, than the victory of *Leipsic* had given to the Swedes; by the total rout of the Confederates, the destruction of their infantry, and the capture of so many generals, the Swedes lost the reputation of their arms; while the conquerors succeeded to the fame and fortune from which they had fallen, and in their turn became the objects of admiration and terror." SCHILLER.

fearful majesty of valor and of genius, and that *one* bloody essay taught the gallant soldier-priest—who, to the soldier's courage knit the bigot's superstitious and fanatic resolution—that to overcome the Swedish hero in the field was not within the scope of any General in the Empire.

This is no exaggerated picture. The EMPEROR's Generals did not dare to meet in battle that great leader who had hitherto proved himself invincible, when, with all the preparation, generalship and courage could array to succor human strength, the Swedish host,

“Drawn out in proud array,”

encountered the Imperial veterans, pike to pike and horse to horse.

“The true test of a great man,” says BROUGHAM, “that at least which must secure his place among the highest order of great men, is, his having been in advance of his age.”

If this aphorism is correct, then TORSTENSON was very great indeed, for as a general, and as an artilleryist, he was far in advance of his contemporaries.* His strategy as shown throughout, but more particularly in this last invasion of Austria (1645), was a judicious blending of genius, fire and prudence, qualities—so seldom wed in the same individual—the two first of which characterize the three great military marvels of the modern era, the third Sweden's—aye Europe's—greatest sovereign far more than Pussia's greatest son and France's greatest soldier.

Or were the Imperialists fearful as were the Arabs; following hard, like ravening wolves, on CANROBERT's retreating columns, decimated by the cholera, that, if they drove the Swede to desperation, he could throw the venom of the dire diseases, preying on his troops, among them likewise. Such a threat saved the quick-witted Gallic leader. This remark, however, seems like jesting; the Austrians had the plague already in their midst, a foe who needs no ally in his labor of extermination.

The most apt comparison to illustrate the Swedish GENERILISSIMO's position is a scene, which few, who have lived or wandered in the forests of this state, have failed to mark with interest at the time or afterwards, remember.

VI. CAUSES WHICH OCCASIONED THE DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES.

1. The Swedes brought on the battle of *Noerdingen* either three days too late or two days too soon. Three days previous the CARDINAL INFANTE, with his 20,000 men, had not effected a junction with the Imperialists; two days later, on the other hand, the RHINEGRAVE would have arrived to the assistance of the Swedes with 6,000 men. To these unfortunate concurrences the loss of the battle must be attributed.

2. The second great fault committed was the division of the army into two great columns constituting independent commands, without one common head to direct the whole.

*It is not claimed that he was ultra-extraordinary, as an originator, otherwise than in those improvements connected with his peculiar arm, the artillery.

Attracted by the uproar in the woods, how often has the farmer, fowler, or the woodman drawn nigh to watch a gallant hawk surrounded by a circle of discordant crows threatening attack, yet fearful to encounter such a fate as their opponent's beak and talons menace.

Stately but dangerous, the hawk, upon a lofty limb of withered oak or leafless tree, gazes, with fearless eye, upon his enemies around—hundreds against one—warring with deafening cries, but careful to observe respectful distance, while screwing up their courage with mutual, loud encouragement.

Oftentimes, on such occasions, exasperated by the hoarse invective, the brave falcon will stoop like lightning on some black plumaged brawler, who, braver or less cautious than his comrades, has ventured to overpass the line of safety, and with a gripe of his vice-like claws or blow of his falchion beak, punish the insults and temerity with death or mutilation. At length sufficiently reposed, the hawk will spread his wings majestically and wing his flight in safety to his eyrie.*

Even so, TORSTENSON defied the Imperialists, embodied on all sides—in *Silesia*, on the north; *Bohemia*, on the west; and all along the *Danube*, to the south and eastward; and moved onwards unimpeded, where and as he would, hindered only by insurmountable territorial obstacles or fortresses strong in their natural positions, artificial bulwarks, and numerous garrisons. In the field he marched and halted the unquestioned master of his every movement.

After his failure before *Brunn*, TORSTENSON seems to have given way, for a short period, to feelings of resentment, hitherto so foreign to his nature and his actions, and to have determined that—as he could not become master of the capital of Moravia, and thus ensure its possession to the Swedes—he would leave a waste for the reoccupancy of the Imperialists when he retired. Breaking up his camp, 1 1-2 (German, 6 to 8 English) miles behind *Brunn*, he advanced on the road to *Vienna*, pillaged the whole country round *Nicolsburg*, and burned over 30 villages thereabouts. The Swedes likewise occupied *Austerlitz* and *Feldsburg*, while another corps, by the orders of the GENERAL-

* Sometimes, overwhelmed with numbers, the hawk is said to be torn to pieces, amid the uproarious triumph of many hundred crows. The writer has witnessed several scenes like that above described, but always had the pleasure of observing the hawk fly off unscathed, although surrounded by a multitude of crows. On such an occasion the minacious cawing is tremendous. In like manner, while TORSTENSON lay before *Brunn* and afterward, threatening reports succeeded each other with each day, that the Imperialists, now under GALLAS, now under the ARCHDUKE, here and there, were marching to attack the GENERALISSIMO. But, if they marched, with that intention, they never did attack him, nor came near it, except on one occasion, when, as mentioned at page 222, TORSTENSON surprised the ARCHDUKE, who had hoped to fall upon him unawares and routed the Imperialists.

† The THEATRUM EUROPEUM has 3 hours, which is equivalent to 1 1-2 miles; i. e. 2 hours are used to express 1 German mile.

1881, burned and singed—to use the quaint language of the chronicle—the whole country, from 2 (German, 8 to 10 English) miles below *Crems*, to within 1 (German, 4 to 5 English) mile of *Vienna*. The lurid light of blazing villages, hamlets, castles, cottages, and farm buildings, by night, and clouds of smoke hovering here and there above the burning structures, by day, announced to the watchmen on the lofty spire of St. Stephen's Dom-Kirche, that the dreaded **TORSTENSON**, like **WALLENSTEIN** of old, was drawing near, "like **JUPITER** in the poet—all in thunder and light, all in fire and tempest." He had been terrible enough while as yet his iron hand brandished the sword alone; but now, waving the torch, smiting and consuming as he swept along, *Austria* seemed to realize in him the avenging angel, dealing retribution for the fires which **TILLY**, **WALLENSTEIN**, and her kindred devil-driven Generals had kindled.†

It is unquestionable that the Imperial Cabinet expected that the intelligence of the success of their negotiations with **RAGOCZY**, and the second treaty with that Prince would, with its consequences—his defection and the immediate retreat of his troops—overwhelm the Swedes with consternation and paralyze their future operations. So sanguine were the Imperial Generals, that the **ARCHDUKE**, who had gone to *Koettvein* to meet the **EMPEROR**, hastened back to his cantonments north of the *Danube* and the *Vienna-Danube-Bridge* ("Wolf's Bruck"?) resolved, with God's help, to advance, as soon as he could dispatch the necessary orders to the different corps, (in the next days, *T. E.*) against the Swedes, having a great desire to meet the invaders in a decisive battle. The Austrian Generalissimus had ample cause to anticipate a successful issue to a combat, for, although no chronicler furnishes exact accounts of the numerical strength of either the Imperial or Swedish armies, by comparison and

†**GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS** uses very similar language to this, even harsher in fact, in his letter to the **PALGRAVE**, *Hoechst*, 29th November. 1631: "*The old devil (TILLY,) with all his young ones, as LORRAINE, PAPPENHEIM, FURSTENBURG, GALLAS Ossa, lies now before Nuremberg.*"

‡Lastly stood War, in glittering arms yclad,
With visage grim, stern looks, and blackly-hued;
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilt was all with blood imbru'd,
And in his left (that kings and kingdoms rued,)
Famine and fire he held, and therewithal
He razed towns, and threw down tow'rs all—all.*

This is the more applicable, as **TORSTENSON** completely demolished, among other places of strength, the celebrated castle of **DURENSTEIN**, (see page 181,) whose "massive walls, embattled precipices, and iron towers," had hitherto alike defied the lapse of ages and the violence of man! "This truly remarkable fortress"—the most renowned of all the strongholds between **ULM** and **VIENNA**,—"occupies the crest of rugged group of rocks, variously split and pinnaced into fantastic shapes, on the north bank of the *DANUBE*, and overlooks the ancient town, below, in all the pride of dilapidated strength and grandeur."—(Compiled from **BEATTIE & BARTLETT'S "DANUBE IL-
LUSTRATED,"** pages 121-'22.

*Lord Denart, in the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

retrospective calculation their numbers can be approximately reached. The Imperial authorities had called into the field every *fifth* man in *Austria*, every *tenth* man in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*, besides extraordinary levies.* While TORSTENSON lay at *Mistelbach*, before the siege of *Brunn*, the Austrian army numbered 35,000 men. Since then, it had been augmented by the mobilization of the militia, more recent levies, and the Hungarian insurrection. Day and night the preparation of *material* went on without respite, and, now that all danger from RAGOCZY was removed, the different army-corps could act together against the Swedes. From what can be gleaned from the minute details which have come down to us, the united forces of the Generalissimus, the ARCHDUKE, consisting of the divisions under Field-Marshal GALLAS, Field-Marshal-Lieutenant POMPEO, Major-Generals ZARADETSKY, FERNEMONT, MONTECUCOLI, and COLLEREDO, could not have been less than 20,000 to 25,000 men, prepared to take the field either by discipline in camp or on the march or six months drill, recuperation and rest in healthy quarters. Besides these, Field-Marshal-Lieutenant BUCHHAIM had led back, from Transylvania and Hungary, his army-corps, which, at the opening of the present month, numbered, in and around *Presburg*, 12,000 good soldiers. Of all these, whose aggregate may be set down, without exaggeration, as lying between 30,000 and 37,000 men, at least 20,000 were veteran and reliable troops, flushed with the success of their sovereign's diplomacy, the heroic conduct of their brethren in *Brunn*, their own defence of the long line of the *Danube*, from *Durnstein* to *Presburg*, and were in a great measure recovered from the disorganizing effects of their last great defeat.

As for the Swedes, GEIJER states, as an undoubted fact, that shortly after, in September, TORSTENSON'S Cavalry did not exceed 8,000 men, and were without horses, and that his Infantry had dwindled down to 2,500 men, in all, 10,500 of all arms. Deduct from these his losses by pestilence alone, which, before the end of that month, had annihilated two regiments—reducing their full complement to a single man—and a liberal estimate would not make the aggregate of his army, in the field, over from 9,000 to 10,000 available soldiers.† The defection of RAGOCZY must have exerted upon this small body—unless composed of more than ordinary men—a most injurious influence. Moreover, although those diseases which were so busy in the precincts of their camp, had spared the head, his [TORSTENSON'S] own peculiar maladies were bearing him

*Compare statements at pages 172 and 201; likewise GEIJER, p. 326. Col. 1st.

†At the commencement of the year 1648, the Swedish army consisted of 15,000 horse and 8,000 foot, mostly old soldiers, besides the garrisons in Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Westphalia, Upper and Lower Saxony, and the various bodies which KÖNIGSMARK commanded. The artillery consisted, when WRANGEL assumed the command, of 70 pieces of cannon.—(PUFFENDORF, XVIII, §1. GEIJER, 328, 1st.)

down with gradual but irresistible power; and such were their intensity of anguish, they could not leave him capable, much longer, of exercising the command, particularly in the field.

Thus the opposing forces stood, 37,000 *Imperialists* to 10,000 *Swedes*. But, TORSTENSON had seen his Master triumph over, and had, himself, gained victories against greater odds.* Confident in his own powers, he again moved upon *Vienna*, hoping—as all men, even of extra-ordinary abilities, would judge—against hope, to make himself the master of that city.

It was his intention, if possible, to force the ARCHDUKE to accept the battle, which, while he [TORSTENSON] was distant, LEOPOLD WILLIAM seemed so eager, then, to give, and, borne upon the wings of victory, enter the Austrian capital; or else, should the Imperial Generalissimus evade an engagement, to pass the Danube and lay waste the Archducal territories beyond that hitherto impassable barrier, and spoil those districts as yet almost unscorched by war, whereby he could at once reward his troops with booty, replenish, in a great degree, the military chest, and, by this inroad, inflict a deeper wound upon the power and honor of the EMPEROR. According to PUFFENDORF, the most accurate historian of the day, he resumed “his former post near *Mistelbach*, to the end, that, after having refreshed his troops, he might look out for the enemy, in order to offer him battle, or, failing of that, he might chase him from the other side of the *Danube*; always designing to have *Austria* ravaged as well by friends as enemies.”

Was not the writer moderate in his eulogies, and justified in repeating, with each heroic effort,

GLORIOUS TORSTENSON;

What was the effect of this fearless movement? The EMPEROR, who had left *Vienna*, on account of the plague which was raging in the city† and its environs, and had taken up his residence in the fortified town of *St. Polten*, as soon as TORSTENSON drew nigh the *Danube*, departed thence to *Moelk*.‡ But

*The superiority of the Imperialists did not intimidate TORSTENSON, who was not accustomed to number his antagonists.—(SCHILLER's “Thirty Years' War,” 356 7.)

†The XVIIth Century was remarkable for the expulsion of the Jews from *Vienna*, and for that awful devastation of the plague, to which 120,000 of the inhabitants fell a sacrifice.—BEATTIE & BARTLETT's “DANUBE ILLUSTRATED,” page 150.

‡*Moelk* or *Melk*—14 miles W. of *St. Polten* and 49 W. of *Vienna*—is a town of 1000 inhabitants, on the right bank of the *Danube*, being at the foot of the rock on which, at the height of 180 feet above the river, stands the celebrated Benedictine Monastery, built between 1707 and 1736, by an architect from *St. Polten*, named JACOB PRANDAUER. It has the appearance of a proud regal palace, rather than that of the secluded retreat of cloistered monks. It occupies the site of an earlier building which served as a palace to the Babenberg princes of Austria, some of whom are buried beneath the church. The original foundation dates from the Xth century. The history of the spot may, however, be traced to a still earlier period. The Huns had a stronghold on these heights, called by them *Eisenburg* (Iron Castle), which is mentioned in the *Nibelungenlied* under the name of *Medilk*. At the time of BUONAPARTE'S invasion (1806

there he was not destined to enjoy a long repose. He had scarcely established himself in the palatial Benedictine Monastery, so famous for the regal splendor of its edifices and the surpassing beauty of the views its site affords, when, from its battlements, he could discern the horizon red with conflagration, dread harbinger of his arch-enemy, and witnessed the irruption of **TORSTENSON'S** Light Cavalry, following up the stream from *Crems*.

Like the swallow, skimming the lake by day, and the whip-powill, sweeping through the dusky atmosphere, at early eve, these restless riders—uniting to the skill and vigor acquired by discipline, the activity of the Camanche of the new, or Spahi of the old world—were abroad every where, scouring the country in pursuit of their prey or in quest of plunder. And then, when night concealed their rapid evolutions from the eyes of those, who, on the lofty towers of *Malk*, beheld, with mingled horror and astonishment, the consequences of their ubiquitous energy, like the fireflies of tropic climes, their torches, gleaming amid the darkness, flitting to and fro, engaged in the work of destruction, revealed their movements to the watching **EMPEROR**, whose father's and his own haughty folly and intolerance had brought such terrible visitors even to the very threshold of his home.

The best and only method which can afford some idea of the daring of these, the Swedish light horse, or to anticipate a little and narrate here, how, in October, when **TORSTENSON** had established his head quarters at *Horn*—4 German (16 English) miles N. of *Crems*—detachments of his cavalry—although the country thereabouts was full of armed bodies of Imperialists and the strong posts of *Budweis* and *Schuttenhofen* intervened—are reported to have shown themselves at *Klattau*—100 (English) miles distant from the main army to the W. N. W.—in the extreme S. W. of Bohemia, so that their depredations extended over a territory whose diameter exceeded 150 (English) miles. Their movements indeed were so mysterious and alarming, that the Austro-Bavarian military authorities knew not how to under-

—1809), enormous contributions were levied on the monks, and their cellars supplied the French army with 50,000 pints of wine for several days in succession. The greater part of its revenues, confiscated by **BUONAPARTE**, have since been restored. The church, gorgeous with gold and red marble within, and celebrated for its fine organ, is the part of the building of which *Malk* may most justly be proud. The Library of 20,000 volumes and 1,500 manuscripts, is in a truly magnificent apartment. The collection of paintings is extensive, and there are a number of old German pictures in the Abbot's house chapel. In the Treasury of the church is a large wardrobe of richly worked mass robes—a crucifix containing a fragment of the true Cross, the gift of Margrave **ADALBERT** the Victorious, 1045, and a handsome goblet of wash gold collected in the Danube, 1660. Above all, the views from its windows make it worth a traveler's while to halt here for a few hours. There are 90 monks attached to the monastery, the greater part of whom are employed at a distance fulfilling the duties of professors or ministers in universities, public schools and country livings. The residents, whose situations and duties somewhat resemble those of the fellows of a college at Oxford or Cambridge, devote themselves to literary pursuits, and are the instructors of a seminary attached to the establishment, numbering 90."—**MURRAY'S** *Hand Book for Southern Germany*, 147—"8.

stand or provide against them, and at one time the mere rumor, coupled with the appearance of his troops at *Klattau*, that the GENERALISSIMO was about to march towards the *Upper Pfalz* or Palatinate, so terrified the Commandant at *Regensburg* (Ratisbon) that he sent off three couriers at once to the ARCHDUKE, to beseech him to dispatch assistance speedily. The fearful epoch seemed renewed, when

— The Young Weimar hero forced his way
 Into Franconia, to the Danube, like
 Some delving winter stream, which, where it rushes,
 Makes its own channel; with such sudden speed
 He march'd, and now at once 'fore Regensburg
 Stood, to the affright of all good Catholic Christians.
 Then did Bavaria's well deserving Prince
 Entreat swift aidance in his extreme need;
 The Emperor sends seven horsemen to Duke Friedland.
 Seven horsemen couriers sends he with the entreaty:
 He superadds his own, and supplicates
 Where, as the sovereign lord, he can command
 In vain his supplication!"

In 1633, WALLENSTEIN's hatred of, and thirst for vengeance on, the *Bavarian ELECTOR*, sacrificed *Regensburg*; in 1645 the GENERALISSIMO's infirmities and the pestilence in his army saved it. No human hand could have availed.

Moelk was no longer a safe refuge for the Head of the Empire. Four months since the Landgrave FREDERIC of HESSE, despite the vigilance of the Imperial Generals, had made a foray on the southern shore of the great river, and Swedish corps had levied contributions on the opulent *Cloister of Kattwein*, and carried off rich booty from the very foundation in which he was receiving princely entertainment. (See page 203, and note, page 182.)

With mingled anger and regret, FERDINAND III. resumed his journey to the west, and on the 1st of September arrived at *Lintz*,* a point to which the Swedish GENERALISSIMO's indefatigable flying corps had not recently extended their incursions. This city had great reason to rejoice at its exemption from those miseries which the neighboring districts had experienced.

In the ancient castle or palace of the Dukes of Austria, built upon an elevation, facing to the Danube, and overtopping all the other buildings of the city, the EMPEROR once more established himself and court, deeming himself safe at last, not only from the efforts of the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, or his daring, roving partisans, and from the pestilence, but from the aggravated

*When BERNHARD of Saxe Weimar swept through Bavaria, in 1633, and stood upon the *Inn*, *Lintz* and *Passau* trembled for their fate, but were let off with the fright, even as *Vienna* escaped the grasp of TORSTENSON, in March and September, 1645.

The district between these two cities was the only one which, through the Thirty Years' War, did not experience a visitation of the Swedish main army. *Lintz* was equally fortunate in 1683, and a singular monument, the Trinity Column, in the Great Market Place—misappropriately placed between statues of Jupiter and Neptune—erected in 1728, commemorates the two fold escape, from the plague and from the Turks. The French became masters of the place in 1741, but the Austrians retook it the following year.

scarcity, which had increased to such a frightful extent throughout the other portions of his territories.

Apprised of his arrival, the ELECTOR OF BAVARIA hastened to *Lintz*, to pay his homage to the EMPEROR, and confer with FERDINAND III. on the critical position of his own dominions, laid open to the French by MERCY's defeat and death at *Noerdlingen*, on the 3d August, and to beseech his superior to afford him some assistance, and thereby, at the same time, promote the interests of the Empire and of Austria, by preventing the junction of the French, advancing from the west, and the Swedes, rolling down to meet them from the east.

From *Lintz*, MAXIMILIAN, faithful ally—when all others wavered—of the EMPEROR, and of his father, repaired to his capital—*Munich*, about 125 miles distant, W. by S.—post-haste (per posta), and on the same day the ARCHDUKE, who had *appeared* so anxious to encounter the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, rendered such a course unwise, if not impossible, to undertake successfully, by dispatching 15 regiments of Cavalry into *Bavaria*, to unite with the Electoral forces, and, instead of remaining to defend the Austrian territories, followed his troops, himself, to cope with the French Generals, less dangerous adversaries than the great Swede. Thus he abandoned the whole Archduchy, north of the Danube, to the mercy of the invaders, and trusted their ultimate ruin and repulse to the devastated condition of the country, almost incapable of sustaining its own population.

Thus, he who had been looked upon as Austria's chosen champion, allowed his reputation to be tarnished by his evasion. Bold, and eager for the fight, in words, when TORSTENSON was distant, he refused the test of arms when offered with alacrity.

Although LEOPOLD WILLIAM first forsook the field, GALLAS was not slow in following his example, and with the other regiments at once withdrew across the Danube at *Matthausen*, to join the ARCHDUKE's troops upon the plains of *Tuln* (Tulnerfelde?)—(see page 201—a town on the south shore of the Danube, about 18 English miles west of Vienna.

BUCHHAIM, with his troops, was at *Vischa* (Fischamend—a market town of Lower Austria, with a castle, 3 German (12 English) miles E. S. E. of Vienna on the *Vischa Water* (Fischa River)—which TORSTENSON occupied in April to intercept provisions coming from Hungary for the supply of Vienna. In consequence of the death of the Palatine of Hungary, Count NICHOLAS ESTERHAZY, which happened toward the end of August, the assemblage of the Diet, at Pressburg, had been postponed; wherefore, as fresh levies could not be made without the sanction of that body, no farther troops could be expected from Hungary,

Thus the whole of the Imperialists were posted on the south side of the Danube—having abandoned the opposite shore to the Swedes—but had thrown a bridge across at *Malk* to facilitate their movements. Shortly after this the Imperial cavalry crossed over near *Mautern*, it was reported either to assault *Crems* or beat up *TORSTENSON'S* quarters; but the Infantry continued to lay in their cantonments to guard the passes of the Danube.

As soon as *TORSTENSON* was satisfied that the Imperial Generalissimus had so far got the start of him that he could not be overtaken and forced into a battle, and while all his operations were actuated by a fixed determination that friend and foe, invaders and defenders, should mutually assist in exhausting the Austrian Arch-Duchy—he, at the same time, resolved to take such measures as would enable him to leave behind him permanent mementos of his last invasion, one of which, by its proximity to the capital, would continually mortify the pride and lay waste the possessions of the Emperor. With this view he ordered 600 men to labor every day upon the fortifications of *Cor-Neuburg*, and lay down six new ravelins,* in order that the town might become a perfect fortress, and with its old and new defences, being well protected by strong walls—still existing—and out works and deep ditches, would be able to resist not only a sudden assault but a protracted siege. Finally he provided the town with a strong garrison of Infantry and ample supplies of provisions, ammunition and artillery.

After *Cor-Neuburg* had been thus fortified to his satisfaction, *TORSTENSON* pursued the same course with *Crems*, and thus furnished to the Swedes two strong *points d'appui*, the first of which—only 9 English miles N. by W., inland, from *Vienna*—in a great measure controlled the whole circumjacent country, the second situated on a height on the left bank of the Danube—35 English miles W. N. W. of *Vienna*—completely commanded the passage of the river; while from both these places detachments could sally forth and lay all the bordering circles under contribution.

On the 13th, *TORSTENSON'S* head-quarters were at *Stockerau*—on the Danube—4 (German, about 16 English) miles N. N. W. from *Vienna*—6 English miles N. W. of *Cor-Neuburg*. At the same time the Austrians lost no time in making every preparation to defend the passage of the Danube; and, spurred on by their dread of *TORSTENSON'S* accustomed rapidity and enterprise, had entirely completed as many as 51 redoubts

*RAVELIN: a work placed before a curtain to cover it, and prevent the flanks from being discovered: it consists of two faces, a ditch, parapet and rampart. Ravelins are defended by the faces of the neighboring bastions; they are lower than the body of the place, that they may be under its fire. They are sometimes called "half moons" or "demi-lunes" — (HOYT'S Military Dictionary, 1810.)

along the *Danube*, even up as far as *Lintz*, locating them at every point where a passage across was practicable for troops.*

Whatever may have been the GENERALISSIMO's design when he again displayed the Swedish ensigns in the sight of Austria's capital, he felt his army was too much reduced in strength to dream of undertaking what the enemy still feared he would attempt, and had undergone such labor to prevent. The plague, which had come in to complete the devastation of Austria, rendered farther active operations utterly impracticable in a district so pregnant with disease. It seemed as if one misery followed hard upon another, as if to complete the utter ruin of this unhappy country, on the same principle that a pasturage can be successively grazed by horses, cattle and sheep, until the herbage, completely eaten down, to the very roots, will no longer afford the slightest sustenance. Perfectly satisfied that nothing more could be accomplished in this region, TORSTENSON determined to provide his decimated army with other quarters before the autumn rains could render the roads entirely impracticable. He was likewise hopeful that if he invaded such other districts of the Hereditary States as were still blessed with some few resources, and had preserved some little wealth, he could thereby oblige the ARCHDUKE to return to protect the Imperial Territory, and stop his march. Such, he argued, must be the result, if the EMPEROR hoped to save from devastation a single district to afford his armies winter quarters. Ordering his movements in accordance with this plan, TORSTENSON trusted that he might yet bring about a battle.

Having furnished *Cor-Neuburg* anew with provisions for a long period—in the military language of the time, for a year and a day—and added 4 [detached?] redoubts,† and made it, as was stated a little before, not only a real fortress, but a strong one, TORSTENSON placed therein a garrison of

* The *THEATRUM EUROPAEUM* has a paragraph here (V. 690), stating that the Imperialists, under GALLAS and BUCHHAIM, who had effected a junction, "lay entrenched on this side of the river," at Langenlohe (Longenlois, 6 English miles N. E. of Krems ?) 6 German miles from Vienna, as if they intended to attempt to cut off the retreat of the Swedes into Moravia.

[The before going is not embodied in the text, because it seems unsupported by other evidence. It is more than likely that there is an error in the name of the place intended to be designated, and that the historian meant LANDESDORF, a much more appropriate position, being situated centrally between Vienna and Lintz, 6 miles south of Mantern, whence reinforcements could be dispatched to any menaced passage of the river. The writer finds on an old map another Langen, (Stadtel) Enzersdorf, a small fortified town, 8 Eng. miles from the Wolf's Bridge, on the road to Cor Neuburg, which was bombarded by the French in 1809. But whatever position the Imperialists may have assumed, their presence does not appear to have affected in the least the movement of the Swedish main army or its detachments.]

† REDOUBT, a work placed beyond the glacis. It is also a small work, sometimes made in a bastion, and sometimes in a ravelin. DETACHED REDOUBT, a work much like a ravelin, with flanks, placed beyond the glacis.—(HOTT's Military Dictionary, 1810.)

900 men, burned his camp at *Stockerau*, and turned the heads of his columns northward, on the road to *Iglau*, with the view of taking up a new position in healthier and less impoverished districts, either in Bohemia or Silesia, and, thus and there, enable KÖNIGSMARK, with his admirable flying corps, or army, to join and reinforce his, the main Swedish, army. He also expected soon to be joined by WRANGEL, who, since the peace with Denmark, was ordered to lead his veteran troops, which had done such service in the late war, into Germany, and was already on the march.* KÖNIGSMARK and WRANGEL had rendered important services to the Swedish cause, and while the EMPEROR was hard pressed by TORSTENSON in the heart of his territories, the two former had compelled his allies to abandon his declining fortunes. KÖNIGSMARK, after the destruction of the wrecks of the army of GALLAS, November and December of the preceding year, (see pages 111-'2-'3, and 115, *supra*,) had by his peculiar system of warfare forced the ELECTOR OF SAXONY to consent to a suspension of arms, which, as we shall see, owing to the exertions and decision of TORSTENSON, terminated, in the spring of 1646, in a virtual, although not a nominal, peace with Sweden. The defection of Saxony was followed by that of the Danes. Their terrible chastisement by TORSTENSON, succeeded by other losses and defeats, by land and sea, had so reduced the strength of Denmark, that on the 13th of August, CHRISTIAN IV. found himself obliged to sign a peace, dictated by Sweden, under the mediation of France. Thus, on the very day that the GENERALISSIMO was compelled to raise the siege of *Brunn*, and while the Imperialists were rejoicing in its successful defence, TORSTENSON'S previous campaigns brought forth abundant fruit, and the EMPEROR, at the very moment that he thought the prospect of his affairs was beginning to brighten, soon found that at no period of the war had his prospects been involved in so much gloom, and that he stood alone, with but one ally, his brother-in-law, MAXIMILIAN, Elector of Bavaria, who was doomed to participate in his misfortunes and expiate his fidelity to the Papal interests by a punishment, the wasting of his territories, which he had inflicted with such merciless severity on the Protestant States of Germany and Allies of the Swedes.

Thus, to use the words of BECKER, and other historians,

*TORSTENSON, having raised the siege of *Brunn*, once more reconnoitred the whole of *Austria below the Enns*, convinced himself that the well defended Danube was an insuperable obstacle, led back his forces into Bohemia, where, his sickness increasing (the gout mounted to his neck) more and more, he, at *Leitmeritz*, gave up the command in chief, provisionally, into the hands of ARWID WITTENBERG. At *Eilenberg*, in Saxony, he met his successor, CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, * * * to him TORSTENSON gave over the command, on the 4th December, 1645, with the counsels, always to make the Hereditary States the theatre of war, and not to risk a general battle, except in case of absolute necessity.—(SPORSCHIL.)

TORSTENSON had humbled the EMPEROR, two ELECTORS, and one KING, and made them tremble at his very name, and filled up the measure of Swedish glory. All the successes above enumerated are due to TORSTENSON, for KÖNIGSMARK was his subordinate, and acted in accordance with the plans which his superior determined. At this moment, KÖNIGSMARK, summoned to his assistance, had crossed the *Elbe*, and, passing between *Bautzen* and *Zittau*, in *Lusatia*, was on the march towards Bohemia. The very news of his advance called forth most bitter lamentation along the course of the *Moldau*, whither his movements tended; and the Imperial and Saxon regiments, which had been quartered at *Jung-Buntzel* (Young-Buntzlau), were ordered to fall back to *Brandeis*, 13 English miles E. N. E. of Prague, in case of necessity, to be at hand for the protection of Bohemia's capital.

Torsten's March into Bohemia.

TO ENABLE KÖNIGSMARK AND WRANGEL TO JOIN HIM WITH THEIR TROOPS, AND TO ESTABLISH HIS OWN ARMY IN ABUNDANT WINTER QUARTERS.

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, 1645.

In September's closing days, the Swedish army withdrew from before *Vienna*, which had escaped again with a mere alarm. Slowly and reluctantly their columns retraced their steps towards *Bohemia*, and TORSTENSON at length relinquished his plan of operations against the Heart of the Empire, but "to the end that *Austria* might not be altogether delivered of the Swedes, he left very strong garrisons in *Crems* and *Corneuburg*, and many other places, to maintain the communication with *Olmütz* and *Iglau*." *Vienna* was preserved. No Imperial General, however, could arrogate the triumph. No Austrian army had delivered the precincts of the capital. Penury and Famine, linked with Disease and Casualties—the results of wounds and accidents inseparable from a state of warfare—had formed a coalition invincible to human strength and genius. "But," says SCHILLER, "if the designs of TORSTENSON were not crowned with all the success which they were promised at the commencement, they were, nevertheless, productive of the most important consequences to the Swedish party. Denmark had been compelled to a peace, Saxony to a truce. The EMPEROR, in the deliberations for a peace, offered greater concessions; France became more manageable; and Sweden itself, bolder and more confident in its bearing toward these two Crowns. Having thus nobly performed his duty, the author of these advantages retired, adorned with laurels."

But while Providence restrained the Swedish sword, the capital of Austria had little cause for exultation. The falchion

of the destroying angel waved ominously over the Imperial city. The vengeance, forbidden to the Swedish steel and torch, for the atrocities of Romanism, the Plague inflicted with appalling rigor upon the territories and metropolis of FERDINAND II, the "Headman of the Vatican."* Already, two centuries ago, had Austria deserved her despicable title of "Executioner of Europe."†

On the withdrawal of the Swedes, the Imperial forces which had been in safe positions guarding the passes of the Danube once more took courage to advance. First, 9 Regiments of Cavalry, under BUCHHAIM, filed across the bridge at *Matthausen*

*On the 17th of February, (1687.) FERDINAND II. expired. Great was the kingdom, and numerous were the subjects over which Providence had called him to reign, and he had no want of talent to make his people happy. But his Jesuitical education, and his advisers, had chained his spirit, and, to the great misfortune of his country, he could not set himself free; and scarce can the eye find a single point in his whole reign of eighteen years on which to rest with satisfaction. In Germany, his fanaticism had driven the religious war to the highest pitch, and, as a sorrowful legacy, he could hand that war, unfinished still, over to his son. In Magdeburg, were 26,000 corpses of men, women, and children, lying, who had perished under the hand of his General, TILLY, with his hordes of Croatian military. BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND A GREAT PART OF HUNGARY, WERE MISERABLY OPPRESSED, AND MORALITY ITSELF ALMOST BANISHED, BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THE WAR HAD BEEN CONDUCTED. And what had he gained! A few stone churches and schools stolen from the Lutherans and Calvinists; 100,000 converts brought over to the Church of Rome by the unapostolical means of sword, prison, fine, or bribery; and a depopulation of his monarchy amounting to more than 1,000,000 of human beings. FERDINAND II. had gained what he wished; for the conversion of a heretic to his Church was to him always the greatest joy. Wherefore, as the Cardinal KLESSEL once thought that a little more moderation and consideration of circumstances might be advisable, he replied, "I will rather have a wasted than an accused kingdom"—("MALO REGNUM DESOLATUM QUAM DAMNATUM.")

†His conscience was always quieted with the Jesuitical reserve; for, when he was once reminded of his royal oath, he gave the edifying answer, "*With his mouth he had sworn to the Protestants, but with his heart to the Roman Catholics.*"

For all these benefits rendered to the Popish cause, the Cardinal PARNANT, and Bishop MATTHEW of Neustadt, asserted that FERDINAND passed immediately into heaven, without experiencing the pain of purgatory. The Word of God had, however, said, "The Lord hateth the bloody and deceitful man."—(D'Aubigne's History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, pages 180-'1.)

"FERDINAND," says ROEBINS, (page 247.) "has been styled by the Papists the Apostolical Emperor, on account of his hatred to the Protestants. HE WAS AN UNFEELING RIGOT AND SCOURGE OF THE EMPIRE."

"When we review the awful period of his reign, pregnant with such extraordinary events and stupendous revolutions, we cannot but admire, in FERDINAND II., the great qualities which have distinguished the greatest men of every age and nation; penetration and sagacity, unbroken perseverance, irresistible energy of character, resignation and fortitude in adversity, and a mind never enervated by success. But these great qualities were sullied and disgraced by the most puerile superstition, inveterate bigotry, and unbounded ambition."

Had he not been influenced by the narrow and jaundiced views of superstition and bigotry, he might have maintained the peace and happiness of his hereditary dominions; might have ruled the Empire, not as the head of a sect or the chief of a party, but as the sovereign and friend of all; and might have saved Germany and Europe from thirty years of anarchy, persecution, and terror, devastation and carnage. In fine, the defects of education and erroneous principles (the prejudices instilled into him by the Jesuits, which strengthened with his years and grew with his growth), rendered him the misfortune of his family, the enemy of his country, and the scourge of his age."—(Coxe's History of the House of Austria, Vol. II. pp. 297-9.)

† L'Autriche fait le metier de bourreau en Europe," says Moeller—repeating a common sentiment of 1848-'9—in his "Eclaircissements," Page 85.

(Mauthausen, 3 English miles N. E. of Enns?),* to join the troops cantoned around *Budweis*, in *Bohemia*, and unite with a division of 2000 horse under Baron FERNEMONT, who—on the death of the Count ERNEST VON SUYS, a victim to the dysentery at *Ipps* (Zips?) in Hungary—had been created *General-Feld-Zeug-Meister*.†

The Cavalry were straightway followed by the Infantry and Artillery, for the Imperial Generals felt the absolute necessity of doing something to preserve *Bohemia*—whose fields the Swedish forces, fast converging, threatened to occupy and devastate.

TORSTENSON retiring, halted first and encamped around *Horn*—4 German (about 16 English) miles N. by W. of *Crems*—thence his flying-corps extended their incursions even to *Klattau*—100 miles to the W. N. W.—and alarmed the Governor of *Regensburg* (Ratisbon). Thence he fell back to *Iglau*, whence his light cavalry swept the country in every direction and still continued to make forays even to the bridges across the *Danube* (V. 706) opposite *Vienna*, about 100 miles to the S. E. From *Iglau* the GENERALISSIMO despatched a convoy of 300 wagons, loaded with clothing and other necessary articles, for the equipment of the garrison of *Olmutz*, and sent a detachment of 13 men to act as a safeguard,‡ for the town of *Znaim*, with orders to spare the walls and gates but destroy the out-works which he had constructed. The whole Swedish force then advanced to *Pilgram*, in *Bohemia*, 15 miles W. of *Iglau*, and 25 miles E. N. E. of *Tabor*.

At this time the Saxon and Imperial regiments under *Feld-Zeug-Meister* FERNEMONT, which had moved from *Budweis* and were encamped at *Königs-Saal*—a small village 7 English miles south of *Prague*, at the confluence of the *Beraun* and *Moldau*—not having yet been joined by the forces under BUCHHAIM—in order that, on the approach of danger, they could retire into

* This is the account at Page 692, Vol. V, THEATRUM EUROPAEUM; at Page 707 it stated that, late in October, BUCHHAIM having crossed the *Danube*, at *Prensburg*, advanced with nine regiments into *Bohemia*, and united his forces with those of FERNEMONT. With their combined corps, numbering 10,000 men, they intended to harass and thwart TORSTENSON as far as it was possible to do so.

† Many military writers have translated *General-Feld Zeug Meister* as General of Ordnance or Artillery. This is an error, and has no doubt arisen from the fact the Chief of the Austrian Artillery, holds that rank. BEAULIEU, conquered, in 1796, by BUONAPARTE, was a *Feld Zeug Meister*. As he had never served in the Artillery he could not have been the General of that Arm. *Feld Zeug Meister* corresponds to the grade of General of Infantry or Cavalry in Prussia and Russia—a rank which no longer exists in France—but the title, correctly speaking, only belongs to one of the two Senior Generals (of Infantry or Cavalry) in the Austrian service (*Statistique Militaire*—DUCREUX's *German English-French Technological Military Dictionary*).

‡ Another account would indicate that the whole Swedish army passed by *Znaim* and for some reason [most likely the ill treatment or murder of the safe guard] TORSTENSON ordered the place to be plundered (V. 707). The plan designated (T. E. VI. I.) of their route, makes them pass a little east of that town.

Prague. Simultaneously the six regiments under Brigadier (or Major) General (*General [feld] wacht-meister*) HANAW, which had arrived at *Jung-Buntzel*, from Silesia, abandoned that position to join FERNEMONT, leaving behind them, in Silesia, only Colonel RICHARD encamped upon the *Neisse*—a river which rises in the Schneeberg (Snow Mountain, a peak of the RiesenGebirge—Giant Mountains), which separated the Kingdom of Bohemia from the Duchy of Silesia—and, flowing thence, circuitously, after a rapid N. E. course of 98 English miles, falls into the Oder between Brieg and Oppeln.

From *Pilgram*, TORSTENSON marched, besieged and took the strong castle of *Bernstein* (Pernstein—between *Olmütz* and *Brunn* in *Moravia*, belonging to the PRINCE OF LIECHTENSTEIN, whose enormous estates, commencing at *Wilfersdorf*, in Lower Austria—on the road from Vienna to Brunn—extend almost without interruption to the frontier of *Silesia*, a distance of nearly 200 miles.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General KÖNIGSMARK, directing his movements, in obedience to his orders, amply supplied the town of *Olmütz* with provisions, ammunition and all other necessities, capturing about the same time the baggage of the Imperial Colonel TOBACK near *Troppau*—a fortified town of Silesia, near the frontier of Moravia, on the *Oppa*, 36 English miles N. E. of *Olmütz*—just as he was about to save it across the *Oder*. As KÖNIGSMARK, now, was counter-marching towards TORSTENSON, the Imperialists suspecting that, upon their junction, the GENERALISSIMO intended to undertake some measure of importance (*impresa*) the citizens in all the three cities of *Prague*—the *Altstadt*, on the right, the *Hradschin* and *Kleinseite*,* on the left bank of the *Moldau*—were summoned by beat of drum, as was the custom, to appear with their fire and side-arms (guns and swords) and received directions to rendezvous in certain places designated, whenever the signal should be given by the discharge of cannon. At the same time the march of HANAW's Silesian regiments was countermanded and those troops directed to occupy and guard the pass of *Brandeiss*; and FERNEMONT received the expected order to enter *Prague* and quarter his division in the city.

Well might they dread the approach of two such warriors. Once already had the affrighted population on their walls beheld the troops of TORSTENSON defiling through the valley of the *Moldau*, between their bulwarks and the Imperial camp round *Brandeiss*—13 miles E. N. E.—where GALLAS lay with all his army, afraid to attack them or even to attempt to thwart their march.

* GUTHRIE says the three towns were the Old (*Altstadt*) new (*Neustadt*) and Little (*Kleinseite*) towns.

PUFFENDORF avers, that it was upon the very day, that Colonel MADLON suffered in Prague for his cowardice at *Breitenfeld*. On that occasion, as his columns swept along, in all their pride of conscious superiority and recent triumph, the GENERALISSIMO caused his artillery to unlimber and salute the town with cannon balls; thus at the same time, testifying his contempt for the EMPEROR'S power and defying his general to that combat he never could be induced to accept or give. Thence TORSTENSON swept on to lay Moravia and Lower Austria under contribution even to the very outworks of *Vienna*, and by one of his brave, partisan commanders, imperil the person of the Emperor, FERDINAND III, himself.*

The second time that TORSTENSON approached, he was upon his march to *Janikau*, when universal terror ruled the land and *Prague* lay at his mercy, but striking at a nobler quarry he turned aside to smite *Vienna*.

Nor was KÖNIGSMARK less dangerous, as three years later demonstrated, when, with the rapid swoop he learned from TORSTENSON—from the field where, with his Swedes and Hessians he had just defeated the Imperial Field-Mars'l Count LAMBOY, who lost 5000 men—he flew into Bohemia, and on the morning of the 26th July, 1648, made himself master of the *Kleinseite* or western half of *Prague*, with the loss of but one single man.

The presence of mind of a Jesuit, GEORGE PLACCHI, aided by one GRIS, a schoolmaster, and three soldiers, alone saved the Old City (*Altstadt*) beyond the *Moldau* from the same surprise.† The Swedish *camisado* checked, by the exertions of the active and intrepid Count COLLEREDO, Commandant of *Prague*, with the assistance of an experienced engineer, named CONTI, and the devoted bravery of a numerous garrison and 10,000 armed burghers, the ancient town was saved. And, although bold WITTENBERG Master General of the Swedish Ordnance—who had maintained himself in Silesia despite the utmost efforts of the famous MONTECUCULI and had repeatedly reinforced *Olmütz* and pushed his detachments even to the frontier of Austria—soon after joined KÖNIGSMARK with that gallant little army which owed its organization to TORSTENSON'S prescient genius—and defeated, near the castle of *Hlubocka*, the combined forces of the Imperial Commanders, BUCHHAIM and GOLTSCHE, who sought to introduce reinforcements and supplies,

*GUERIN 1st, 314. PUFFENDORF XV § 12 GUERIN'S Hungary and Bohemia, Part II, 274.

† In the Swedish Ministry's instructions to CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, who succeeded TORSTENSON in the chief command, it was enjoined upon that General—"Therefore especial care should be had as to the two smaller armies raised by TORSTENSON, the one under WITTENBERG, in *Silesia*, the other under KÖNIGSMARK in *Westphalia*." The GENERALISSIMO possessed the faculty of giving off some of his rare powers to all who served under him. All the Swedish Generals improved in a wonderful manner under the influence of his superior generalship and administrative abilities.

the Old-Town still held out. Next arrived the Palsgrave, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, Palatine of Deux-Ponts, afterwards CHARLES X, of Sweden, with 10,000 men; but the bravery of the besieged was proof against every accession of the besiegers' force, and the Palsgrave and WITTENBERG retired, leaving KÖNIGSMARK in the possession of the Little Town he had so gallantly acquired, COLLEREDO, to his honor, retaining the possession of the other half of *Prague*.*

Passing through *Lautmischel* (Leutomischl), TORSTENSON appeared before *Pardubitz*—on the *Elbe*, 61 miles E. of *Prague*—and opened his fire with shells and carcasses (fire or incendiary balls) which burned one entire quarter of the town. The Commandant of the castle, an Imperial Lieutenant-Colonel, nevertheless answered their fire briskly, to which the Swedes again replied with equal fierceness, so that they fired a magazine of provisions within the castle.

While TORSTENSON was still besieging the Castle of *Bernstejn*, 2 half and 7 quarter carthauners† were expedited from *Prague* to *Königs-Gratz*—a royal fortified town on the left bank of the *Elbe*, 64 miles E. N. E. of *Prague*—to enable that fortress to make a more effectual resistance should TORSTENSON appear before its walls. As the Bohemian war administration supposed he would, the GENERALISSIMO actually did repair to *Königs-Gratz* and summoned its commandant to surrender, and, upon his refusal to consider the proposal, established batteries and opened a hot fire of artillery and set the town on fire in different places with fire or incendiary balls. Meeting, however, with a more determined resistance than he anticipated and find-

* "The old watch tower at the end of the bridge [across the *Moldau*] next the *Altstadt* alone preserved that part of the town from falling into the hands of the Swedes during the 86 years war, 1648. They had already mastered the *Kleinseite*, and, their attack being quite unexpected, the bridge gate was so ill guarded, that they had nearly surprised it, when a Jesuit, rushing out of a college close to the bridge let down the portcullis in haste, and with the aid of only three soldiers defended the post until the citizens and the students of the university came up to support them. The Swedes were thus defeated in attempting to carry the gate by a *coup-de-main*, and no succeeding assault met with greater success, though they besieged and bombarded the gate for 14 weeks. This is the reason why the ornaments on its outer side are so completely defaced" (MURRAY). The following inscription [in Latin] in gold letters, is to be seen on one side of the tower, in memory of this gallant defence; in which the only fault is, the indecent terms made use of in speaking of the Swedes:

"Traveler, stay awhile (but thy stay shall be voluntary on this spot, where the rage of the Goths and Vandals, after all its cruel ravages, was stopped by force); and read this inscription, which informs thee, that, to the perpetual glory of all Bohemians, but especially of the citizens of old Prague, the Swedish army, that destroyed everything with fire and sword, was repulsed in this place. This tower was the utmost limit of Gothic rage, but it is not the boundary of Bohemian loyalty. Had it not been for the golden age, and peace restored to Germany, by the clemency and justice of Ferdinand III, the citizens of Old Prague would have inscribed these letters with blood, which are now of gold"—KEYSLER'S *Travels*, IV, 262—"3.

† No dictionary affords a translation of this word. From the context it must signify a species of artillery much in use in the sieges and defence of places at this time. A German of ability and research translates it *carronades*.

ing that the citizens united stoutly with the garrison in the service of defence, TORSTENSON, as he could not afford to lose the time a regular siege would occupy, broke up from before the town and resumed his march E. N. E. towards *Gitschin*, or Gitsin, a walled town with a fine castle, built by WALLENSTEIN, 50 miles N. E. of Prague on the *Czidlina*—apparently intending to continue his march through *Melnik* upon *Lietmeritz*.

Up to this date Lieutenant-General KOENIGSMARK—who had been sent into Moravia to provide the Swedish garrisons in that Margraviate with all things necessary, and had discharged the duty with his wonted rapidity—had not as yet joined TORSTENSON; but, for strategic reasons and for facilitating the commissariat service, marched along by a parallel route from 2 to 3 (German, 8 to 15 English) miles distant. He now—escorted by 300 cavalry—repaired to his superior's quarters to receive his orders and advise with him concerning his future operations. Returning thence he directed his march on *Braun*—*Braunau*, in the extreme N. E. angle of Bohemia—with orders to return into *Silesia* and await the arrival of the GENERALISSIMO.* Thither he repaired and captured several castles in that Duchy, while the main army, by an eccentric route, slowly advanced towards the appointed rendezvous, capturing or partially demolishing the Imperial strongholds as it went along.

The proximity of TORSTENSON and KOENIGSMARK renewed the apprehensions of the people and authorities of Prague, and every preparation possible was made for successful defence. The Gallows-gate (*Galgen-Thor*)† was closed and walled up, the citizens were enrolled to the number of 4000 or 5000, and 1000 musketeers placed in the city‡ as a garrison. At the same time the Imperial and Saxon Electorate troops, posted around *Brandeis*, not feeling strong enough to resist the Swedes, marched off towards the Pilsen District, doubtless because forage could not be obtained, in quantities sufficient, immediately around the capital.

Meanwhile, on the Danube, the Imperialists had again invested *Crem* and opened a hot cannonade and captured two of the outworks.

* The THEATRUM EUROPEUM, V. 707, says that KOENIGSMARK retired into *Lower Saxony* to organize a new corps d'armes, and that *Friedland* in the extreme north of Bohemia was at this date cannonaded by the Swedes. Likewise that a numerous force of commanded troops made an expedition against *Jung Bunglau*. From the same work it would appear that another corps besieged the castle of *Griefenstein*—on the head waters of the *Neisse* and northern frontier of Bohemia, south of *Zittau*—whose commandant, while treating for surrender, imprudently permitted the assailants to discover the weak points of his defence and naturally received much less favorable conditions. The Swedes at once made themselves masters of the place and carried the garrison before TORSTENSON. This may have occurred while the GENERALISSIMO lay encamped at *Jaromirz*; but, as no dates are given, it is difficult to arrange the different operations so as to read in regular order. All what is related, occurred; the difficulty is to say when to a day.

† At the extreme northern angle of the Neustadt, near the famous college (*Carolinien Thal*) and the river-side.

To make amends for this partial loss, the Swedish Colonel CORY, Commandant of *Cor-Neuburg*, sallied forth upon an expedition and suddenly appeared before the strong castle of *Orth* (Ort) 16 miles E. S. E. of Vienna on the Danube—near the Hungarian frontier. At daybreak, his detachment, consisting of 400 cavalry and dragoons, carried the place by escalade, and, among other prisoners, captured a Hungarian nobleman, residing there, who stood high in favor with the EMPEROR, and had lately lent large sums of money to him. With this individual, and many valuable prizes, CORY returned in safety to *Cor-Neuburg*, having traversed 60 miles in his successful raid. (V. 719, 1st.)

To the north the Swedes and Danes were occupied in carrying out the provisions of the Peace of *Bromsebro* (V. 712)—a peace so glorious for the former, “whose enterprise and [vigorous] activity had enabled them to triumph over all opposition and gain important advantages over a nation formerly their conquerors, at a time when they seemed fully occupied and almost exhausted with the wars in Germany.” *In this triumph TORSTENSON could point with excusable pride to his march of 500 miles achieved in 15 days, to this day the admiration of all well-read military men, and his conquest of all continental Denmark in 8 weeks, and exclaim with truth, “PARS MAXIMA FUI.”*

Both parties had enough to do to recall and withdraw their troops and turn over the fortresses whose cession had been stipulated. In the beginning of October, however, 4 regiments of infantry and 2000 cavalry had been transported by sea from *Schenen* (Scania) to *Pomerania*, where they were to join the troops returning back from *Holstein* and constitute an independent army-corps, numbering at least 10,000 men; under the command of Maj.-General-[Admiral] CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, to enable him to keep a watchful eye over *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*, and maintain the communications between the Swedish ports and provinces, upon the *Baltic*, and the main army under TORS- TENSON, safe and unobstructed. Colonel HELLMUTH WRANGEL—who had greatly distinguished himself in all his operations in Denmark—was already marching back from *Jutland* and had arrived at *Kiel*. TORSTENSON'S ill health and losses by disease had changed the destination of these troops, and, when October closed, they had combined and were advancing towards him, to reinforce his—the main—army, of which CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL would assume the direction as soon as he retired.

October had departed, and November, with its flooding rains, found the Swedish and Imperial armies somewhat prepared to

* He advanced so rapidly, that the inhabitants of places along his route did not even dream of his approach, when, already, his Cavalry were in their midst; and it was reported that the Swedes marched over 100 German (450 to 500 English) miles in 15 days.—[THEATRUM EUROPEUM, V. 153, 2d.]

encounter winter's rigor; the former in better, certainly more plenteous, quarters than they had enjoyed for a long period (V. 718, 2), thanks to TORSTENSON'S forethought and silent preparation. *Znaim* had received a safeguard from both parties, each of whom had sent three commissioners (?) to see that it was observed, and hence the town expected immunity from plundering visits of the Swedes or Austrians. *Olmütz, Neustadt*—13 miles N. N. W.—and *Eylenburg*—18 miles north—had been amply re-provisioned by Lieutenant General KÖNIGSMARK.

Field-Marshal-Lieutenant BUCHHAIM, with his forces, stood at *Tabor* awaiting the arrival—from Bavaria—of the Arch Duke LEOPOLD WILLIAM and his "armada," for whose accomodation quarters had been located and prepared upon the *Moldau*, in the district of *Pragaditz*,* where they could refresh themselves after their hurried march. The Imperial Generalissimus had found far different antagonists to TORSTENSON in the French commanders he encountered in *Bavaria* and *Swabia*, for, united with JOHANN VON WERTH, the Austro-Bavarians "drove the French under the cannon of *Philipsburg*, and assisted in recovering the places captured after the action of *Nærdlingen*. Thence, having repaid the service rendered by the ELECTOR OF BAVARIA after the battle of *Jutterbuck*" (*Juterbock*)—where TORSTENSON destroyed the Saxon and Imperial cavalry, 23d November, 1644—he left *Nuremberg*, early in October, leading back his own "armada," and several Bavarian Electorate Regiments towards *Bohemia*; Field-Marshal HATZFELD accompanied him.

By this date, TORSTENSON'S Head Quarters were at *Jaromirz*—at the confluence of the *Aupa* with the *Elbe*, 68 English miles E. N. E. of Prague—in *Bohemia*; KÖNIGSMARK's at *Drautmann* (*Trautenau* or *Trutnow*, on the right bank of the *Aupa*, 17 English miles N. of *Jaromirz*?). 'In specie,' however, the Swedish army, especially the Infantry of the right wing, had *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Austria*, to the banks of the Danube, assigned to them. Kønigsmark cantoned his corps in the Duchy of *Silesia*, as far north as the *Neisse*. WRANGEL, with his army, coming up from Denmark, occupied *Lower Silesia* and the country on the *Polish* (eastern) side of the *Oder*. The left wing of the main army under Major-General DOUGLAS, was quartered in the county of *Glatz* [Districts of] *Frankenstein*, *Strehlen*, *Meimbsch*, (*Nimptsch*?) *Jauer*, *Striegau*, *Kuntsberg*, *Schweidnitz*, *Lignitz*, *Ohlau*, *Grotkau*, *Patschkau*, and the villages in the District around *Breslau*, all lying in *Silesia* (Prussian) between the *Oder* and the confines of *Moravia* and *Bohemia*, south of the *Katzbach* and north of the *Neisse*.

DOUGLASS likewise marched with 3,000 cavalry to *Braunen*

* This must be *Prachelitz* or *Prachatzitz*, on an affluent of the *Bamitz*—22 miles S. S. W. of *Pisek*—Circle of *Prachin* or *Pisek*, W. of *Budweis*, in the S. W. part of *Bohemia*.

(Braunau ?) by the way of *Silberberg*, a town and strong fortress of Silesia (Prussian) about 18 miles N. of *Glatz*—capital of a county of that name in Silesia, almost surrounded by the Bohemian territory—to lay that district also under contribution. The inhabitants of *Glatz*—for the town itself held out for the EMPEROR, although the whole surrounding country was in possession of the Swedes—fearing that they would be besieged, destroyed their suburb and unroofed the highest houses and churches in the town, thereby to diminish the danger from the enemy's shells and carcasses (fire or incendiary balls). Thus, prepared the town itself—occupying a strong position on the *Neisse*—was capable of resisting a regular siege, for, even at that time, it was defended by good fortifications, since greatly improved, and farther protected by a strong castle built upon an adjacent mountain. On another elevation, on the other side, a modern fortress has been constructed so that the town, strongly walled, now lies between two heights crowned with forts.

Thus by the foresight and these able dispositions of the GENERALISSIMO, the Swedish troops lay in the best quarters which the empire could afford, for they occupied the estates belonging to either Field-Mar's GALLAS or PICCOLOMINI, Count COLLOREDO, the Count of TRAUTMANNSDORF,* von SCHLICK, afterward President of the Austrian Council of War,† Generals LESSLE (Leslie) DRAUN or LAMBOY—subsequently Field-Marshal vice GALLAS retired—COUNT WALLENSTEIN‡ or PAPPENHEIM—who, all being the highest Generals and Officers of the Imperial army, their lands had until now been spared all quarterings and contributions.

At *Jaromirz* TORSTENSON parted with that brave young Prince, the Palsgrave CHARLES GUSTRIVUS—who had obtained leave of absence to enable him to return to Sweden and prose-

* Count TRAUTMANNSDORF was one of the most distinguished diplomatists Austria, always famous for the talents of her statesmen, has ever produced. He was the Imperial Lord-High Chamberlain (*Ober-Hofmeister*), a Member of the Aulic Council, and represented the Emperor in the Conferences which led to the Peace of Westphalia—FERDINAND III. owed much to this sagacious Counsellor.

† To show how the public interests were sacrificed to the private interests of these Austrian aristocrats, be it known that the EMPEROR FERDINAND III. himself, advancing at the head of his last army to endeavor to save *Egra*—besieged by WRANGEL, in 1647—in order to spare other lands belonging to this same von SCHLICK, made a circuit by which he protracted his march to such a degree that, on his arrival, the Swedes had taken the town. The DUKE DE DINO in his "*Souvenirs de la Guerre de Lombardie pendant les années 1848 et 1849*," at page 188, expends a little virtuous indignation upon the Italian editor who had made the remark, "Would to Heaven that the whole Italian nobility might perish, and the very seed be lost." Meaning that the loss of the nobility would be an infinite gain for the poor people. Detesting demagogues here and there as much if not more than a nobility, if the Italian nobility are like the Austrian, the writer, as well as every well wisher to the human race, would concur in the sentiment, if its accomplishment were the result of any means but crime.

‡ Count MAXIMILIAN VON WALLENSTEIN, the Imperial Grand Master of the Horse, was at this time ordered to Prague to assume the duties of *City Colonel*, i. e., Commandant.

cute his courtship of the Queen CHRISTINA—who dignified his lofty station with the display of every soldierly quality, presages of his future military greatness, when he succeeded to the throne of Sweden, prophesied at this time by his commanding General.

TORSTENSON, who yet lay quiet, had no intention, however, to waste his little remaining strength in inaction, and soon let his soldiers know that when they had enjoyed a brief repose, farther labors and new glories awaited them. Meanwhile, his troops laid the whole country on the other side of the *Elbe* under contribution, sparing all who promptly complied with their demands, but punishing those who evinced the slightest contumacy, with fire and sword. For this cause the GENERALISSIMO fired the strong castle of *Ronszkyhory*, together with a market-town, to teach the Bohemians that his word was law. Major-Gen'l DOUGLAS likewise was on foot, as vigilant as ever. He demanded a subsidy from the County of *Glatz*, of 70,000 Rix Dollars, assessing every Knight's fee at 100 R. D., and each farm at 10 R. D., and received the whole amount. Meanwhile, Lieutenant-Gen'l KÖNIGSMARK, who never seemed to rest, marched against *Jägerndorf*—capital of a principality belonging to Prince LIECHTENSTEIN—standing between the great and little *Oppa*, in [Austrian] Silesia. Reinforced by 1000 musketeers, detached to his assistance by the GENERALISSIMO, he took the town—although surrounded by high walls and defended by an old Ducal castle—almost without loss. He also (previously?) captured, with the same good fortune, the strong castle of *Teschen*, capital of a circle of the same name, now incorporated with Moravia—in Upper Silesia, the small town of *Weisskirchen*, in Moravia, 22 English miles E. S. E. of Olmutz, *Leipnick*, 5 English miles S. E. of the last, in the circle of *Prerau*, thence, returning across the mountains, *Jablunkau*, 14 miles S. S. E. of *Teschen* on the *Olsa*—5 English miles S. of which is the Pass of *Jablunkau*, leading into Hungary, and defended by a famous old fort; and retracing his steps, even to the N. E. of Moravia, *Freudenthal*, a walled town, 20 miles W. of *Troppau*. He also made himself master of *Kuschwitz*, and “thus had everywhere his winter quarters to his heart's desire.” [V.719. 2.]

KÖNIGSMARK, whose head quarters were at *Glatz*, had garri-soned the captured castle of *Frankenstein* with four companies of foot. A reinforcement of 12 companies of Infantry and a detachment of Dragoons had enabled him to make himself master of *Patskau* (*Patschkau*)—a walled town on the *Neisse*, 15 Eng. miles E. by north of *Glatz*—which had surrendered on condition that the lives and property of the citizens should be spared and their rights protected. This enabled him, without impediment, to levy contributions on all the circumjacent districts.

At the same time, by the orders of the GENERALISSIMO, the

Swedish troops likewise swept *Lower Silesia*, collected and carried several thousand *Striche** of fruits (articles of subsistence) into *Great-Glogau* and other fortresses and fortified towns held by their countrymen, and thus, so far as provisions were concerned, provided them completely against any emergency. About this date, likewise, by TORSTENSON'S direction, the Swedes again cannonaded *Königs-Gratz* and fired into *Pardowitz* (Pardubitz)—the first 10, the second 20 English miles south by west of *Jaromirz*—and threw some shells and fire or incendiary balls, into both places, which did their work effectually. (V. 719.)

Then, shortly after the middle, or about the end, of Nov'r—contrary to the expectations of the Imperialists, and all his other enemies, who supposed, as they had reason to, that as he was safely disposed of in good quarters, he would remain therein throughout the winter—TORSTENSON—having ordered that contributions should once more be levied on the circles of *Königs-Gratz*, around him, of *Buntzlau* (Boleslau), beyond to the W, and of *Lictmeritz*, still further on, in the extreme N. W. of Bohemia, a district extending over 70 miles, and the booty brought in to him at *Gitschin*—broke up his camp at *Jaromirz* and marched to *Schambach* and *Gitschin*,† where again he halted to permit his detachments to join him with their convoys and plunder. Upon his arrival at this point he ordered his whole army to provide themselves with ample rations for 5 days, which they could do without the slightest difficulty, since they occupied the very best of quarters in the most fertile districts, where sufficient "*proviand*" was left. Then having once more levied contributions on all the adjacent towns and rich domains of the nobility, exacted from the inhabitants and owners very heavy subsidies of money, carried off great quantities of fruits (articles of food) and resumed the safe-guards he had granted to *Gitschin*, *Schahl*, and other places, TORSTENSON withdrew the garrisons which he had left in towns and villages captured on his march, called in his detachments, mounted his infantry on horses, and with an "armada," recruited in strength, perfectly equipped and well provided with all necessary stores, advanced across the Giant Mountains, on the road to *Landshut*, in the Duchy of *Schweidnitz*, in Lower Silesia, there to unite with KÖNIGSMARK and WRANGEL.

Olmütz having received additional supplies of provisions, suf-

* A Bohemian *striche* is equal to about 2 1 2 bushels.

†It would not appear from the map of his marches that TORSTENSON passed through *Gitschin*, but the words of the THEATRUM EUROPEUM (V. 719, 1) are explicit: "General TORSTENSON left his quarters at *Jaromirz* and went to *Schambach* and *Gitschin* and there established his head quarters." Another place corroborate this by stating that after the cannonade of *Königs Gratz*—"he had again gone to *Gitschin*, *Lictmeritz*, and *Melbig*."

ficient for a long time to come, its commandant, the famous Colonel POYRVULL (Paykull?*), who had distinguished himself by his absolutely wonderful defence against a tenfold force of Imperialists under General Count of WALLENSTEIN, while TORSTENSON was in Denmark, having been promoted to the rank of Major-General, turned over the command to another officer—Colonel WINTER—and joined the army in the field. (V. 720, 1st.)

About the time that TORSTENSON lay encamped at *Jaromirz*, the Imperial GENERALISSIMUS, on his return march from *Suabia*, halted his army at *Chamb*, [Cham—30 English miles N. E. of Ratisbon—on the Bohemian frontier,] where it remained in quarters, while he travelled, by post, to *Lintz*, to consult with the Emperor, FERDINAND III, his brother; and, on his return, continued his advance towards *Prague*, expecting to be joined along the road by GALLAS, BUCHHAIM and FERNEMONT, with their different corps. His and their approach, however, was so slow, and TORSTENSON'S movements were all so rapid, that the inhabitants of Prague did not feel at all secure against a *coup-de-main*. Accordingly, besides the Binnaw regiment, the garrison was still farther reinforced with 1,000 mus-

*The following is a striking demonstration of TORSTENSON'S capacity for judging of men's characters, and assigning each individual to that position for which he was best suited by his peculiar qualities: After the capture of Olmutz, he placed a strong garrison therein under one Colonel KERNIGAM; but the conduct of that officer was so unsatisfactory, that he shortly after sent Colonel PAYKULL, from his camp at Coel, to supersede him. A better selection could not have been made. The trust demanded superior courage, ability and energy; the new Commandant possessed every requisite. While TORSTENSON was far away in Denmark he not only defied the power of the Empire, but when the Imperial army was absent in Saxony, undertook important expeditions. In November 1643, BUCHHAIM, then Major General, with a numerous division, undertook the siege and pressed the place hard until the spring of 1644, when he was recalled to Vienna to assume the command of an army destined to act against RAGOCZY. To him succeeded Major General KRACKAU, who, although he had 3,500 troops—(the Swedish garrison from the first did not exceed 1,000 men, and we are at this time much reduced by deaths, and other accidents of war, who had to defend themselves against the enemies without, and repress the movements of the population within)—accomplished nothing; and, after a few months, turned over the command to Major General BORAY [Brouay?]. Disgusted with the siege, after 6 weeks, BORAY threw up the command and went to Italy, and was again succeeded by Major General MAXIMILIAN COUNT OF WALLENSTEIN, who continued before Olmutz until after the battle of Janikau, when he abandoned his works, and retired with precipitation on the approach of TORSTENSON. Thus, after 16 months' investment, PAYKULL was triumphant, having—with a garrison reduced to 600 men—maintained himself against 6,000 Imperialists; although, at one time, through the treachery of a Roman Catholic priest, one PETER POMMER, who had voluntarily promised to abjure his superstition and become a Christian i. e. Protestant, and was greatly favored by the Commandant—two corps, one of 600 and another of 60 Imperialists, had established themselves in strong positions, within the walls, before the Swedes discovered his treason, and their presence. Even then, PAYKULL was equal to the crisis, and—notwithstanding the whole Imperial forces marched to the assault, at the same time that their troops inside menaced his flank and rear—with troops inferior in number to one detachment of the enemy he drove them forth, repulsed the general assault, and once more defied Count WALLENSTEIN to do his worst. The writer is sorry to say the traitor priest, PETER POMMER, escaped with a soldier's death.

keteers, drafted from the Wallenstein, Don Felix, and Colleredo regiments.

When the Swedish army moved on *Landshut*, the ARCHDUKE, who had been expected daily in the Bohemian capital, where quarters had been prepared for his reception, lay with his army at *Klattau*—distant 60 miles to the S. W.—where it arrived some few days previous, so much fatigued and destitute of horses, that it was necessary to find it quarters in that immediate neighborhood. These tardy movements, which contrasted so strangely with the rapidity of TORSTENSON'S, coupled with the still greater sluggishness of GALLAS, and the fact that an Imperial Envoy had been sent to Dresden, to apply for quarters around *Zwickau*—60 English miles S. W. of Dresden, and full 80 English miles N. W. of Prague—would look as if the ARCHDUKE did not feel over-anxious for a battle with the Swedish GENERALISSIMO, but, in spite of his superior numbers, feared to encounter him, and was willing to sacrifice Bohemia to save his army. Perhaps there needs no better evidence of the perfect selfishness of the House of Hapsburg, than the fact, that in all their wars, they have sacrificed the country, without regard to the miseries or losses of their subjects, for the preservation of the army, on which their own personal interests depended. Experience has shown the wisdom of this course, as far as the safety of the Imperial family was concerned, and the maintenance of the haughtiest aristocracy that ever cursed a nation. What were the sufferings of a million subjects, the devastation of the richest districts, provided the pampered nobles were not submerged beneath the surges of invasion or misfortune. The very proverb, applied immediately to RADETSKI, after his campaigns of 1848, in Lombardy, that Austria existed but in her camp,* shows that the people, their feelings, and opinions, go for nothing.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that it was supposed by some that they, the Swedes, would soon march towards *Leipzig*, which they held with a strong garrison. This opinion was still farther strengthened, since a Palsgrave, a Landgrave, Major-General DOUGLAS and General BOLTZSTEIN, were at this time travelling from the army towards that city, where they were expected. Judging from these facts, the Imperialists may have

*These words are: "*In deinem B. ge. 1st Oesterre ch.*" "*Dans son camp est Autriche.*" (*Souvenir et Recits des Compagnes d'Autriche*, par H. Blaze de Bury, Paris, 1864.)

[The writer is well aware that the literal translation of these words is: "In thy (RADETSKI's) camp is Austria," but this "Cornelian laconism" is merely the reiteration of a sentiment, which can be found in many other authors—(Examine ALISON on the Treaty of Presburg, Harper's edition, Vol II, pages 375 '6.)]

† But altho' their circumstances were so much improved, the Swedes had lost great numbers by contagion; also several officers (of note), among them Colonel JORDAN, who, with Colonel COPY, lately the enterprising Commanders in *Cor. Neuburg*, had carried on the Swedish approaches against the *Spiegelberg*.

surmised that some undertaking of importance was in contemplation in that direction, because **TORSTENSON**, with the main Swedish army, had left *Bohemia* and was already in *Silesia*, having marched through *Trautenau*—in the extreme N. W. of *Bohemia*, on the right bank of the *Aupa*—and traversed the difficult passes of the Giant Mountains [*Riesen Gebirge*] by the valley of the *Staina* river—a confluent of the *Aupa* and the *Elbe*—and established his head-quarters at *Hradeck* or *Wunschelberg*—a town of Prussian *Silesia*, 11 English miles W. N. W. of *Glatz*—whence he had thrown out detachments, on different radii from that common centre, to the distance of from 20 to 40 English miles, and, thus, had occupied, among other places, *Frankenstein* and *Patschkau*, in the heart of Upper *Silesia*, towards the east; *Braunau*, *Opotschna* and *Neustadt*, in the circle of *Königs-Gratz*, in *Bohemia*, towards the west; and *Habelschwerdt*, *Mittelswald* and *Landcron*, on the frontiers of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, towards the south; so that the *County of Glatz*, completely surrounded, was, as it were, blockaded, and subject to whatever contributions he chose to levy on its population. Thence the **GENERALISSIMO** resumed his tortuous march—selecting for his halts and quarters, towns and districts hitherto comparatively free from hostile ravages, and consequently fertile in resources for the maintenance and comfort of his troops, and passing on through *Landsberg* [?], *Lyba*, and *Kupffernberg*—23 English miles S. S. W. of *Liegnitz*, halted once more, and took up his quarters in the districts bordering on the Duchy of *Breslau*, on the *Oder*. **KÖNIGSMARK** had his head-quarters at *Freiberg*, 2 [Ger., 8 to 10 Eng.] miles N. W. of *Schweidnitz*, whence, united, the two armies could move by an accustomed route on *Dresden* and on *Leipsic*. The only true motive, however, for these movements was to expedite the junction with the advancing corps of **WRANGEL**'s army.

While thus cantoned in *Silesia*, strong detachments of the Swedes continually made their way into *Bohemia*, to collect the contributions imposed but still unpaid.

Meanwhile the Swedish main-army was retracing its steps from *Kupffernberg*, through the Duchies of *Schweidnitz* and *Jauer*, into *Bohemia*.

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Some time previous, while the **ELECTOR OF SAXONY** was out upon a hunt near *Goblitz*—19 miles south-east of *Chemnitz*, at the foot of the northern slope of the Ore-Mountains (*Erz-Gebirge*)—a remarkably large eagle was discovered and brought down by a shot, which having broken its right wing, it was killed by the fall. The royal bird was so extraordinary, measuring ten feet between the tips of his wings, that his death and grandeur was commemorated in a painting and furnished a fertile theme of conversation. When the news of the truce between Sweden and Saxony was

communicated to **TORSTENSON**, for his approval, the trumpeter, who brought the despatches, related this incident, upon which the Swedish **GENERALISSIMO** made the following remark, which, when known abroad, gave rise to much discourse among the people, and may have influenced **Queen CHRISTINA** in the selection of one of the quarterings—a crowned lion, holding in one claw a piece of an eagle's wing (see page 276 *infra*)—of the coat of arms which she bestowed upon **TORSTENSON**, when, after his return to Sweden, she created him **COUNT OF ORTALA**. He is reported to have said—"Now that the **EMPEROR's** right wing was fractured and his left wing entirely crippled, [in the *Hered'ry St's*,] hereafter we will attack his body." And in accordance with this remark was the advice he gave to **WRANGEL**, "always to make the countries bordering on the Danube the theatre of operations and strike at the heart of Austria either through Moravia or through Bohemia."

* * *

Having passed through Remutz, Greiffenberg, and Osstadt, he appeared before the town of *Friedland*,*—in the extreme N. angle of Bohemia, on the *Wittich*, north of the *Lausnitz* mountains, 68 English miles N. N. E. of Prague—and at once advanced to the assault. After the Commandant and 20 musketeers had fallen, farther defence was deemed impossible, and town and castle surrendered at discretion. The march was then resumed, and one of the advanced corps discovered and fell upon a detachment of 200 Imperialists, escorting a drove of some 300 cattle; the greater part of whom were cut to pieces, and the convoy carried off as booty. By two routes, through *Reisdorf* and *Graffenstein*,† just S. E. of Zittau, on the frontier of Lusatia—the latter on the right bank [of the *Mandau*, which threads the lofty mountains to join] the *Neisse*—the Swedish forces passed through the wild valleys haunted by the mischievous imp, styled "*Rubazahl*," and turned the *Riesen Gebirge*, on the west, one, the left, by far the strongest (in number), column, keeping on along the road to *Melnik* and *Leitmeritz*, while another, the right, marched upon, established batteries and opened a fierce cannonade against the strong frontier castle of *Tetschen*—18 English miles N. N. E. of *Leitmeritz*, on the right bank of the *Elbe*—which was subsequently taken.

Colonel **REICHWALD**, who led the advance of the main body, the left column, with 500 Cavalry, had forced a pass, barricaded with trees, near *Gabelunka*—Gabel, Gabdau, or Jablona,

*This place gave the title of "DUKE" to **WALLENSTEIN**, whose castle is in the immediate vicinity. It was afterwards the property of **GALLAS**, who received it—without the title, however—as part of the price for abandoning and sacrificing his illustrious Commander. It now belongs to Count **OLAM GALLAS**, and contains some relics of its once great owner, who built the Upper Castle.

†**GREIFFENBERG**. *Graffenstein* must be an error.

on the Jung Fernbach, 50 English miles N. N. E. of Prague—through which the main Swedish army, returning from Silesia, poured into Bohemia. The route they followed went to and through *Stein*, *Wustig*, and *Meisslin*, along the slopes of the [Giant] Mountains;* but their movements were destitute of all their wonted energy, for the FIELD-MARSHAL-GENERALISSIMO'S sickness had increased to such a degree that his troops, regulating their movements by his powers of endurance, could not accomplish over 2 [German, 8 to to 10 English] miles each day.

That career of retributive triumph which no effort of human force or talent had hitherto been able to arrest, was at length brought to a conclusion by his own bodily infirmities. The terrible diseases which he had for such a lengthy period kept at bay had now acquired an intensity of anguish, that they had conquered even his indomitable courage and powers of resistance. The gout—it must be borne in mind that TORSTENSON was suffering also, at this very same time, from the torments of the gravel—sufficient in itself to overcome the fortitude of men, the most determined, rendering them helpless while the paroxysm lasts, which had tormented him throughout the exercise of his command as GENERALISSIMO, now mounted to his neck, and siezed upon his head and breast. Comparatively slight attacks of this terrific malady, are generally sufficient to render helpless, for the time being, individuals blessed with the strongest nerves and constitutions; but it is equally strange and true that for thirteen long years the Swedish GENERALISSIMO defied its violence, and, subject to its virulence, accomplished what few great military leaders, in the full vigor of their health and intellect, have ever dreamed of undertaking—succumbing only when the disease at once assailed the seat of reason and the fountain of vitality—his brain and heart—thus rendering further efforts or resistance impossible to human powers of endurance.†

*As these places are not laid down on any map to which the writer has had access, it is impossible to say—no dates or further data being furnished—whether TORSTENSON'S sickness came upon him at an earlier date, with such distressing and depressing violence: and yet, from the position of the paragraph, it would almost appear as if it referred to the march of the Swedish army across the barren mountains of *Klatsaw*,—a distance of 8 German miles—lying between *Znaim* and *Iglau*, in Moravia.

† DE CORMEILIN in his "History of the Popes, Philadelphia edition, vol. II page 307, alludes to the transports of joy with which the news of the assassination of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was received at Vienna and Rome, whose death, according to PUFFENDORF and several other historians, is chargeable, the act to FRANZ ALBERT, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg (see page 30 a 32 supra) the conception to that noble, the Emperor and the Pope. After examining and setting forth the intrigues of URBAN VIII, the policy and criminality of the Jesuits, he passes on to the papacy of INNOCENT X, who became Pope in 1644. This French writer—the author of one of the most remarkable works which has ever appeared, and is worthy the close perusal and reflection of every Protestant, if for no other reason than because it exhibits the opinions entertained in Europe by certain classes with regard to the Popes and their craft, recklessness, licentiousness, and even philosophical atheism—charges that, in the same manner, that Europe's greatest sovereign perished by the hand of a bravo at the instigation of URBAN, Duke BERNHARD of

Like a funeral procession, the Swedish army "dragged its slow length along," through a district famed for the natural beauty and magnificence of its varied scenery; like a funeral procession truly, for they were bearing to the tomb of *inertion* the *physical capacities* of their illustrious General.

Still, to the termination of his generalship, TORSTENSON was all THE TORSTENSON of *Breitenfeld*. The last flash of his military genius was as brilliant as when it shone at *Janikau*. This brings us to the first day of December; three days afterwards TORSTENSON relinquished the command, and as general—in the field—belonged to the historic past.

The same date and cause consigned to a far less glorious repose another war-chief—one who had often felt the weight of TORSTENSON'S superior powers—Count MATTHIAS GALLAS, famous for his unsurpassed ability in the art of ruining the armies intrusted to his leading, who, on account of long continued sickness and inability to take the field again, had resigned his commission as Field-Marshal of the Imperial army, in which he was succeeded by WILLIAM, COUNT VON LAMBOY, Major-General of the Roman Imperial Empire. (VI. 347.) Thus disappears from history, one whose name and acts recur with almost every page of the long chronicles of this tremendous struggle. (V. 720 and 746.)

For the last time in this historical-biography, it behoves the writer to represent the position of the Swedes and the Imperialists.

* * * *

The whole kingdom of Bohemia was filled with the Imperialists, regular troops, who, if they had exerted little more than common sense, and backed it with a medium courage, must

SAXE WEIMAR and BANNER, expiated their successes, triumphs over the Roman Catholic interests, by unnatural deaths, and intimates that INNOCENT was not *innocent* in this regard. These are his words (page 380):

"In Germany, the political horizon was also darkening, for the Court of Rome and the House of Austria. The war which had been until this time, carried on between the [Roman] Catholics and Protestants, with alternate reverses and success, threatened to become more terrible than under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. The Lutheran armies were commanded by Duke BERNARD of SAXE WEIMAR, one of the great captains of the day, a calm, intrepid man, joining the courage of the soldier to the moderation of the philosopher. Such a leader was too formidable for the papal cause, and he died of poison. BANNER [Banner], who succeeded him in the command, met the same fate. TORSTENSON, the Swedish general, was more fortunate than his predecessors, he escaped the dagger and poison."

On a frame so pregnant with the miseries of mortality, the Jesuits, the Pope and the Emperor doubtless thought a crime was thrown away and needless to consummate his fate—disease was doing their work with a certainty and torment equal to their wishes and their ends. The ALMIGHTY, however, who scorns bad men's labors and turns their evil counsels and attempts to His own service, and often on themselves, even on earth below, sustained the GENERALISSIMO till his work had been accomplished. His tour of duty ended, another, less able, but still equal to the completion of the undertaking assumed, the service, and the peace of Westphalia gave freedom of conscience to the Reformed, and "INNOCENT X, who perceived that the influence of the Holy (?) See was entirely lost in Germany," expended his vain fury in a disregarded Bull.

have been enabled to arrest the passage of the Swedish forces in such a difficult, mountainous country, full of troops and natural strong-holds, through which an enemy had to make his way by roads, most difficult at all times, easily susceptible of being rendered utterly impassable with little labor. A short exposition of the distribution of the troops, will serve to demonstrate their dread of **TORSTENSON**, and how they sacrificed the country and its population to their own safety. In the Circle of Bechin, in the extreme southeast, lay 3 regiments, the Buchhaim [Buchheim?] and Walther, of Cavalry, and Samedo, of Dragoons, some retired officers [*dienstlosen-officiere*—*officiers hors de service en retraite*,] and the General Staff under the Senior General [*Feld-Zeug-Meister**] **FERNEMONT**, himself at *Budweiss*, and Field-Marshal-Lieutenant **BUCHHAIM**, whose head-quarters were at *Thabor*; in the circle of *Chrudim*, Major-General (*Feld wacht meister*) **HANAU**, with the Schleunitz and Rickhart regiments of cavalry; in the circle of *Czaslau*, bordering on that of *Iglau* in *Moravia*, Gen'l-Lieutenant (*Feld-zeug-meister-lieutenant*) **BASSAMPIER**, with his own body regiment, also the Crafft, Lutlich (Liege), and Capaun regiments of Cavalry; in the circle of *Bunzlau* (Boleslau), in the extreme north—where **TORSTENSON** again broke into Bohemia—the old Piccolomini—who retired from the district they were left to guard at the first glimpse of the invaders' cornets—and Palfi regiments of horse; in the circle of *Leitmeritz*, in the north west—wherein **TORSTENSON** captured two fortified towns and valuable magazines, the whole district one succession of defiles and strongholds—the Gonzaga, Colloredo and Goltz regiments (of foot?); in the circle of *Elnbogen*, the most western, Field-Marshal **HATZFELD**'s general-staff, and the Stahl and Auersperg regiments (of foot?); in the circle of *Saatz*, adjoining the preceding, General **TRAUDITSCH**, with his own body-regiment, also the Werner regiment of Horse; the (San?) Marco regiment of Croats and the Irliskaisky regiment of Polacks (Poles); in the circle of *Moldau*—N. of that of Bechin, W. of that of *Czaslau*—Colonel **TAPPE** with his own regiment of Horse; in the circle of *Kanigs-Gratz*, the most north-eastern—which, except the capital itself, to all intents and purposes, was as much the Swedes' as Sweden—the Eberstein and the Young-Nassau regiments (of foot?); in the circle of *Podiebrad*, west of the preceding—to which a similar remark applies respect-

* Let foreign Authorities read as they will, *General-Feld-Zeug-Meister* signifies in this connection Grand Master of the Artillery or Chief of the Ordnance. **SUYS** (*SOYE*) occupied that exalted position, and commanded the Imperial Artillery at the battle of Breitenfeld. **CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL** and **ARWID WITTENBERG**, both, in turn, at the head of the Swedish Artillery, were designated by this title. This is one exemplification, among many of the difficulties encountered in furnishing accurate translations of old German military works with the assistance only of modern military technical books of reference. (See note † page 255.)

† He was shortly after shot in a duel, by Colonel **TOBACK**.

ing its possession—the Colleredo regiment of foot and the *Passue* Dragoons; in the circle of *Prague*, the Fernemont, Bodœus, Mandelsh, Ranfft, Don Felix and Passahai regiments of foot, the Hatzfeld, Montecuculi, Auersperg, Pallavicino, Philip and old Nassau regiments of horse and the artillery; in the city of *Prague* itself, under the COUNT OF COLLOREDO, 4 regiments (of foot?) the Binau, Young-Colloredo, Buchhaim, and Laszky-Wallenstein, for which the city had to levy 300 men (recruits?), and the Jews were compelled to furnish the equipments; in the circle of *Pilsen*, adjoining the Bavarian Electorate, the Gallas and Suys regiments of Horse and the Pompeji, Boccarme, Lanau, Giesenburg (of foot?), likewise the Gallas regiment of dragoons, the Croats and the Company of Guards (*Leib-Compagnie*); and in Silesia, where as we have seen the Swedes did that which pleased them to the utmost—7 regiments (of horse?) and in the county-town of *Glatz*—the only spot within the district which was not all *TORSTENSON'S*—several regiments more. In all 21 regiments of horse, 3 of dragoons, 22 of foot, 1 of (organized?) Croats, 1 of [organized?] Poles, a large body of Croats [irregulars?], the troop of body-guards and the artillery; besides which there were 7 [of horse?] in *Silesia* and 3 [several could not mean less] (of foot?) in *Glatz*.

Taking as the basis of a calculation the data furnished by the *GESCHICHTE DES KRIEGSWESENS* [see note, *CAVALRY*, last ¶, page 157, and note *INFANTRY*, last ¶ but one, page 159, *supra*], and allowing that the mounted regiments, 15 of which had just returned from arduous service in Bavaria, had only ONE-THIRD of their proper numbers present with the colors, that the Silesian regiments were cavalry, which is more than likely from what goes before, and that the infantry regiments—whose complements are always more complete than cavalry—were TWO-THIRDS full; the Imperial generalissimus must have had 49,000 mounted and 30,000 foot soldiers, besides the artillery,* scattered, it is true,

*That the charge of over estimating the forces at the EMPEROR'S disposal may not be urged against the above calculation, the following remarks and official statement of the Austrians are furnished, to enable the reader to judge for himself. If its estimates are correct, nothing can demonstrate more clearly how completely *TORSTENSON* had disorganized the Imperial army at Janikau, and brought the military power of the Empire to the very verge of ruin. After six months opportunity to recruit and recuperate, if the subsequent return is worthy of credence, these Austrian Cavalry Regiments were mere skeletons. The *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* (V. 692. 1st and 2d.) reads thus:—

"After the conquest of Zittau, [see page 253, *supra*,] *KÖNIGSMARK* had occupied the strong castle of Graeffenstein—garrisoned by 20 Imperial horse, and as many musketeers, under a Lieutenant—without firing a single shot. Subsequently, however, on the 29th September, (O. S.) *KÖNIGSMARK*—although Colonel *REICHWALD* had come up to his assistance with 8 regiments from Magdeburg—was repulsed in his attack upon the strong castle of Friedland—on the right bank of the Wittich, and on the road from Gorlitz to Prague—after having lost 200 soldiers and a Colonel in the attempt, and laid the town in ashes. On the approach of *KÖNIGSMARK*, not only strong detachments of the forces under *GALLAS* put themselves in motion to endeavor to arrest his march,

but still susceptible of facile concentration, to which **TORSTEN-SON** could not oppose, magnifying every advantage, 15,000 of all arms.

Although, at the moment when the Imperialists were quartered as above, the Swedes were on the frontiers of Silesia, chiefly around *Kupfernberg*—on the left bank of the head waters of the *Bober* directly N. of Trautenau—and in that vicinity—the Bohemian population were not much better off, for they had only changed their masters and regained oppressors, who seized all that they needed on the plea of right-divine, as well as that of might—since the ARCHDUKE's forces were billeted throughout the districts of Austria, above the *Enns* [Enns] on this, the north side of the Danube, and the rest of the Imperial regiments, as we have just seen, throughout the kingdom of Bohemia and Upper Silesia.

but likewise Major General ZARADETSKI, who, with 3,000 foot and 500 dragoons, had held positions at Patawitz, and expected to be reinforced by 4 Imperial and 8 Saxon regiments. The Archduke's [LEOPOLD WILLIAM's] baggage, and 6,000 men, [see page 249, supra. ¶ 2nd.] were already on the march to Passau; the rest of the Imperial troops still lay distributed along the banks of the Danube, from Presburg up to Lintz. Field Marshal-Lieutenant General GALLAS, with 4,000 horse, was likewise under orders to join the Bavarian-Electorate forces; so that the combined Austro-Bavarian army might be stronger than the French, to whom they were to oppose.

The Roster [*Lista*] of the Troops thus moving to the assistance of the Elector of Bavaria, reads as follows:—

COMPANIES, in which these

Regiments were lying, Dec. 1, 1645.

	REGIMENTS.	COMPANIES.	MEN.
Prague,	Montecuculi,	8	450
Pilsen,	POMPPIO,	8	350
Saatz,	Traudisch,	8	300
Prague,	Hatzfeld,	8	300
Pilsen,	Bocarme,	8	350
Prague,	Palavicino,	10	450
Pilsen,	Lanaw,	8	350
Prague,	Auersperg,	8	300
Einbogen,	Sthal,	6	320
Prague,	Old Nassau,	6	300
Saatz,	{ Wernier,	10	430
	{ MARCO, [Croats,]	10	300
Prague,	Philip,	6	300
Pilsen,	Gallas Dragoons,	7	200
	Savelli "	1	100

Aggregate, 15 Regiments, 112 Companies, 4,740

with 36 pieces of Artillery, great and small, and 300 baggage wagons.

This would make a Company range from 18 (38 to 44) to 100 men.

To this Division was attached Colonel MISKINE, with:—

Koenigs-Gratz,	{ 134 Eberstein,	} Total, 637 men, making in all, 5,378.
	{ 133 Young Nassau,	
Pilsen,	135 Giesenburg,	
	135 Commanded (i.e. selected) men.	

¶ A Swedish brigade of Infantry consisted of at least 2016 men; a demi, or reformed brigade or regiment, of 1,324 men; and a battalion, of 504 men. GUSTAVUS reduced the huge regiments—which previously comprised from 2,000 to 3,000 men—first, to 1,300, and afterwards to 1,008 men. HARTZ remarks, in several places, that the Imperial regiments—organized on a basis similar to the old Swedish formation—were always stronger than the latter. This justifies my calculation.

(Hist. GUS. ADOL. I. 361.)

The Count of ZWERBI, the Imperial Commissary General, had arrived at *Prague*, with orders, from the EMPEROR to distribute quarters to the different regiments, since the ARCHDUKE's regiments had already reached the Peginer (Bechin?) and the Puntzler (Buntzlau or Boleslaw?) counties—(*Creyssen*).

The Archduke-Generalissimus himself, with the whole general-staff was at *Klattau*; the artillery at *Schuttenhofen*; the regiments under Field-Marshal GALLAS, Lieutenant-General of the Austrian army, were on the march to join the 21 regiments which had been concentrated on the *Moldau*, under the Count of BUCHHAIM and *Feld-Zeug-Meister* FERNEMONT. Farther, in pursuance of the Emperor's orders. Commissary-General WERBI, had inspected all the magazines in Prague, and had decreed that each citizen should bring into the magazines whatever provisions he possessed over and above the quantity required for his own and his family's subsistence; for which he would receive a certificate, hereafter to be credited on the assessment of each individual, at the next sitting of the provincial diet; each receipt would reduce a person's tax according to its tenor; or else the amount represented was to be repaid in money. The stores of the merchants were still closed in the Bohemian capital, and an edict was read in the synagogue that the Jews should report whatever debts were due to them from foreign merchants, under the severest penalties for disobedience. In Prague already lay six Imperial regiments, and several others were to follow to reinforce the garrison; so that the citizens were hard-pressed, to furnish quarters for so many troops. Every day 500 laborers were employed to break up the ice upon the *Moldau*; which, at this point, is over one thousand paces wide, but very shallow. Above the Great Prague Bridge, it forms a sort of cascade, and, below, it is only deep enough to float off rafts of timber. These labors extended over nearly 3 English miles—from the foot of the "black precipices," surmounted by the dusky battlements of *Wischenrath* (Wyssehrad), i. e. the "Acropolis," up the river, to the south, down the stream, to the farthest limits of the *Neustadt* (new city), which embraced, as it were, the *Altstadt*,* the quarters of trade and business—and were undergone for fear lest TORSTENSON, whose advanced guards already stood at *Jung-Buntzlau*—32 English miles N. E. of the city—should make one of those sudden desperate efforts for which he was so famous, to achieve its capture—in which case the breaking up

* The Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the Madlon or Madlo regiment of cavalry were decapitated in the irregular open space called the *Grosse Ring*, in the very centre of the *Altstadt*, before the town house (City Hall or *Rath Haus*)—pulled down with the exception of the tower which dates from 1400—and opposite the famous old *Thein Kirche*—distinguished for its two towers with their peculiar peaked roofs and four turrets—built in 1407. This square has been the scene of almost all the terrible judicial murders, executions and insurrections which have disgraced Bohemia, and likewise served as the lists for tournaments, and the theatre of festivities.

of the ice would preclude the march of his columns of attack across the river by such a convenient natural bridge.

The situation, topography and appearance of *Bohemia's* capital, are all peculiar.* In the XVIIth century, as at present, the *Moldau* [T. E VI. 338] formed a complete crescent within the precincts of the city, whose horns embraced the old and new towns, on the eastern bank, having at one extremity, the south, the dark and precipitous rocks, surmounted by the blackened battlements of the *Wyssehrad*, and, at the other, the ancient buildings of that famous University, which ranks as the first great public school of Germany, the *Carolinen Thal*, whose foundations dated from 1348. These were united by straight walls and primitive lines of defence, built according to the system of the feudal-age, afterwards strengthened by redoubts and bastions. Opposite the centre of the old city, on the western bank, stood the *Kleinseite* [Little Side], appropriate name, strongly protected by fortifications—the best the engineering art could trace, then in the infancy of its development, as well as by its natural position—the town itself completely hid from the approaching traveler, coming from the north, by the old palace of *Bohemia's* monarchs, the *Hradschin*, striking from its extent and prominence, seated upon a steep and lofty hill.

It must have been a glorious vision to the way-farer or soldier when, after pressing on through districts, whose fertile products had been harvested by the same flames which had devoured the humblest cottage and the proudest mansion, from a sudden point of view, its almost innumerable turrets, domes and spires, burst upon his sight in all their mingled European and their Oriental beauty, strangeness and variety. The very inequalities of the ground, over which the city spread itself; the frowning rocks and gentle eminences, on which its majestic buildings stood conspicuous, imposing in their vastness and grandeur of conception; the slopes on which the dwellings and time-honored edifices rose, receding from the river, tier by tier, while, through the midst the *Moldau*, fretting in tones agreeable, in summer, but madly roaring in a yeast of foam in winter, swept along—wide as our *Hudson* opposite to *Albany*—diversified with islands; all, all, united in rendering *Bohemia's* ancient seat of royalty the most attractive city to the eye that *Germany* exhibited.

* A friend of the writer, remarkable for his military tastes, extensive foreign travel, and close reading, in his *Journal of a Tour through Bohemia*, makes a curious remark therein with regard to *Prague*: "*Theresien Stadt*"—one of whose principal means of defence is the facility with which the surrounding country can be laid under water by means of sluices—"a fortress on the *Elbe*, [below the junction of the *Moldau*, and] at the confluence of the *Eger*, has never yet been taken." Reflecting upon this fact, and the location of *Prague*, a question suggests itself: *Prague* is seated in a basin, and, below it, the banks of the river *Moldau* are so high, could not an enemy in possession of the country in that direction, by means of a dam, completely flood the town, and by such means reduce it?

Such a prize, it might be well supposed, would have presented a temptation to the sword of **TORSTENSON**, but he judged otherwise. As a mere conquest, its capture could not add one leaflet to his chaplet. He was one who only fought to deal painful and mortal blows to that despotic power, whose enmity alone could militate with success against the Swedish interests and the Reformed Faith. The glory which he sought was not a barren glory, which weaker minds are dazzled with, and led astray by, but a triumph prolific in results. **TORSTENSON** was the utilitarian General of the time. He set about the work of desolation in the Austrian states, as one of the most telling means towards his great end, the abasement of the Empire. Every hour his troops were stationed in its territories had been just so much gain to Sweden, so much loss to Austria, and the nearer that his contributions, ravages, and steel-enforced authority drew nigh toward the Danube, was just so much the deeper wound, more galling insult, and more irreparable injury to Protestant-Germany's sworn tormentor and arch-despot.

What is more, Prague was no virgin-stronghold, so far as glory was concerned. Already in this war, twice had the queenly city been ravished from the arms of Austria. The **ELECTOR-PALATINE** and his adherents had reveled in her charms, spontaneously accorded, and the Saxons, under **ARNHEIM**—as a soldier and a man, not to be named in the same breath with **TORSTENSON**—had seized upon her riches and her beauty, and enjoyed them to the full. What **ARNHEIM** did achieve, could have presented no insuperable obstacle to one so vastly his superior in all the qualities necessary to their acquisition. **TORSTENSON'S** mission was arrested when restrained to the defence of walls. Like the **BLACK DOUGLAS**, he "loved to hear the lark sing better than the mouse squeak."

Master of the open country, his Cavalry—always maintained on such a footing of efficiency as made it equal to any service which its capabilities, in their most extended application, could legitimately render—seemed ubiquitously-active in gathering in successive crops with each successive want, until the whole surrounding circles over which they swept were totally exhausted. And, then, the **GENERALISSIMO** moved on to other districts, to batten on the very life-blood of the **EMPEROR**—the pecuniary and alimentary resources of the Austrian's patrimonial fields. To **TORSTENSON** inured the glory of forcing Austria,—Sweden's direst—and Denmark—her most ancient, enemy,—to provide most bountifully all the maintenance and aid-recuperative in money, horses, military stores, and food, which his armaments required. Almost the only subsidies that Sweden furnished him, was the strong, hardy and patriotic bone and sinew of her land, investments which her great General made to pay such usury as almost rendered half the Empire bankrupt.

The Imperialists had ample reason for this alarm, and all the consequent precautions; for two Swedish captains of cavalry, von GRÄFFENSTEIN and SKAHL, had pressed forward gallantly with 100 troopers and 50 dragoons even to *Jung-Buntzlau*, posted some vedettes around the town, and then retired across the *Gitzera* to *Weisswasser*—8 English miles N. N. W. of Buntzlau—and *Bohmisch-Leipa* on the *Polzen*. This astounding movement so alarmed the old Piccolomini regiment, numbering 900 horsemen, quartered therein, that their commandant—who hitherto supposed the Swedes were still beyond the mountains in Silesia—ordered a retreat to *Buntzlau*—some 18 miles S. W. on the *Elbe*, opposite *Brandeiss*, and only 14 miles N. E. of Prague. Scarcely an hour afterwards, when this regiment had just effected the passage of the *Iser*, Colonel REICHWALD—the same who forced the Pass of *Gabelunka*, who had been apprised of its proximity—burst into *Jung-Buntzlau*, with 2000 cavalry, hoping either to capture the whole Imperial corps or cut it all to pieces.

On the 1st of December, TORSTENSON (as hereinbefore referred to) opened a fierce cannonade against *Friedland* with 24 pieces of artillery, on which, having made terms, the town capitulated.* Thence he marched to *Leitmeritz*—which commands a bridge, across the *Elbe*, to *Lobositz*,† on the left bank, opposite. On the appearance of the Swedes, the garrison, composed of (from 120 to) 150 Imperial soldiers, under a captain, retired, in time, across the river, and abandoned the citizens, who were all under arms, to their fate. Thereupon the town surrendered, and the Swedish flying corps made themselves master of this important pass without resistance, passing over and pressing forward with their usual enterprise and courage some 35 English miles to *Saatz*, upon the *Eger*. In *Leitmeritz* the Swedes captured large quantities of provisions, amounting to 8000 Strich‡ of grain and 800 Eimers of wine.

This achievement, a conquest so welcome in its consequences to his troops, ended TORSTENSON'S career, and well repaid the GENERALISSIMO'S enterprise, who, though prostrate with disease, remained a victor to the last hour of his generalship.§ At

*Here is a striking proof of TORSTENSON'S superiority. Two months previous KÖNIGSMARK had been repulsed therefrom with considerable loss. [See Note *, Page n.]

†The best Austrian maps locate Lobositz a little below Leitmeritz, on the opposite shore of the Elbe, which forms a complete elbow between the two towns, and thus renders them opposite, in one sense of the word.

‡One hundred Bohemian *strich* are equal to 257 bushels and 2 2 5 pecks or about 257 1 2 bushels, 257 148283-390781. The Austrian *Eimer* is equal to a large bucket, say two to three gallons.

§TORSTENSON'S title, while in command in Germany, reads as follows: The Most Illustrious and Most High Lord ~~ERONARD TORSTENSON~~ ERONARD TORSTENSON, by the respective Councils of Her Royal Majesty and the Confederates of the Crown of Sweden, chosen General-Leader, (*Generallissimus*) and Governor General of Pomerania.*

*GENEROSSISS, Dn., Dn., LEONHARD TORSTENSON, REGIE MAJESTATI et CORONÆ SVEDICÆ CONFEDERATISq RESPECTIVE A CONSILLIIS, DUCTOR EXERCITII, in GERMANIA GENERALIS. GENERALIS & GUBERN. POMERAN.

Leitmeritz or *Aussig*—11 English miles N. W. of it upon the *Elbe*—the third day after *Friedland* surrendered, and the same day or the next after he captured *Leitmeritz*, **TORSTENSON** relinquished the command to Major-General—afterward Grand Master of the Swedish Ordnance and Field-Marshal—**ARWID WITTENBERG**.

The reports of these captures which demonstrated that, although to all appearance completely prostrated, the embers of **TORSTENSON'S** energy was still sufficient to electrify, rekindle and maintain the vigor of the Swedish arms, brought the **ARCHDUKE** to *Budweis*, at which point he called together all the most distinguished Imperial leaders and held a solemn council of war. Thither repaired Generals **TRAUDITSCH**, **BUCHHAIM**, **FERNEMONT** and all the other officers of highest grade to try and devise some means of arresting the triumphant career of their great enemy. Even the invalid **GALLAS** was brought to the place of meeting to shed the light of his experience on their councils. All antidotes were worthless but cold steel and cannon balls, and those the Swedes were no ways backwards in administering. So, as on previous occasions, they separated without result, and **TRAUDITSCH** with some regiments took up a position at *Rakonitz* to observe the Swedes from a safe distance and within a short and easy march of the strong walls of Prague.

While these things were transpiring in the north, the fortresses which **TORSTENSON** had garrisoned, were already reinvested by the Imperialists. The Swedish commandant of *Crems*—who had recaptured, by surprise, the two redoubts which had been taken by the Austrians, *St. Johann* and *Weinzirlen*, and thereby once more completely stopped the passage of the Danube, saw himself blockaded by 4,000 Imperialists; an equal number had invested *Iglau*. The castle of *Shierowitz*, in Bohemia, belonging to Count **SCHLATTAU**, besieged by overpowering numbers, had surrendered, and the Swedish garrison had been replaced by 90 Imperial dragoons.

Although the **GENERAISSIMO** had failed at *Brunn*, the Moravian capital had been preserved at a most fearful price to Austria; for, since the Swedes were forced to raise the siege, more than 5000 Imperialists had died within its walls.

Thus **TORSTENSON** had done his will on Austria in the field. Had the powers of his siege-artillery been as relatively great as that in use at present, he would have done his will on Austria's strongest bulwarks with a like facility. Of his own free will, but in accordance with good policy, **TORSTENSON** retired from the Danube; for such a judge of men as he was could well foresee that Sweden and her allies had no General to replace him capable of carrying out his fearless but sa-

gacious strategy. Not driven but withdrawing;* sweeping the country with the besom of destruction; halting where he would and levying contributions; pouring shells and cannon balls into each castle, incendiary balls and shells into each town, according as he deemed their actions worthy chastisement; leisurely, by the longest road, he had traversed Eastern Bohemia, turned into Silesia, returned into Northern Bohemia, and, forced to keep his litter, stood upon the confines of the Saxon circles, pealed forth defiance, threw down the gauntlet, and, finding none dared take it up, was gone. Torture-stricken as he was, even yet no Austrian General dared to venture within the sweep of the crippled lion's paw. TORSTENSON, writhing on his couch of pain, struck greater terror to the Emperor's adherents than any previous enemy—except his Immortal Master—in the full exercise of all their mental faculties and corporeal powers. The shadow of his greatness seemed to benumb and paralyze the efforts of his enemies; even to the last moment, the Imperialists shrank from rousing that wonderful genius which had never flashed upon the battle field but to annihilate. Without a living equal as a warrior, TORSTENSON disappeared from the scene of his glory.†

*TORSTENSON, unmolested, to make good his communications with his base of operations, threatened by vastly superior numbers, withdrew at his ease, taking up such positions as would render the junction of his subordinates a mere matter of quietly marching into the positions allotted to them, doing whatever he felt was for his interest to the enemy's country, and providing all his troops with ample supplies. Having once concentrated all the Swedish troops, so that they were perfectly in hand, (susceptible of manipulation by any practised hand,) with their line of retreat or advance assured to them, then, and not before, he relinquished the command. It is conceded by all military men that a well conducted retreat may confer more honor than the most brilliant victory. What rank must then be assigned to this withdrawal? A somewhat similar movement, but nothing in comparison for vigor of execution and magnitude of results—although, to laymen, apparently more successful than TORSTENSON'S—was RADETSKY's forced retreat from Milan, in 1848. Arrived at Verona, the veteran Marshal published an order of the day to his troops, containing the expressive words: "On military grounds, and in my capacity of Commander, I say you have retired before the enemy; you have not been conquered." TORSTENSON could have said: "Swedes! on military grounds, and in my capacity of GENERALISSIMO, I say you have done my pleasure upon Austria; you have withdrawn, because the land is a desert, and Desolation and Disease sit enthroned thereon; retiring to return, step by step asserting your superiority, regulating every hour's march by my own will, and that alone."

†When the war broke out between Sweden and Denmark, in 1642, FERDINAND III. indulged in lively hopes that his prospects would be vastly improved. GALLAS, with the greater part of the Imperial army, was despatched into Jutland. This movement, it was hoped, with the assistance of the Danes, would give TORSTENSON the finishing blow. Thus the Swedes would be caught between two fires, and their army completely ruined. GALLAS, as expected, did actually effect a junction with the Danish forces in Jutland; but, with his usual inefficiency, managed matters so badly, that the Danes became enraged against him,—and TORSTENSON obtained one advantage after another over him. Overwhelmed with obloquy, after his forces were half annihilated, GALLAS was obliged to make a precipitate retreat into Germany, whither TORSTENSON followed him, and finally chased him back into Bohemia.

Thereupon the Emperor, FERDINAND III. again removed GALLAS from the command of the army, and placed General HATZFELD at the head of the Imperial forces. Near Janikau, in Bohemia, this new Commander-in-Chief [in obedience to orders] hazarded

"Then," says SPORSCHIL, "this Great General* left the service, he, who, with his crippled (lamed) body, had made more rapid marches than any military leader of his time, and had, it might

a battle—a risk GALLAS never could be induced to run; and, once more, the armies of the EMPEROR sustained a terrible and disastrous defeat. HATZFELD himself was taken prisoner, and his army was almost annihilated. Extremely alarmed at the result of this conflict, the EMPEROR—who, at this juncture, was at Prague, near by—fled to Vienna. Then, TORSTENSON sent Colonel HELLMUTH WRANGEL back again to Jutland, to continue the war against the Danes. The result was, Denmark was soon after compelled to conclude a peace with Sweden, at Bromsebro, on the 18th (13th) August, 1655.

At this moment, everything seemed to presage that FERDINAND III. would be plunged into irremediable difficulties. After the unfortunate issue of the battle of Janikau, Bohemia, Moravia, and even Austria itself, were laid open to the fierce destroying Swedes, who, at one time, displayed their banners before the very eyes of the inhabitants of Vienna. TORSTENSON, however, established himself in very safe and permanent positions in Moravia, wherein he undertook the siege of Bunn.—Meanwhile, RAGOCZY, Prince of Transylvania, stood victorious [on the Austrian frontier] in Hungary, and a treaty had been concluded [between him and TORSTENSON], by which it was agreed that the Swedish and the Transylvanian armies should unite. TURKENE, likewise, was in receipt of orders from the Court of France, to press forward his invading march towards the Danube. Thus, the EMPEROR had every reason to fear that these three terrible enemies would join their forces in the very heart of his Empire.

By a strange interposition of good fortune, FERDINAND was saved from this impending catastrophe, which could so easily and speedily have arrived. Although it would have been for the interest of Turkey to see the power of the Emperor diminished, the Sultan, IBRAHIM, who now sat upon the throne of OTTHMAN, threatened to make war against the Prince of Transylvania, if he did not cease hostilities against the Emperor. This threat compelled RAGOCZY to conclude a peace with FERDINAND, on the 16th August, 1645.

By this unexpected measure, the Emperor was relieved from all danger in that quarter, and the imminent peril in which, for the moment, he had found himself, passed over. Notwithstanding, he could not prevent the Swedes from taking up their winter quarters in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

Throughout this year, (1645,) the French had fought with varying success; at length, on the 3d of August, near Allersheim, they had obtained a doubtful victory, in contesting which MEXOR was killed.

On the 27th of the same month, JOHN GEORGE I. Elector of Saxony, concluded an armistice with the Swedes, to afford some little opportunity for recuperation to his wasted and exhausted territories. *Words cannot express the sufferings which Germany had experienced in consequence of the war. Whole cities were almost entirely destitute of inhabitants, and extensive districts [once so productive] presented the appearance of the most miserable deserts. In Saxony, the population had been reduced to one-half; in Bohemia three-quarters had perished; in Wurtemberg but one-tenth remained.*

Never before had such a state of misery been witnessed, as now existed throughout Germany, the details of which would prove as devoid of pleasure and instruction as the mere repetition of the crimes and cruelties from which it had resulted.

Previous to this, however, in the beginning of the year 1644, the Embassadors of France, at length, made their appearance in the Peace Congress; but, notwithstanding their arrival, that Government was really not solicitous to bring about a termination of hostilities. At all events, the only peace which they desired was such a one as would assign to France the greatest possible amount of German territory, and so reconstitute the political structure of Germany, that thereby France might acquire greater facilities for the future invasion of the Empire. With this object, the French Envoys raised one difficulty after another, so that it was not until the opening of the year 1645, that the negotiations for a peace were taken up in earnest.

Nor was the Emperor FERDINAND III. faultless in this respect. For a long time he had insisted on the point that Deputies of none of the minor German States should take part in any of the deliberations; whereupon both Sweden and France replied that without them they would not treat at all. During the preceding year, 1643, the misfortunes which had befallen his armies compelled the

a A misery not susceptible of description, brooded over all Germany.

* FELDHEER, Gr: FALTHEER, pronounced Falthera, Sw: GENERALISSIMUS, literally General-commanding-in-chief.

be said, subjected Fortune to his Genius and Experience."² Fortune hitherto had brought all other conquerors beneath her yoke; it remained for TORSTENSON to subdue the fickle goddess and render Fortune subservient to his intellect and intrepidity.

PUFFENDORF closes the mention of his resignation with these simple words; "Hitherto TORSTENSON supported the weight of affairs in Germany, with a great deal of glory and reputation; finding himself more and more afflicted with the gout, *which made him lose many opportunities of annoying his enemies*, he quitted the command of the army."

The "GESCHICHTE DES KRIEGSWESENS," that able Prussian military-text-book, remarks in this connection that "sick, he (TORSTENSON) left the scene of his greatest victory (*Janikau*) and marched towards Misnia, by the way of Bohemia and Silesia, *without being, in the least, molested in his movements by the Imperialists*. Soon after he departed from the theatre of war and returned to Sweden, sick and infirm, but only after having won imperishable renown."

BECKER reads: "At length, here (in Bohemia), totally exhausted and broken down by disease, * * * he (TORSTENSON) laid aside the Baton of Command, which he had wielded with such remarkable valor, and, by whose exercise, he had not only restored but increased the fame which the Swedish arms had acquired under his immortal predecessor, preceptor and king, GUSTAVUS.

"*Behind him*," says that "true German," honest WOLFGANG MENZEL, "*he left nothing but wasted lands and desolation, ruins, and corpses; but, with him, he bore off Immortal Laurels.*"

Although the Thirty Years' War lingered on for 34 months longer, throughout that period none of the magnificence of GUSTAVUS, BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR, BANNER, but more particularly TORSTENSON'S achievements, flood its records with their splendor. No more the fast succeeding bulletins of glorious victories and heroic deeds charmed the Swedish people into forgetfulness of the pinching want which reigned throughout their land, and nerved them to support the grievous burthens, almost too

EMPEROR to concede this point. Even toward the end of the same year, after long and wearisome debates, arguments and replies, nothing as yet had been accomplished towards a real pacification. The negotiations were carried on at two points at the same time; the one at Osnabruck, between Sweden, the Emperor, and the Catholic princes of the Empire; the other at Munster, between Germany and France. Thus, hostilities were still protracted through [literally "fell into"] 1646. Meanwhile, TORSTENSON, always tormented by sickness and bodily infirmities, relinquished the command, and was succeeded by CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL.—(Translated from the History of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and of the Thirty Years' War, by LUDWIG FLATHE, Supernumerary Professor of History in the University of Leipzig, 1847. Vol. II, Pages 1019-22.)

*Dann ging der grosse Feldherr, der mit gelahmtem Korper raschere Züge, als jeder andere Heerführer seiner Zeit, unternommen und das Glück gleichsam seiner Einsicht unterworfen hatte SPORASCHIL, 660.

† "Hinter sich," sagt der treue Deutsche, WOLFGANG MENZEL, in seiner klassischen Geschichte der Deutschen, S. 128 der Ausgabe in einem Bande, "ließ er ausgestorbene Gegenden, Trümmer und Leichen; mit sich nahm er unsterbliche Lorbeern." SPORASCHIL, 660.

great for human strength to bear ; extraordinary taxes, payable in blood and sweat and tears. The lustre of TORSTENSON'S victories," says GEIJER, "had diverted [the] attention [of the Swedish nation] from domestic grievances." Thus the great FIELD-MARSHAL "who filled up the measure of his country's glory," achieved a double triumph, and while he established the rights of Sweden and advanced her interests in the Empire, by the influence of his vast successes, maintained the pillar of the state firm and erect at home. His task had been fulfilled ; henceforth the work required hands less skillful to complete it. The architect had planned and ended the construction of a temple, worthy to receive the statue of his martyred Hero Sovereign, a temple dedicated to the fame of Sweden's armies. Inferior minds but stronger limbs were all sufficient to clear away the rubbish and regulate the courts.

Who has not admired the language of Othello, bidding farewell to Generalship. So appropriate are his words that it would seem as if they were intended to apply to the eagle-winged Grand-Master of Artillery, TORSTENSON.

"Farewell the plumed troop and the big wars,
That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!
Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,
The spirit stirring drum, the ear piercing fife,
The royal banner, and all quality,
Pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war!
And O you mortal engines, whose rude throats
The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit,
Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!"

* * * * *

Against the aristocracy of Austria, the writer has, on several different occasions, expressed his feelings with such force and freedom, that it seems due not only to his readers but to himself to explain his reasons, and contrast them with the Gothic and Protestant chivalry who were carrying on the war in the heart of Germany with equal courage, energy and intellect. Having exposed their unfitness for their positions and instituted a comparison, those who read these pages will then be enabled to judge whether the condemnation was the offspring of a just appreciation or the mere ebullition of prejudice and spleen.*

* But while these remarks concerning a pampered aristocracy would seem to endorse the superiority of men of humble birth, no such impression is intended. The miserable demagogues, unprincipled babblers, who too often direct the helm of state in these United States and influence or control all legislation, were they not as ignorant as wicked would remember that but one or two men in a century are born generals, and even those rare exceptions rather acquire by instruction than possess innate the necessary qualifications. To make officers needs good schools, practice in the field, meritorious examples and natural abilities. Without experience, intelligence can accomplish little, without intelligence a man may become by practice a military machine, never an efficient general officer. The reason why men born noble or rich rarely make good soldiers is that they will not submit to the preliminary drudgery of discipline, or privations inseparable from a soldier's lot, and moreover rarely possess constitutions sufficiently enduring to undergo the vicissitudes of a military career. The first steps accomplished, their superior opportunities make them equally, if not more eligible, because they generally have more proper pride and emulation than men born amid scenes which blunt the finer moral perceptions. No true soldier can make a successful politician, that is, such as, with few exceptions, attain high and lucrative positions in this country; no thoroughbred politician can ever make a really good officer. Politics here, as a general rule, require unscrupulous hands, and its training never will or can produce great men. Our truly great men have never been successful in the political field. In the United States the politicians of eminence and the moneyed men constitute the aristocracy in the majority of instances, but, with bright and rare exceptions, intrinsically more worthless metal than the Austrian itself.

Let us see who led the Austrian armies throughout the Thirty Years' War. Were their commanders selected from among their nobles, who ever looked upon and still regard the lower classes as mere beasts of burthen, slaves or little better, to serve their purposes, pander to their vices, bleed and toil and suffer for them alone. It is not denied that an Austrian *Freyherr* of some note did not blush to assert that all men below the rank of Baron were destitute of any claims to be considered men (gentlemen?) or merit any notice or regard; and yet no individual born to that exalted rank distinguished himself at the head of the Emperor's forces, by his capacity and originaive genius; however great their bravery, which never has been called in question, and the Emperor's useless aristocracy, the priests, those leeches, particularly the Jesuits—if judged by their own doctrines, the worst of human kind—were saved, maintained, established by men of low degree. Nay, what is more, Archducal Austria did not produce a single general to lead the armies, without which it would have been engulfed. Let us follow out the list: TILLY was a native of *Brabant*, a gentleman born, with little but a titular patrimony; DAMPIER and BUCQUOY likewise; GALLAS was a native of *Trent*, in fact an Italian, certainly not a German or an Austrian, who may be said to have risen from the ranks; ALDRINGER came from *Luxemburg* and was originally a servant; GOETZ was a *Lunenburger*, a Protestant, likewise of low degree; JOHANN VON WERTH was a peasant's boy of *Liege*; MERCI sprang from a family of no distinction at *Longwy*, in Lorraine; LESLIE was a *Scotch*, BUTLER an *Irish*, soldier of fortune; JOHN PHILIP CRATZ, Count of Scharpenstein, "a sort of Generalissimus in TILLY's room," was a *Bavarian*, and rose by degrees to rank and title; FARENBAUGH, the best engineer in the Imperial service, who learned his art from GUSTAVUS, was a *Livonian*; ARNHEIM, the *Arch Plotter*, was a *Brandenburger*; MERODE, whose name is suggestive of pillage, whence originated the word marauder (*merodista*, Sp. and It., *merodeur*, Fr.), was a *Netherlander*; PAPPENHEIM,* surnamed by GUSTAVUS, "the Soldier," although

Let us see what HARTZ says on the subject, in his Essay on the Military State, 40—"I:

"The nature of the times was then such, that ALDRINGER and MERCI (which latter I suppose to be one of the greatest generals since the days of GUSTAVUS), with numbers more whom I could easily mention, all rose to high commands merely by SUPERIORITY OF GENIUS; for in a course of thirty years long and serious struggle, the favorites of princes and ministers, and the children and relations of people of quality (such excepted as had truly great abilities) were all supplanted, cashiered, or destroyed by the fate of war: on the other hand, merit was its own patron, and forced the public to accept it: SO THAT HARDLY CAN A GENERAL BE FOUND IN THESE TIMES WHO HAD NOT ORIGINALLY CARRIED A MUSQUET. OKENSTERN (though in that respect I think him blamable) had a mortal aversion to admit men of great rank and condition into high commands."

*GODFREY HENRY, Count of PAPPENHEIM, was the son of WILHELM of PAPPENHEIM, Vice-Marshal and Count of the Germanic Empire. He was born in 1594, received a learned education, and was distinguished for his progress in letters, and, like WALLENSTEIN, travelled through different countries of Europe. The military ardor of the time, however, seized the young student, and his first essay in arms was as a Captain of Cavalry in the regiment raised by the Count of HERBERSTURF, who had espoused his mother.

He joined the Bavarian army at Linz, and was soon raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He distinguished himself at the battle of Prague, where he received twenty

originally a Baron, fought his way up, and "got nothing from the Emperor but the title of Count with the appendix of *Illustrissimo*," was a native of *Bavaria*; TORQUATO CONTI, styled the "Devil," on account of his rapaciousness and cruelty, was an *Italian*; likewise the DUKE OF SAVALLI; DON FELIX was a *Spaniard*, as his name imports; STROZZI, and DON ANNIBAL and LOUIS GONZAGA—cousins of the Empress LEONORA, daughter of VINCENT, Duke of Mantua—*Italians*; PICCOLOMINI, an *Italian*, was descended from one of the best families of *Sienna*; the MONTECUCULIS, uncle and nephew, came from the *Modenese*, in Italy, and however noble by birth, carried muskets; MELANDER or HOLZAPPEL, was a *Hessian*, and a Protestant; DE SOUCHES, whose defence of *Brunn*, it may be said with truth, preserved Vienna, and perhaps the Empire, was a *French Huguenot*, made a soldier in, and a deserter from, the Swedish service; HOLK, an admirable officer, was a *Dane*; LUDIVICO ISOLANI, General of the Croats, a partisan officer of surprising ability, was a *Croat* or a *Carniolian*, and, for his services, subsequently created a Count of the Emperor; and WALLENSTEIN, the last and greatest, the son of a knight, a gentleman by birth, but destitute of fortune, educated a Protestant, and born a native of Bohemia, at that time an independent and elective kingdom.* Yes, that WALLENSTEIN, who twice preserved the empire, the only Imperial leader who in magnitude of genius approached GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, TORSTENSON, or BANER; that WALLENSTEIN, who lifted the Emperor from the dust, and then was murdered by the Emperor's commands, innocent or guilty, murdered; not proven guilty, which leaves the great Imperial Generalissimus innocent; that WALLENSTEIN, the victim of the Jesuits, accessories before the fact, put out of the way because he saw through their atrocious system and might have frustrated their intended operations; that WALLENSTEIN, too far in advance of the times in which he lived, to be the dupe of Roman Catholicism—for which the priesthood compassed his ruin and assassination—who still lives in history, stamped with infamy *manufactured* to excuse the act by which he was removed.

The list might be augmented *ad nauseam*, but it would require time and labor which could be far more profitably occupied, both by the writer in compiling and the reader in examining its facts.

wounds, and was left for dead on the field. After an almost miraculous escape, he recovered from his wounds, and, as his exploits had conciliated the favor of his superiors, was raised to more important commands. He is said to have been born with the mark of two swords in saltire (the arms of the Vice-Marshal of the Empire) in his forehead.—(COXE, II. 199. From "Histoire de GUSTAVE ADOLPHE," Tom. II. page 62.)

* COXE, I. 587, says FERDINAND I., 1547-'93, changed Bohemia from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; but he admits, II. 50-1, that MAXIMILIAN did not consider the matter settled in 1552. In 1619, the Bohemians elected FREDERIC, Elector Palatine, their King; we do not see the right to choose their sovereign appear to have been definitively abrogated until 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia established the hereditary rights of the Austrian family. As WALLENSTEIN was born in 1583, he could claim to have been a native of an, as yet, independent kingdom.

It is very true that, on different occasions, before and after he was the Emperor, FERDINAND III. led his own army, and that his brother LEOPOLD WILLIAM acted long as the Imperial Generalissimus; but the former "brought to this post nothing but his name and dignity," and both exercised a nominal command, whose actual exercise was vested in able and experienced hands. LEOPOLD WILLIAM had military skill, but to no remarkable degree. He was always supported by the very best talent which the Empire or Confederate Principalities could furnish. But, conceding his abilities, he stands alone.

Now, look upon the other side: The Gothic and German Protestant aristocracy were foremost in the war, and as conspicuous for their vigor, skill and courage, as by their elevated rank. But if the character and abilities of the Imperial, but more particularly the Austrian and Roman Catholic aristocracy and generals, suffer so remarkably by a comparison with the intellectual and military qualities displayed by their opponents, how much more inferior as men and monarchs were the other sovereigns of Europe, to him who wielded the sceptre of Sweden.

While even his enemies acknowledged the virtues, accomplishments, and genius of the Great and Good GUSTAVUS, all but the most bigoted of his own sect, concede that FERDINAND II. was an "unfeeling bigot," "a misfortune to his family, the enemy of his country, and the scourge of the Empire and of his age." FERDINAND III was but little better; Louis XIII of France was nothing but a mere puppet in the hands of his great minister, and all the rest were below the mediocrity of sovereignty, except the valiant CHRISTIAN IV, of Denmark, who, great as he was in himself, found all his efforts neutralized by disasters, combinations of circumstances over which he could exercise no control, and the inherent administrative weakness of his kingdom.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was the greatest king who ever lived, and dignified his throne with every virtue of a man, a soldier, a statesman, and a monarch. Looking back upon the past, he towers above all other kings and conquerors, in the majesty of honor and originative genius, religion and utility; as far superior in all moral attributes to the Rev. Mr. ABBOTT's demigod, NAPOLEON, as heaven to earth, or saint to devil, and yet was all his equal as a warrior.

CHRISTIAN IV. of Denmark, was a gallant Prince, as brave and able a commander on the sea as Denmark—always at home upon the ocean—ever has produced.

FREDERIC WILLIAM, Brandenburg's "Great Elector," was a model sovereign. In his race, as in the Ducal race of Saxon-Lauenburg, a family of soldiers, flowed the same rich blood that gave such impulse to the sons of VASA.

CHARLES IX., father of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, was great as a king, statesman, and soldier.

TORSTENSON was of ancient and illustrious family.

HORN was born noble. Both [TORSTENSON and HORN] were noble in all their instincts, and good and brave as well as noble.

BANER was a "nobleman of fashion, and," what was somewhat remarkable for a soldier in his day, "had received an excellent education"; equally ready with his pen and sword.

Old Field-Marshal WRANGEL, and his son, the more famous WRANGEL, were likewise of high family. Likewise THE OXENSTJERNA; STALHANSKE—concerning whom some writers have entertained the erroneous impression that he was originally a serving-man—belonged to a well-known aristocratic family, which expired with him; at all events, so says the *Swede*, von LUNDBLAD, who ought to have known much better, concerning his own countryman, than a *German*—"assiduous, skilful, and true;" JOHN LILJEHOEK, who, after TORSTENSON, best understood the management of the Artillery; EWERT HORN; JACOB DE LA GARDIE—French by descent, but Swedish born—the terror of the Muscovite and Pole; the three brothers, Counts PETER, NICHOLAS, and JOACHIM BRAHE; LAARS KAGGE; WITTENBERG; and many others, who carved their monuments with their stout Gothic swords.

What shall be said of Count MATTHIAS THURN, born at *Gorizia*, in Carinthia, near the Gulf of Venice—Protestant Bohemia's greatest champion with the pen and sword; ERNEST, Count of MANSFELD; BERNHARD, of SAXE-WEIMAR, of a sovereign family, the youngest of 11 brothers, all of whom, when arrived at man's estate—several died young—bore arms, with great distinction, against the Empire; his able elder brother, WILLIAM, designated by GUSTAVUS to lead the attack, and act as his Lieutenant-General in Nuremberg's hot conflict; or that young favorite of Mars, CHRISTIAN, Duke of Brunswick, who died in the flower of his age a short time previous to the faithful companion of his fortunes, MANSFELD, two heroes, worthy of immortality; GEORGE FREDERIC, Margrave of Baden; CHRISTIAN, Prince of Anhalt; GEORGE, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; GEORGE FREDERIC, Prince of Hohenlohe; the Rhinegrave, OTTO LOUIS; JOHN HENRY, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg; PHILIP, Count of Mansfeld; CHRISTIAN WILLIAM, Administrator of Magdeburg; CHRISTIAN of BERKENFELD, Count Palatine; CHRISTOPHER, Marquis of Baden, killed by a cannon ball at the side of GUSTAVUS, before *Augsburg*. But we must not forget that peerless German lady, "always great, and almost always fortunate," whom all historians of her era delight to honor, and no encomiums can do justice to, who united all the solid qualities of a statesman and a soldier to the graces of a woman; in whom courage, ability and honesty

went hand in hand ; whom nothing could tempt to be unfaithful to her allies, and never, even to preserve herself or the interests of her child, a minor, and her people, could be tempted to resort to double dealing ; "whose counsels," even in military affairs, **TORSTENSON** and **WRANGEL** "listened to with great respect,"

• **AMELIA ELIZABETH OF HANAU**, Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel.

Nor were the German Generals* in the Swedish service less worthy of mention for birth, genius, and innate resources ; they appeared to grow greater and greater by imitation of the bright examples which the iron land of Scandinavia presented as her choicest jewels to richer and more fertile Germany.

Foremost among them stands that **KÖNIGSMARK** who seemed to bask in the effulgence of the Great King's glory and borrow radiance from the blaze of **TORSTENSON'S** superior planet, until his eagle-plumes assumed a kindred halo. He was **THE** right hand of his Briarean **GENERALISSIMO**, the greatest partisan and the most dashing trooper of the Thirty Years War ; not only great himself, but father of a greater son, happier than all the leaders under whom he served, in thus transmitting his honors to a son not only worthy to receive but able to augment them. No better proof of the Austrian arrogant incapability of judgment than the mere fact that having once so great a General they ignorantly threw the gift away.†

But enough time and space—in this connection—have been devoted to that gallant group of Swedish nobles, of whom **GUSTAVUS** remarked to the French Envoy, **CHARNACE**, that "all were generals," and their German brethren-in-arms.

Nor was the pre-eminence of Sweden confined to her king and her generals. Her statesmen and her diplomatists were not less remarkable, and wonderful as was the "prodigious capacity" of **ARMAND JOHN DU PLESSIS Cardinal de RICHELIEU**, neither he nor any other European minister of state has ever attained that eminence universally conceded to **OXENSTJERNA** : "a statesman whom posterity considers in the character of a man who has never been rivalled, although the great **GUSTAVUS** may be considered in many respects his equal in the science of politics." "Pope **URBAN VIII.**, one of the most clear-sighted and sensible personages then in Europe, always considered the

*When **OXENSTJERNA**, after the Union of Heilbronn, assumed the supreme direction of affairs in Germany, almost all the inferior Generals were natives of that country—Sweden supplying the Generals-in-Chief (*Feldherren*—Field-lords) and leaders next in rank and influence.

†**KÖNIGSMARK** served several campaigns in the Austrian army, whence he transferred his services to **GUSTAVUS**, who, at once, appreciated his talents and developed them.

The Emperor, **FERDINAND II.** was one "Whose hand,

Like the base Judean, threw a pearl away,
Richer than all his tribe,"

in the same manner that **LOUIS XIV.** rejected the sword of Prince **EUGENE**, of Savoy, and lived to see that sword hew its victorious way, both north and south, into the richest provinces of his dominions, menace his capital, and humble low his arrogance.

• And "of the German troops who remained true" in the gloomiest period of the war, when **BANER** had no more than from 2000 to 3000 Swedes and Livonians, "most appear to have consisted of fugitives [Protestants] from the Austrian Hereditary Dominions, whose cause Saxony had sacrificed in the Peace of Prague,"—(**CHEMNITZ**, I. C.)

Chancellor as a being of some superior order."* Nor were any of the branches of the civil, administrative and diplomatic services, destitute of minds capable of grappling with the most difficult questions of international policy, and of maintaining the rights and advancing the interests of the Swedish Crown against all the endeavors of superior intellects, trained in all the astuteness, finesse, and arrogant assumption of the Italian and the Imperial schools.

Nor did this superiority end even yet, nor here. It pleased the Most High, that a distant, poor and barren kingdom, plunged during so great a portion of the year in all the gloom of an arctic winter, and bound for one-third of that period in icy fetters, should produce such men in every branch of the public service, as were sufficient, by the exertion of their intellectual strength and courage, to elevate their country to the rank of "Arbiter of Europe," even as the old Frankish warriors were wont to raise aloft their kings or chosen chieftains on their bucklers.

But, besides these leading spirits, it is perfectly wonderful to consider the numbers of admirable subordinate officers whom Sweden sent forth during this troublous period. To particularize would be a never-ending task, and so many were remarkable that selections would be invidious or unjust. How often, in the old chronicles, do we find the capture of a detachment, of a post, or of a fortress, greatly enhanced by the mere fact that the troops defeated or made prisoners, or their commanders, were *Swedish-born*, as if their nationality transmuted a simple success into a glorious triumph.

Even the Swedish private soldier was an entirely different being from his German comrade, or Imperial opponent, patient of fatigue, willing to labor, brave and firm, comparatively moral, obedient, intelligent, and reliable in every relation.†

* No better evidence can be adduced of OXENSTJERNA'S superiority. The Swedish Lord High Chancellor must have been great indeed, for URBAN to concede his greatness "No Pontiff before him, neither GREGORY the Fifth, nor BONIFACE the Eighth, had possessed the sentiment of individual importance in so high a degree; thus, in a very gross question, the commissioners of a foreign power having presented an objection to him, drawn from the old Pontifical Constitutions, he replied, imperiously, that his decisions had more weight than the regulations of two hundred Popes."

"The athletic power with which he was endowed contributed not a little to increase the high importance he entertained of himself. He wished to be adored as the spiritual head of the Church, and the king of the earth; and in his pride he dared to revoke a law, which prohibited the Roman people from ever raising a statue to a living Pope, on the ground that it could never have been foreseen that the Chair of St. PETER would be occupied by such a Pontiff as himself!"—(DE CORMEYEN II. p. 300.)

† The soldiers of GUSTAVUS were patient of cold beyond expression; nor was it uncommon for a sentinel in extremity of winter to remain eight successive hours on his post without being relieved: but the king took constant care to clothe them accordingly, and allowed each man, besides his regimentals, a long warm cloak of Swedish manufacture, lined with Lapland fur. There was another unspeakable advantage in GUSTAVUS'S army; for every person was his own tradesman, his own artisan and his own mechanic. And hence it happened (to name only one particular instance), that when the king wanted to erect his extemporaneous bridge across the Lech, he had 2000 very tolerable carpenters amongst his soldiers. It was the same likewise when pioneers were wanted, or in matters of masonry and fortification." HARTZ, I, 156.

"In campaigns that consisted merely or principally of encampments, marches, and countermarches, the Swedes in the long run always ruined the Imperialists, being more patient of fatigue, and accustomed to greater frugality. Upon these principles, GUSTAVUS made the famous encampment against WÄLLENSTEIN, near Nuremberg: and hence it arose that GALLAS saw three or four fine armies moulder away to nothing. From the superiority of the Swedes, MELANDER, one of the ablest Generals in Europe, would have been undone, in the year 1646, if the ELECTOR OF BAVARIA (contrary to all faith of treaties) had not brought him off, by allowing JOHN de WEST to desert at the head of 4,000 Cavalry!"—(HARTZ'S Essay on the Military State, pages 28-3.) to his assistance.

What assistance! This alludes to the admirable war of positions, in which the Swedes had the glory of obliging the Imperialists to abandon their entrenched camps, after terrible losses from famine and exposure, three times, at different dates, although the Imperial army was fighting in, and for, its own territories, and was, moreover, 8,000 men stronger than the Swedes.

Glorious Swedes!

It has been asserted that "the disaster of *Noerdlingen* obliterated the last traces of the discipline of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS"; the more glory, then, to TORSTENSON, if he was equal to its restoration to only a comparative state of efficiency. Still, to the last, there was such a marked difference in the Swedish *leaven*, that, notwithstanding the defeat, above referred to, its influence seemed to circulate throughout the whole military body serving beneath the Swedish banners, reinvigorated and augmented from time to time by fresh infusions of the native element, transported for the restoration of the Gothic preponderance, from those countries, sterile in fruits, but fertile in patriotic and brave men, beyond the Baltic.

Only a few days since, before these pages were given to the printer, a Dane, imbued with all the national prejudices of his race towards the Swedes, having examined the authorities—*German*, not Swedish—which have so greatly facilitated the composition of this Biography, was forced by the recital of their courage, energy and intelligence, to give utterance to his admiration, and exclaim, "Where could the Swedes have got so many and such excellent officers, as they possessed throughout the Thirty Years' War!"

In conclusion, we arrive at the consideration of the reciprocal cruelties and devastations which rendered many of the most fertile provinces of Germany mere desert wastes, appalling in their loneliness:

*"Where cattle pastur'd late, now scatter'd lie
With carcasses and arms th' ensanguin'd field
Deserted."*

Which left whole cities, rich and busy marts, almost without inhabitants; which reduced the population of the Saxon States, then, as now, the densest of all Europe, to one-half the number they possessed when first the war began; swept away three-quarters from Bohemia, and spared to Wurtemberg a meagre tenth.

In this, as all the rest, the Swedes stand forth superior to all the others in generous forbearance. While GUSTAVUS lived, the mercy of the Swedes was as proverbial as the barbarity of the Imperialists.

Neither Duke BERNHARD OF SAXE WEIMAR nor BANER who succeeded him in turn, exercised anything like the same control over their soldiers' lusts and passions that TORSTENSON exhibited. In humanity, as well as generosity, and every other gift of heart and head, TORSTENSON was his "Great Preceptor's" "most successful Imitator."

The cruelties perpetrated by the Swedes were the effect of sudden impulses, or the excitement occasioned by wanton injuries they had experienced through religious as well as national animosities; the outrages of the Germans were the result of innate viciousness of temper and cold-blooded destitution of gener-

ous and humane principles ; but the horrors* which the Imperialists indulged in were the offspring of systematic determination, of passions, bad enough at best, but stimulated by the dictates of their faith and its expounders, the examples and commands of their leaders, the approbation of their sovereigns and the impunity attending the most fiendish exhibitions of the depth to which the heart of man can sink if urged on by bigotry and priestly counsels, and unrestrained by discipline, military, religious or individual.

*See the description of ISGLANI's Croats in Hrechstedt. "Very many women are outraged so that they are dead; men and women (without respect, had been) thrown amidst hot or cold water, ice, puddles of mire or ordure ; some with chains and ropes at their heads, hauled to death ; to some thumb-screws were applied ; others hung up by the privy parts, and pierced therein with needles until the blood ran down ; their shin-bones sawed through ; the feet grated to the bone with billets ; the soles crushed and beaten so long as they fell away from the feet ; the arms bound to the backs, and they thus hung behind themselves ; dragged much about the town stark naked, slashed, beaten and wounded with axes, hammers, in such sort, that for blood they seemed as if they had been dyed on whole, they dealt with such hideous cruelty to every man of high or low rank, that all prayed but for death, to escape greater martyrdom." CREWITZ, II, 521. In the Swedish army also the disaster at Nördlingen obliterated the last traces of the discipline of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. "The Swedes (?) and their allies," [who passed under the name of the Swedes, and rendered the name obnoxious, see ERRATA and OMISSIONS] complain the ejected Elector of Mentz, "rob, murder, scorch, burn, gag, force, and practice other tyrannies, like heathens and Turks, such as have never been heard." ROSE, II, 9.

In August—September, 1631, TILLER, on the side of Leipzig, "having united FURSTENBERG's army, which consisted of 10,000 men, with his own forces ; (and HOLK and GALLAS conjoining him on the side of Misnia) they poured into the [Saxon] Electorate like two raging torrents, and spread nothing round them but devastation ; for they had, upon the whole, at least 40,000 soldiers under their command. [?] No military execution hath resembled this irruption, but that unhappy one which TURENNE was obliged to make into the Palatinate in 1674, and which continues an everlasting reproach to the humanity of his nature and the politeness of the nation which he served."—[HARTE, II, 6-7.]

Of HOLK's Croats in Saxony, GUALDO (himself an officer of WALLENSTEIN) says : "They had imagined a new kind of torture to draw the last penny from the unfortunate Saxons. They despoiled men and women without any distinction, and in this state caused them to be torn by famished dogs, whom they carried with them for that infamous use." [FRANCHEVILLE, 192.]

"Their villainy was so great that after abusing the women, in satisfying their filthy lusts, they did burn them and their families."—[MONRO, II, 156.]

We might cite many details, as for example of the atrocities practiced in Saxony, notwithstanding the truce, if space permitted. [?] The Swedes, however, were not the worst ; the Germans in the Swedish service appear to have surpassed them in cruelty toward their own countrymen. [?] The torture called the "Swedish Drink," was so termed, because it had been first employed by the soldiers of BERNHARD of WEIMAR : "BERNHARD's soldiers poured cold water down the throat, until, when the belly of the person was pressed by the foot, it came out again, and styled this the 'Swedish Drink.'"—[RAUMER, *History of Europe from the End of the XIVth Century* (from the statement of FORSTNER, a contemporary), III, 602.]

BERNHARD of WEIMAR, who, it is proved, gave a loose, sometimes intentionally, to the excesses of his soldiers (compare ROSE, II, 10) ; yet daily read his chapter of the Bible. Such was often the temper of religion.

For the terrific PASEWALK SLAUGHTER, see note *, page 135, supra, and for the SACK OF MAGDEBURG, THAT ATROCITY OF ATROCITIES, see HARTE's *HIST. GUS. ADOL.* I, 367-385.

The following letter from a thinking man (*nachdenkender*) of Breslau, dated 21st August, O. S., 1642, will be found extremely interesting, as it reveals the true condition of the country and its inhabitants at this most troublous period. "Our situation," he writes, "is lamentable in the extreme. Throughout the country pillaging is carried on systematically, and whatever is spared, the poor people dare not attempt to gather in or secure, on account of the great peril they are compelled to undergo, and the insolence of the soldiery ; for the enemy, i. e., Swedes, have placed strong garrisons in Olmutz, Oppeln, Schweidnitz, Wollau, Trachenberg, and Great Glogau, and strongly fortified himself therein, so that it will take a long time to drive him out of the country again."

About the same date, a friend of the first letter-writer, wrote that it would sully his pen even to recapitulate the more than barbarian treatment experienced by both men and women at the hands of the Croats and Wallachians in the Imperial service, and yet notwithstanding they were known, these dreadful and unchristian excesses were perpetrated with impunity, so that the miserable inhabitants from sheer desperation often jumped into the Oder and drowned themselves.

On one occasion a most miserable individual had thrown himself into the stream, and falling on a stake impaled himself thereon ; pregnant women were ripped open, and worse, others dishonored by force, or carried off. Yet nobody looked into it, i. e., punished, or endeavored to restrain these atrocities.—(T. E. IV, 875, 1st.)

The treatment experienced by the Protestant population, at the hands of the Roman Catholic soldiery and authorities would be scarcely conceivable, were it not kept up even to the present day, in whatever localities the priests are enabled to excite the prejudices and passions of their adherents.

KEYSLER, who traveled through Austria (1727 to 1731) [Vol. 4, Letter LXXXIV, page 345] relates as follows :

"The inhabitants of this place, *Neumel*, (*Neumuhl*), are all Protestants, and to this, possibly, may be owing the severe prosecutions for pretended sorcery, carried on against this unhappy people for some years. It is but a few days since three women and a man were burnt, on an accusation brought against them for witchcraft, and making compacts with the devil ; and three other supposed delinquents of this kind are still kept in prison. The poor wretches, when put to extreme torture, con-

Termination of **TORSTENSON'S** Military Career, his Negotiations with the Elector of Sarauq, &c., and Return to Sweden.

DECEMBER 1645, TO DECEMBER 1646.

TORSTENSON'S last victories had shed such a radiance on the dawn of CHRISTINA'S own administration that it seemed as if the morning of her reign was invested with all the brilliancy which had distinguished that of her Father and of the intervening Regency.

Historians, without exception, admit that TORSTENSON'S campaigns had a decisive influence upon the German war. The pride of the Imperial Cabinet had been too rudely shaken from its hitherto haughty position to reassume its former arrogant demeanor. The strength of Austria had been too utterly prostrated to recuperate sufficiently to struggle for that pre-eminence enjoyed before he threw his sword into the scale. The negotiations for peace, which had previously halted, now advanced with rapid strides to a conclusion. Seven years had elapsed before, in 1641, diplomacy had even arranged the preliminaries of a General Congress of Pacification; near four years more had passed away before that Congress had assembled. But mark the difference: TORSTENSON'S unbroken series of successes awoke even the blind and deaf, and the Imperialists, who had closed their eyes and ears with their accustomed, haughty obstinacy, were forced with quaking hearts not only to see but listen with respect. When TORSTENSON beat Austria to her knees, formalities first shaped themselves into substance, and if the Swedish GENERALISSIMO did not actually draft a settlement, his mailed hand wrote down the Swedish ultimatum.

By what apparently weak instruments has the Almighty Ruler of the Universe achieved his wondrous ends! From the beginning, His designs have been accomplished by means, to human understanding, the least adapted to the purpose. A simple monk shook the mighty power of the Papacy. A sightless patriot, in arms for religious freedom, defied the armies of the Empire. A kingdom almost unknown and despised continued the great work which LUTHER had begun; its monarch a youth—begirt with

few a hundred things which are manifestly impossible: and as the Reformed are seldom tried by equitable and impartial judges, on that account they have no redress against injustice, aggravated by brutal cruelty. Last year, the judge of the place, with his wife, and thirty-four other persons, were burnt at *Szeged*. Upon my making some objections to a Papist, who was relating to me the circumstances of their trial, &c., he answered, that as to the sentence passed upon the judge of the town, the justice of it was not to be doubted; that nothing could be plainer than his guilt; for, continued he, though he was a tall, corpulent man, he weighed but three ounces and a half. I asked him whether he had been weighed publicly, and by a pair of scales? But I soon perceived that it was not proper for me to make any longer stay in that place. It seems, it is the opinion of many ignorant persons, that they who will not blindly swallow such stories, must themselves be concerned in such diabolical practices: others conclude, that he who does not believe the stories of witches and apparitions, is not convinced of the existence of God or the devil, heaven or hell.

enemies, whose united strength threatened the very existence of his throne—who leaped to kingly life like Pallas from the head of Jove, armed cap-a-pie and endowed with genius puissant and *matured*; and wonder of wonders! a bed-ridden, crippled general completed the undertaking. What a chain of marvels, and TORSTENSON'S career the greatest marvel.

No one can attempt to deny this credit to TORSTENSON.* "I see," the HIGH CHANCELLOR wrote to his son JOHN, one of the Swedish envoys at *Osnabruck*, on the 25th April, 1645, "that the victory granted by God to her majesty at *Janikau*, in Bohemia, has stretched its rays to the peace-congress in Germany, so that the enemy begins to be courteous and to speak more humanely."[†]

The instructions for Field Marshal WRANGEL made out by the Swedish Ministry, 7th April, 1647, were history silent, would be sufficient to establish the fact that TORSTENSON was the chief agent in bringing about the pacification of Germany. After going over what occurred previous to the battle of *Lutzen*, this document proceeds to state that, "After the king's death it was continually intended to remove the war into the enemy's country, and efforts were made to that end, as well in Silesia as on the Danube, until the unfortunate battle of *Nærdlingen* threw all into confusion; afterwards, though there had been enough to do to redress matters, attempts had been made from time to time to carry into effect the same plan on the Imperial Hereditary Territories; *which had been so far fortunately executed by Field Marshal TORSTENSON, that whereas the enemy had before only played with the treaty of peace, he was now obliged by necessity to turn his thoughts to it in earnest.*" Nor was TORSTENSON'S opinion without weight even with regard to the negotiations respecting the indemnity which was to be conceded to the armies in the field at the time when the peace was ratified. Of the first instalment of this indemnity (5,000,000 Rix Dollars, according to TURNER \$6,062,500) 18 tons of gold, to use the language of the times, equal to 1,800,000 Rix Dollars (\$1,960,000) TORSTENSON received 30,000 Rix Dollars (\$32,737⁸⁰/₁₀₀). But one personage, and that one the young *Palsgrave* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, *Generalissimo* of the Swedish armies and afterwards King of Sweden, received a greater share, 60,000 Rix Dollars, and but 2 an equal portion; the good, the brave GUSTAVUS HORN and CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, the former who had served with the highest rank and distinction throughout the war, the latter actually in command when it terminated.

* COXE, the Historian of the House of Austria, admits this fully. See Vol. II, Chap. LIX, Pages 329, 330.

† Letters from AXEL OXENSTJERNA to JOHN OXENSTJERNA in the years 1642—1649—Vol. I, Pp. 166.

On the 4th of December, 1645, TORSTENSON relinquished the command and turned it over to Major General ARWID WITTENBERG,* committing to him the direction of the army until the arrival of General (Admiral) CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL—created Field Marshal, 28th April, 1646—who, in accordance with his wishes and petitions, had been appointed his successor and was on his way from Sweden with reinforcements—consisting of 5,000 infantry, nine regiments of horse, and three regiments of dragoons—all veteran troops†—which had been employed in the war against Denmark, and since the peace, concluded the preceding 18th of August, at *Bromsebro*, were free to act against the EMPEROR—but had not yet reached the theatre of action.

To such an extent were TORSTENSON'S suggestions appreciated by the Swedish Administration and the soundness of his judgment acknowledged with regard to the relative abilities of his subordinates, that even as early as the 26th of October, 1644, the Ministry wrote to him: "We approve of your wish thus gradually to draw C. G. Wrangel to be your successor in command, as well because he is of our nation, as also because his qualities are such that we hope he will, after some time, if God grant him life and health, be a good stay, and no inconsiderable furtherance to the cause."

They—the Pupil hastening to assume the helm disease would no longer permit the Master to control—met at *Eulenburg*,‡ in Saxony, after TORSTENSON had quitted the army. After this meeting the latter journeyed to *Leipsc*, where he remained throughout the winter of 1645, '6. Confined to his bed and suffering the excruciating pain peculiar to his malady TORSTENSON nevertheless still directed his attention to the affairs in Germany, and as long as he remained therein WRANGEL—conformably to the instructions of the Swedish Government—undertook nothing of importance without consulting him; according to his sagacious counsels the Swedes should ever make the *Imperial Hereditary States* the theatre of war and never risk a pitched battle unless compelled thereto by sheer necessity.

Few generals have been permitted by their sovereigns to designate their successors, fewer have continued to exert authority

* When WRANGEL assumed the Command-in-chief of the Swedish armies in Germany, WITTENBERG succeeded him as *Master General of the Ordnance*, that office in which TORSTENSON had so greatly distinguished himself.

† In another place the strength of WRANGEL'S army is set down at 8000 men. After they were transported into Germany they were quartered for some time in *Brunswick*; thence they marched toward *Magdeburg* by *Helmstedt*; thence to *Halle*; crossed the *Saale*, near *Merseburg*; passed the *Elbe*, near *Torgau*, and encamped there.

‡ According to the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM* after TORSTENSON arrived at *Leipsc*—with the intention of remaining there some time, both on account of his increasing infirmities and his desire to attempt the improvement of his health—WRANGEL repaired thither and spent some days in consultation with him with regard to future operations.

and even influence over those successors when they have laid down the truncheon of command. TORSTENSON did both, for so undoubted were his vast abilities and surpassing qualities as a general, that his will was law, not only to his own army but to the Swedish-home authorities, who, great as was the Ministry, which boasted at its head the High Chancellor, illustrious OXENSTJERNA, bowed to his opinion in every matter connected with the army in Germany and its relations with the different confederate states.

And were further proofs deemed requisite than those adduced herein, examination of the correspondence preserved by WRANGEL in the library of his castle, at *Sko-Cloister*, would furnish ample additional testimony. On the 4th of July, 1646, immediately after his arrival in *Pomerania*, the GENERALISSIMO drew up a memorial to Assistant-Councillor LILYESTROM, as to what he was to execute by the Master-General of the Ordnance ARWID WITTENBERG, who had so long and faithfully served under his orders.

In spirit he still directed the movements of his country's armies, and the plan for the campaign of 1646 was sketched by TORSTENSON while on his couch of pain, and even when he had returned to his native country his heart was ever with, his eye was ever watching over, his successor and his faithful brothers-in-arms, still struggling on those fields, on which he had won his laurels, although 500 miles of land and sea intervened. And to his dying moment, neither his QUEEN, her Council, nor the Swedish Generals, failed to appeal to him for his advice in all occasions of emergency.

Thus, on the 27th of February, 1646, TORSTENSON, in a letter to WRANGEL, still extant—when the latter felt embarrassed as to the course best suited to the occasion—wrote from his sick bed at *Leipzig*, “that he, WRANGEL, must at once maintain discipline in, and keep up the spirits of, his army, and yet evade a general action, until he could effect a junction with the French, when, at once, the Allies’ aim should be to drive the Imperialists across the Danube.”

How well the GENERALISSIMO understood the French, and justly estimated their untrustiness, appears from his letter of 12th April, 1646, to the *Landgravine* AMELIA ELIZABETH, of *Hesse-Cassel*, whose counsels, even in military affairs, he ever listened to with great respect.* Had not TORSTENSON oft experienced their unreliability? Thrice, more particularly himself, first, when he assumed the chief command in 1641, and GUEBRIANT deserted him with the *Weimarian* army—that army which BERNHARD of SAXE-WEIMAR raised for, and RICHELIEU stole

*It is a pleasure to read the letters of this Princess, masculine even in her hand writing; a number of which, with her signature, both to TORSTENSON and WRANGEL, are preserved in the latter's correspondence.—GILLES.

from, Sweden—the second, after his great victory near Leipsic, when the same GUEBRIANT failed him, and by that failure gave the Imperialists opportunity to advance upon and force the Swedes to raise the siege of Freiberg—the third—before the day of *Janikau*, when the French inaction allowed the Bavarians to march to the assistance of the Emperor; a fourth occasion was, when TORSTENSON served under BANER, in 1637, at which time BANER foretold what came to pass in 1815, that if the Swedes and Germans should unite, they would not be slow in crossing the Rhine.

Without the Swedes could join the French, and by their example shame the latter into uninterrupted co-operation, TORSTENSON knew well that no success commensurate with their powers and opportunities, could be expected, for, said he, “it was also [when they (the French) acted alone] their fashion to be still in winter, and thereby give the Imperialists and Bavarians opportunity to fall conjointly upon the Swedes, so that these (the Swedes) usually lost in winter what they had gained in summer.”

Again: On the 5th of March, 1646, when WRANGEL was at a loss with regard to quarters and subsistence for his troops, owing to the perpetual disputes with the Saxons, who strove to evade the execution, on their part, of the stipulations of the truce with Sweden, TORSTENSON, with his wonted decision, solved the whole difficulty at once. “To obtain, meanwhile, the necessary sustenance for the army, the General will not omit to devise and embrace all practicable methods, let them (the Saxons) memorialize as they may.”

Even as late as the beginning of 1648,* we find the Generals in Germany referring to the GENERALISSIMO, and begging him to interpose his old authority for the adjustment of their disputes, and the Swedish historian, GELZER, admits that TORSTENSON in reply, wrote with his accustomed prudence. It would seem as if he, even though absent, never lost his influence with those over whom he had previously exercised authority, or who had had an opportunity of appreciating his wisdom, justice and liberality.

In the mean while negotiations respecting the armistice between Sweden and Saxony still lingered on without being decided; the blockade of *Magdeburg*, however, had become so burdensome on that city that early in December the Arch-Bishop† besought Major-General AXEL LILYE, Governor of Leipsic, to order it to be raised or render it less rigorous, who despatched

*WRANGEL to TORSTENSON, 10th November, 1647: TORSTENSON to WRANGEL, *Segersta*, 29th January, 1648.

† *Magdeburg* was not secularized until after the peace of Westphalia.

his Secretary with a Trumpeter to meet **TORSTENSON**, while yet with the army, to learn his decision and receive his orders.

About this time the Imperial forces went into winter quarters, from whom the Bavarian Electorate Troops separated with the same intention. With these an Imperial Envoy was sent to *Dresden* to urge the ELECTOR OF SAXONY to abandon the armistice entered into with the Swedes, and assemble a fresh army for the defence of his country. This Envoy was also empowered to assure him that, in case he would act in accordance with his wishes, the EMPEROR to assist him in this undertaking and expelling the Swedes, would loan him on good security three tons of gold (\$326,700); likewise send back the three Saxon regiments serving with his army, and in addition lend him eight Imperial regiments. These seductive offers were lost upon the Saxon Prince, who plainly manifested how little he relished the proposal, and was the more determined to abide by the armistice since, besides the presence of **KÖNIGSMARK**'s corps, the main Swedish army, under **TORSTENSON**, was already on the confines of his dominions. And almost immediately afterwards conjectures as to what course he intended to pursue became certainty when Lieutenant-General **KÖNIGSMARK** was admitted to a personal interview with the ELECTOR at *Liebenwerth* (*Liebenwerda* 60 miles E. N. E. of *Merseburg*, on an island in the *Black Elster*).

As **TORSTENSON** was primarily connected with these negotiations inasmuch that they were subject to his ratification, it would seem to be proper here to relate their termination.

On the 20th of February Major-General **AXEL LILJE** and Assistant Councillor **ESSKEN**, on the part of the Swedes, and Major-General **ARNHEIM** and Councillor **OPPEL**, on the part of the Elector, met at *Eulenburg* to determine with respect to raising the blockade of *Magdeburg* and the prolongation of the armistice, which latter was by them extended to the 21st March, and afterwards by **TORSTENSON** to the end of that month. This business would have proceeded much more smoothly had it not been for the interference of the EMPEROR's Envoy Count **POPPÉL**, who had taken up his residence at *Dresden*, having been sent, as was remarked above, to persuade the ELECTOR to resume hostilities. Notwithstanding his interposition and the ELECTOR's reluctance to accede to the demands of the Swedes, especially with regard to the possession of *Leipsic*, General **ARNHEIM**, who had been despatched to *Dresden* to urge upon him the necessity of compliance, returned therefrom with his assent, so that it was finally arranged that they, the Swedes, should still continue to occupy the city of *Leipsic* and the *Pleissenburg**—the revenues of

* The castle which defended *Leipsic* on the S. W. See *Plans of Leipsic and Siege Operations of the Swedes in 1627 and 1642*.—*THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, III, 751; IV, 885.

which were to be collected by the Agents of the ELECTOR, who, in lieu thereof, was to pay over to the Swedes, monthly, a specified sum of money—and that the Saxon garrison of *Magdeburg* should retire therefrom. The question as to the duration of the armistice still remained open, the Saxons desiring a prolongation of two years, Sweden a longer period. Matters having been thus determined Dr. OPPEL repaired from *Eulenburg* to *Leipsic* to pay a congratulatory visit to Field-Marshal TORSTENSON, who, surrounded by numerous officers of distinction, received him with all due solemnity, sending out his carriages to meet him, and firing cannon; as was customary then as now (V. 812, '3).

In April the Swedish and Saxon Plenipotentiaries came together again at *Eulenburg* which led every one to look forward to a successful termination of their conferences, because 1st, the treaty with *Magdeburg* had been satisfactorily concluded; 2d, the Envoys of the Hanse Towns were expected to take part in the deliberations; and 3d, the Garrison of *Magdeburg* were about to evacuate the place.

In fact the greatest hindrance was the efforts of the Imperial Minister Count POPPEL, at *Dresden*, who used every endeavor to prevent the ratification of the different articles, in which attempt he was assisted by his colleague, Count KURTZ, commissioned by the Imperial Court for that very purpose. These efforts however were unavailing; seven points out of the eleven had been agreed upon, leaving four, comparatively unimportant, to be settled—1st, the duration of the armistice; 2d, the possession of *Leipsic*; 3d, the difficulties between the two Houses of HESSE; 4th, whether or no the treaty when concluded, should be presented to the EMPEROR for his approval. Soon after, although it was as yet kept a secret, it was understood that it had been determined that the armistice and final settlement should be only dependent on the conclusion of the *Munster* and *Osnabruck* (Osnaburg) negotiations.

About this time a document dated 7th April, was published by the authorities of *Magdeburg*, which partakes of the character of the times, for while it set forth that they had concluded a treaty with TORSTENSON, by which he agreed in consideration of certain concessions, &c., to raise the blockade of that city, it declared that, notwithstanding, they are the EMPEROR's loyal and faithful subjects: in other words they manifested their fidelity in words and, by this composition with his enemies, the Swedes, by deeds, declared the contrary. (V. 826).

In May these difficult and wearisome negotiations were at length brought to a close at *Eulenburg*—on an island in the *Mulda*, midway between *Leipsic* and *Torgau*—and the ELECTOR sent the ratification of them by a trumpeter to Field-Marshal-General TORSTENSON, who, on his part, went through the same

ceremony. Whereupon, the Imperial Envoy Count POPPEL completely discomfited, received a passport from the GENERALISSIMO and proceeded from *Dresden* to *Topkatz*, in Bohemia. (V. 854.).

* * * *

While TORSTENSON was yet at *Leipsic*, making his preparations to journey thence, through *Pomerania* to *Sweden*, he received—among other similar testimonies of respect—a visit from his Highness, the PRINCE-ARCHBISHOP OF HALLE, who, on his arrival, was received by the Swedish Major-General AXEL LILYE and escorted by the Field-Marshal's Body-Company (Lieb-Compagni) of Dragoons wearing his colors (i. e. uniforms displaying the same colors, as his livery) with colors flying, while four cannon-shots were fired as a salute.

It would appear from this either that a Prince-Bishop was not ranked higher than a Colonel, or else the Ordnance were more chary of their powder then than now, since with us, even a Brigadier-General is entitled to a salute of eleven guns. The very same hour there witnessed the arrival of an Envoy from RAGOCZY, by the name of DANIEL JOHANNES, Colonel of the Waiwode of Transylvania's Own Regiment, under the escort of two companies of Cavalry, who had been sent to meet him ten English miles beyond the city gates, at which point he was received by the Swedish Assistant-Councillor (ESSEN?) with the Field-Marshal's Own Company (of dragoons); upon this occasion also a salute of four guns was fired. This Colonel JOHANNES brought with him eight superb Turkish horses as a present from RAGOCZY to TORSTENSON. (V. 855.) This was a remarkable tribute of respect from the sovereign of so distant a country to a retired General, however great his previous renown, but the wonder ceases at once when we remember what ample opportunities the Prince had enjoyed of judging of the GENERALISSIMO's worth. It is somewhat strange that a similar gift to this, on the relinquishment of the command, welcomed TORSTENSON on his arrival from Sweden to assume it, when, in September 1642, he repaired to *Zell*—capital of a Duchy of that name, within the Duchy of *Lunenbourg*—on which occasion the Duke FRIEDERICH received him amid the firing of cannon, and presented him with two beautiful horses. (V. 619.)

* * * *

In May, 1646, Colonel FRIEDRICH VON LOBEN, with the usual ceremonies, presented to Queen CHRISTINA 33 Infantry Regimental Colors, and 47 Cavalry Standards, which had been captured the preceding year at *Janikau*, which trophies were placed in the Royal Armory. The arrival of these tokens of his great achievements heralded the approach of the hero himself. (V. 863.)

In this same month, the Assistant-Counsellor, LILYESTROM, was despatched to Germany, to bear to TORSTENSON, "who

had so faithfully and successfully served the crown of Sweden," her Royal Majesty's full and honorable discharge from the Swedish main army, in consequence of his podagrical malady, and in accordance with his earnest desire; also, to notify him that it was her Royal Majesty's will and pleasure that he should return to Sweden. In all this, Queen CHRISTINA zealously endeavored to avail herself of every occasion to bestow upon him the marks of her esteem. She addressed him an autograph letter of thanks—in reply to his communication requesting permission to return home—which was full of the most gratifying expressions of her appreciation and desire rather to welcome him, on his return, as a courageous and prudent counsellor, than to recall an invalid who looked forward to peace and quietness. She likewise prayed WRANGEL "not to hold out worse than his predecessor," a convincing proof how highly she esteemed that predecessor's merits, which she promptly and nobly recompensed.

This same Royal Legate, LILYESTROM, brought over the diploma, which conferred upon the Empire's Master of the Ordnance, CHARLES GUSTAVUS WRANGEL, the rank of Counsellor of the Empire and Field-Marshal, and solemnly invested him with the same full powers which TORSTENSON had exercised *but not the Government, which remained with TORSTENSON.* (V. 871-'2.)

After these changes had been effected, TORSTENSON travelled from Erfurt to Leipsic;* thence to proceed to Pomerania, of which Province or Duchy he was still Governor-General, where, during the summer, he drank the mineral waters of *Hornbrunn*, hoping thereby to stay the progress of the maladies which were consuming him.

Torstenson at Bonn.

SEPTEMBER 1646, TO OCTOBER 1650.

In the month of September, 1646, TORSTENSON took ship and returned to his native land, and his grateful sovereign welcomed her hero, bowed with the weight of his laurels, and loaded him with the tokens of her gratitude. The Swedish historian stated that he was received as a victorious prince.

In February, 1647, being unable thro' his continued illness to present himself at court, his son was solemnly invited to repair thither to represent his illustrious father. After he had been introduced, the young nobleman in open court received from the hands of the Queen CHRISTINA herself the diploma by which his father's faithful services and exalted merit were rewarded with the dignity of COUNT. By this, one, creation,

* TORSTENSON must have previously come to Erfurt from Leipsic on business connected with the army or with his Government, or else this is an error of the correspondent of the *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*.

4th February, 1647, **TORSTENSON** was elevated to the rank of **BARON** and **COUNT*** with the hereditary *County of Lykhundra*, and received a district of *Upland* with twelve parishes and the mine, or as the **THEATRUM EUROPEUM** (V. 1033) expresses it, the *County of Ortala*, from which he derived his title, on the *Åland Hoffs*—i. e., that part of the *Baltic* between *Sweden* and the *Åland Islands*—and the *Barony of Wiersta*. At the same time the shield—coat of arms—of the Count was divided into four fields, two of which were thenceforward to display field pieces (cannon) on their carriages, with piles of balls beneath—significant of his improvements and services in connection with the Swedish artillery—and each of the other two a crowned lion holding in one claw a piece of an eagle's wing—in allusion to his having, by his victories, crippled the power of the Emperor, the "eagle being an emblem Austria asserts her claim to from her eastern inheritance, one of the many proofs of her usurped authority."

From the time he left the army until his death **TORSTENSON** appears to have been broken down by disease, so that at the close of the Swedish Diet, in April 1647, when eight Councillors of the Empire were present at the sitting, who had not been as yet sworn in, took the usual oath of office before her Royal Majesty and the whole Assembly, **TORSTENSON**, who was included in the number not sworn—not being able to appear in person, on account of ill health, was excused from having it administered personally and the oath which he should have taken, was publicly read in his name (V. 1044).

During his stay in the capital **TORSTENSON** participated in most important discussions and councils in the Senate* and (strange to say! **VON LUNDELADE** remarks) opposed with all his influence the nomination of **CHARLES GUSTAVUS** as successor to **QUEEN CHRISTINA**,† although he was connected with the house of **PFALZ** by his marriage.

This behavior of **TORSTENSON** towards the **PALSGRAVE**—the Swedish historian goes on to say—is the more inexplicable, as the latter always showed him the devotion of a son, and was moreover completely contradictory to the **GENERALISSIMO**'s prior

* Letter (published) of **FREDERIC DE PEYSTER**, Esq., President of the St. Nicholas Society, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1855.

† **VON LUNDELADE** says that on the 5th January she created **TORSTENSON** Count and gave him **ORTALA**, and a great number of real estates belonging thereto in the Parish of **Waddo** and the government or district of **Upland**, so that his yearly income amounted to 10,000 Rix dollars, as **CHANUT** also states.

‡ **TORSTENSON** was a diplomatist of marked ability; and **BAKER**, speaking of the employment, at this period, of military men in negotiations and similar services, in which they distinguished themselves, although so entirely opposed to their own peculiar profession, remarks that "**TORSTENSON** was concerned at **Stockholm** in still employs; and yet **BAKER** bequeathed his army to him as the only person capable to conduct it."

§ **ABOENHOLTA Historische Merkwürdigkeiten der Königin CHRISTINA**; Vol. 1 Page 169.

conduct towards that prince, and his own words at a dinner given about the end of October, 1645, in the camp at *Jaromir*, in *Bohemia*, in honor of *CHARLES GUSTAVUS* previous to his departure for Sweden. On that occasion *TORSTENSON* proposed the health of the Company's friend and companion-in-arms about to leave them, and on concluding his remarks observed, "that he was destined one day to govern a mighty and valiant nation."

[Grant this, and it is no evidence of *TORSTENSON'S* inconstancy. *PUFFENDORF* (XVII, §24,) states explicitly that *TORSTENSON* "prophesied a crown to the young Prince when they parted in *Bohemia*." What crown? As *CHARLES GUSTAVUS* was not proposed as her successor by *CHRISTINA* until 1649, it could not have been the *independent* crown of Sweden, and therefore must have been the crown of a King Consort, since it was well known that the *PALSGRAVE* obtained permission from *TORSTENSON* to leave the army and return to Sweden, for *the very purpose* of prosecuting his addresses and striving to obtain the hand of *CHRISTINA*, which every well-wisher of his country hoped she would, and which he averred she had long since promised to, bestow. That this was *TORSTENSON'S* meaning, his after conduct clearly shows; and that, even to the last, he strove to bring about this marriage, exonerates him from all suspicions of duplicity.]

Regarding all these proceedings from such a distant point of view and possessing so few reliable sources of information in regard to what actually transpired, it is impossible for a biographer to furnish with any certainty the causes which induced *TORSTENSON* to assume a position so totally at variance with his former conduct. It seems but just however, to suppose that *OXENSTJERNA*, his and his Great Monarch's trusty friend and counsellor, had influenced his opinion. True as steel was he to the wise chancellor, and, in May, 1647, we find him mediating between *CHRISTINA*, unjust towards the most faithful and sagacious counsellor monarch ever had, and effecting a reconciliation which the services of the old statesman should have secured without the influence of his warrior friend. The best explanation of the whole matter is that *TORSTENSON* desired to retain his mistress on the throne—a throne rendered worthy the greatest earthly sovereign by the glories with which her father and predecessor had invested it—and had set his heart on effecting a union between *CHRISTINA* and *CHARLES GUSTAVUS*, as the only means of preventing her abdication. He exhausted every argument upon the wayward Queen, and finally observed, fearful of the extinction of the royal race, "that the Prince might probably never marry did she persist in her refusal of him." "No danger of that," replied *CHRISTINA*, "love need not ever burn for a single object; a crown is a winsome bride." At all events, whatever may have been his motives, they were no unworthy

ones, and we know with certainty that **CHARLES GUSTAVUS** respected them and never made him or his family feel any ill effects from his opposition. Well might the *Palsgrave* **CHARLES GUSTAVUS** honor the great soldier by whose side he had fought for four years, and who had rendered him worthy to command by practice in that bloody school in which **TORSTENSON** had himself graduated—and his Royal Highness ever entertained the deepest veneration for his memory.

But however defective may have been his general health, the exhaustion of his physical powers had not affected in the slightest degree his brilliant understanding. His mind was still as clear and his administrative abilities as remarkable as ever, and on the 31st of May, 1648, he, at the special request of the Queen, undertook the General Government of *West Gothland, Dalsland, Vermeland, and Halland*, provinces which would have to bear the whole brunt of the war in case of another rupture with *Denmark*, requiring a warrior to rule over its sturdy—but as is invariably the case with the inhabitants living along an exposed frontier—intractable border population. *Gottenburg*—at that time a vital point to Sweden, which twice within a century had been redeemed from the hands of the Danes—became his residence and seat of government. It seems as if **CHRISTINA** confided to her veteran general, who had shown himself worthy to guard the most precious trusts, that, her only port on the West Sea (German Ocean), for which the Swedish people had paid, “in the hardest times they had ever known, the heaviest subsidy that had ever been raised in the country.” They felt their priceless city was secure when **TORSTENSON’S** eagle eye was there to watch, his lion heart to guard it.

In 1650, **TORSTENSON** repaired to *Stockholm*, to assist in the ceremonies attending the coronation of Queen **CHRISTINA**, which took place, with a pomp hitherto unknown in Sweden, on the 20th of October of that year; and it is an unquestionable fact that so great was his influence with her that he, in concert with **OXENSTJERNA**, succeeded in turning her from her intention of resigning the crown; so that it was not until after his death that she carried her abdication into effect—25th October, 1651—which she had actually resolved upon so early as 1648.

* * * * *

TORSTENSON’S DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

On the 20th of October, 1650, **CHRISTINA**, the remarkable daughter of an extraordinary father, was crowned QUEEN OF SWEDEN; and very soon after participating in the ceremonies connected with that event, **TORSTENSON** again fell sick of his old diseases,* which had tormented him

*See *THEATRUM EUROPEUM*, Vol. VII, Pages 89 and 151. **TORSTENSON** died of the effects of *podagra* (gout), to which was superadded *calculus* (stone in the bladder). Consult *VON LUNDELAD’S Swedish Plutarch*, Part I. Pages 264–5.

so long : this attack, however, was the severest of all. Throughout the whole winter of 1650-'51, he was obliged to keep his bed ; and his gradually decreasing powers of resisting the inroads of disease gave rise to well-founded apprehensions that the hero of an hundred battles—the victor at *Schweidnitz*, *Breitenfeld* and *Janikau* ; the conqueror of continental Denmark, of the Archduke LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, GALLAS, PICCOLOMINI, HATZFELD, WERTH, MERCY, and dozens of other distinguished Generals ; that military Colossus who bestrode the German Empire, with one foot planted in *Jutland*, on the shore of the *Sound*, the other in the *Manhartzberg*, on the bank of the *Danube*, opposite *Vienna*—was fighting his last battle with that adversary to whom all flesh, however bold and wise and good, must succumb.

Already in the first days of April, 1651, the veteran soldier, **TORSTENSON**, felt that a HIGHER SOVEREIGN than that earthly Monarch he had served with such fidelity was about to summon him from the midst of that sorrowing people whose name he had rendered so glorious. Nor was CHRISTINA herself ungrateful or neglectful, but visited the fast-failing General upon his sick bed, and gave him the assurance that she would amply provide for the children that he would leave behind.

In the Royal Residence [*Königliche Residentz*] at *Stockholm*—whence it had been his intention, three months previous, to take his departure and repair to the seat of his General Government at *Gothenburg*—Monday the 7th O. S. (17th N. S.) April, 1651, between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, expired that “excellent General and Field-Marshal, my Lord Count **LEONHARD TORSTENSON**,” missed and lamented by the whole Swedish nation.

“My dear father,” wrote the Chamberlain EKEBLAD, (a relative,) on the 23d April, 1645,* to his father, “has heard of the mortal end of our good Count LINNART ; God knoweth with what heart I learned the tidings. The chief cause of his death (say the doctors), was his great neglect in using no medicaments, after his body had become constipated by all sorts of forbidden food. *The Queen was with him shortly before his death, and he spoke his last words to her.*”

We have indulged in so many remarks with regard to the subject of this history, that we will not longer detain the reader with either the flattering opinions of other writers or our own. Satisfied that whoever carefully examines the preceding pages

**Scand. Mem.* XX. 314 ; TURNER'S “*GRUEN'S History of the Swedes*,” Page 341 Note 4.

could not, even if he would, misjudge our—the Swedish—hero, and that his best eulogy is the recital of his mighty achievements, we content ourselves with the translation of von LUND-
BLAD's closing observations.

TORSTENSON seldom acted without due consideration and preparation, and never suffered good fortune to exalt nor misfortune to depress him. In him, Prudence kept pace with Success. Among his many surpassing merits as a Commander, the astonishing rapidity with which he executed his movements is most worthy the admiration of military minds. Almost invariably his advent was unexpected, wherever he appeared. With whole armies, he flew from the *Danube* to the *Balt*, and back from the shores of the *German Ocean* to the banks of that—Germany's greatest—river,† with an ease and freedom as if figuring in the dance, and he punished without hesitation all who obstructed his path. But it would be a ~~glaring error to~~ attribute to this lightning-like execution all those successes which **TORSTENSON** achieved; all his actions were the results of the secret councils and mature deliberations which preceded them. Like an *ARGUS*, he looked forth every where with an hundred eyes, and then, like a *BULLEUS*, he acted with an hundred arms.

Few, if any, capitals in Europe can equal the imposing beauty with which the "*Northern Venice*" welcomes the traveler approaching from the *Baltic*. Rising almost from the waters of the *Malar Lake*, the royal palace crowns, with its massive, spacious edifices, the only elevated spot of ground upon the *Riddar Holmen* (Knight's Island), above which towers the lofty spire of the adjoining church, which seems to spring from within the palace walls. That sacred fane, the *St. Denis* of Gothic royalty, contains the tombs of a long line of Swedish Monarchs, and guards the ashes of several of those heroes of the Thirty Years' War, who proved themselves worthy Lieutenants of the greatest King,‡ who ever pressed a throne or led his people at once in the path of victory and of religious duty.

* **TORSTENSON** has left behind him the reputation of a great and successful general, and of a friend and patron of the arts and sciences. *Encyc. Am.;* Phila. Glennard & Lea, 1852.

† **TORSTENSON**, with astonishing rapidity, marched from one end of Germany to the other, made Austria tremble, humbled the King of Denmark, and filled up the measure of Swedish glory. *Encyc. Am.;* Phila, 1852.

‡ "That [the monument] of **GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS** bears the appropriate inscription, '*Moriens Triumphant*.' Triumphant over the foes of his country and of his faith; for victory never forsook him, even on that fatal field where he yielded up his mighty spirit; triumphant over those still more fearful foes—his own passions; for he alone of all the conquerors of olden or modern times has left a name untarnished by a single crime. He possessed power such as it has rarely fallen to the lot of man to wield, yet suffered it not to betray him to the commission of a single deed that could dim the brightness of his great achievements."—*Wittaker's Hand Book for Northern Europe*, Page 106.)

Even as in life, so in death, the greatest FORTN of GUSTAVUS is found near his Leader, Tutor, Friend, and King. Thither, to the venerable Church of the Riddarholm—in sleep among those by whose side he had fought and conquered—with solemn pageantry; while two hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery—that artillery which owed its superiority to his genius—twice answering each other, with re-echoing salvos, from different quarters of the city, and the thundering broad-sides of the great royal war-ships (*Orlogs-Schiffe*); while from time to time the rolling volleys of Infantry and Cavalry, in their several stations, saluted the funeral march; with all the honors possible to dignify his obsequies—the great, the virtuous **TORSTENSON** was borne to his last rest, and his corpse was deposited in a chapel, specially built to receive it, on the side of the *Grau Munchholm Church*.*

As some of our readers may feel curious to learn more of the procession which escorted our hero's body to the tomb, we furnish the details in full:

On Sunday, 29th June, O. S. (9th July, N. S.), 1651, it moved in the following order:

- I. 2 TRUMPETERS, with a KETTLEDRUMMER (Horsemen).
- II. A MARSHAL, or Master of Ceremonies.
- III. Lieutenant-Colonel **PLANTEN**, at the head of
 - IV. 2 Companies of *Cuirassiers*,
(the 1st formed in 21 ranks of 5 Cavaliers each, the 2d in 18 ranks of 6 Cavaliers each.)
 - V. Over an hundred Infantry Regimental Colors and Cavalry Standards,
(being a portion of those captured from the enemy while the deceased exercised the functions of Field-Marshal.)
 - VI. My Lord **JACOB de la GARDIE**,
COUNT OF LECHE and LORD HIGH MARSHAL OF THE KINGDOM,
Born 20th June, 1588, at *Revel*, died 12th August, 1652, at *Stockholm*,
Grandfather of **TORSTENSON'S** Wife.
- VII. 4 Companies of Royal Guards, 2 of Musketeers, 2 of Pikemen,
(displaying 4 pairs of colors.)
- VIII. Over 120 Clergymen and Scholars, each of whom, according to his station, received money and drinking-cups.

* This must be another name for the Church of the Riddarholm, as it is an unquestionable fact that **TORSTENSON** lies buried in that edifice.

- IX. The late *Field-Marshal's* [House] KNIGHTS, and 4 *Trompeters*, (Horsemen,) carrying *banderella*,* displaying the *Coat of Arms* of their deceased Lord, the *COUNT OF ORTALA*.
- X. The late *Field-Marshal's Body Servant*, wearing a cuirass [armor?] richly gilt, and mounted on a charger covered with a housing woven with gold.
- XI. A *Charger* with a black housing, displaying a white cross.
- XII. *Helmet*,
- XIII. *TORSTENSON'S Sword and Spurs*,
- XIV. *Field-Marshal's Baton*,† }
 Borne on velvet cushions by
 Lieutenant-Colonel **STEINBERGER**,
 " " " **FERSEN**.
- XV. A *War Horse*, with a black housing, displaying a white cross, and on both sides a shield (coat of arms?)
- XVI. A *standard* with my Lord the late *Field-Marshal's* coat of arms embroidered thereon, in gold.
- XVII. His *shield*, borne aloft in the air.
- XVIII. The *funeral* (mourning) *banner*.
- XIX. The *CORPSE* of *FIELD-MARSHAL*
LEONARD TORSTENSON,
 covered with a pall of black cloth, carried by 12 bearers, and accompanied by 24 others, making 3 reliefs.
 (Marching in 6 lines, 3 on each side.)
- XX. The *COAT OF ARMS* of the *HOUSE OF CONSCIENCE*, emblazoned on 16 shields, and borne aloft on spears, on either side of the body.
- XXI. The 2 young *COUNTS*,† sons of the deceased *FIELD-MARSHAL*, *COUNT OF ORTALA*.
- XXII. Count **MAGNUS DE LA GARDIE**,
 his brother-in-law, with "TROOPS OF FRIENDS."
- XXIII. The *Countess Dowager*,
BEATA DE LA GARDIE,
 his *Widow*, with other *Mourners*.
- XXIV. The *ROYAL SWEDISH LORDS COUNSELLORS OF STATE*,
GENERALS, *COLONELS*, *LIEUTENANT-COLONELS*, and
numerous other Officers.

*The little fringed silk flag that hangs [formerly hung] on a trumpet.

† The *Field-Marshal's Baton* was borne by an officer whose name is not given.

‡ On the 24th January, 1653, at *Strasburg*, in *Alsace*, on the *Rhine*, died Count *GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS TORSTENSON*, from the effects of a violent dysentery. His body was transported by sea to *Stockholm*, where, on the 24th July, it was buried with great ceremonies in the chapel and burial place of his illustrious father, *Field-Marshal Count LEONARD TORSTENSON*, in the *Riddarholm Church*.

XXIV. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

XXVII. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PALSGRAVE

CHARLES GUSTAVUS.

declared successor to the Throne, and, in 1654, crowned

CHARLES X.

XXVIII THE NOBLE LADY.*

XXIX. A Train of Carriages.

The Reverend Doctor **ERHARD** preached the funeral sermon, and consigned the body of the illustrious **TORSTENSON** to the dust.

TORSTENSON married **BEATA DE LA GARDIE**, *Baroness of Ekholmen*—daughter of **JOHN TORSTENSON DE LA GARDIE**, *Councillor of State*, and subsequently espoused to **PETER BRAHE**, *Richdree or High Steward of the Kingdom*. By her the **FIELD-MARSHAL** had six children, 2 daughters and 4 sons, of which latter only 2 survived him. (See **XXI**, *supra*.)

Thus after six years vain endeavor to restore his shattered health, but in the full enjoyment of his honors, bought at the price of so much blood and anguish, TORSTENSON sank into the grave, followed by the tears of his countrymen and fellow Protestants, the fear and respect of his enemies, and the admiration of his associates and the whole army. Few men, however great, retain long their hold upon the affection and memories of a nation, particularly of a monarchy, and its sovereigns. Their exploits, too, are forgotten in the inferior achievements of some new favorite of the hour. Such was not the case with TORSTENSON; his countrymen revere his memory even to this day, nor have their sovereigns been oblivious of the debt their ancestors owed to him. Thus, in 1655, at the time of the Reduction, when it was suggested that Count LENNART TORSTENSON'S residence should be confiscated to liquidate certain claims of the crown for which the house in which the GENERALISSIMO expired was to be held as security, the King, CHARLES X, formerly of the *Palgrave* CHARLES GUSTAVUS, exclaimed, "and if Count TORSTENSON'S house stood upon the very square of the

* *Das adliche Freuensimmer*. The *THEATRUM EUROPÆUM* gives no farther clue to her identity.

† The coat of arms of TORSTENSON is still to be seen on this very edifice, at present the Palace of the Princess, standing on the Market Place of the Northern Suburb of Stockholm.

royal castle, it should nevertheless coincide with his heirs! Faithful have been his services to Sweden and to me, for was he not my Preceptor in the Art of War?"

A century and a quarter afterwards, GUSTAVUS III, having founded the Swedish Academy, proposed, as the subject of one of the first prizes for eloquence, the eulogy of TORSTENSON, and deeming it a theme worthy his royal pen, himself anonymously contended for, and carried off, the prize. This discourse, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy, has been republished among the works of GUSTAVUS, and, although it has not as yet appeared in his name, it is nevertheless acknowledged to be one of the compositions of that accomplished monarch.

READER, farewell! If this biography has given you one half the pleasure in its perusal that the author enjoyed in presenting his hero to you, and making manifest his greatness, his toil is amply repaid. Nothing but his admiration for the *Swedish Generalissimo*, and the desire to afford an opportunity to others to share in that admiration, has sustained him in preparing these pages for the press, many of which have been written while he was suffering from the acute pain, while others were finished at the price of successive sleepless nights. Great care has been bestowed on some of the passages, and, when in the enjoyment of comparative physical comfort, they received a proportionate polish; but, often and often, has the writer stumbled, half blinded with pain, through sheet after sheet of the manuscript, until he was absolutely compelled to take to his bed from sheer inability to continue the labor. Fearful that an affection of the chest might compel him to suspend the work, or leave home before its completion, he struggled on, devoting to it every available moment. Had he had an idea of the magnitude of the undertaking, he never could have mustered courage to take up his pen; but, once commenced, a sort of dogged determination, derived from a stout Holland ancestry, united with his delight in the subject-matter, would not permit him to give up what he had set his hand and mind unto.

Every page of this biography has cost a day's labor—not a nominal day's labor, but eleven hours' poring over maps, comparing modern, and delving into trusty old volumes of authorities. Were this book intended for general publication, nothing would be more out of place than this explanation or apology, but, designed as it is for distribution among friends, his readers will appreciate the motive which prompted it.

If the favorable reception of this volume should authorize a second edition, the whole work will be revised, not only for the introduction of much interesting matter, recently obtained, but for the purpose of rendering the style more worthy of the subject and agreeable to the public.

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